THE

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR

## 1914

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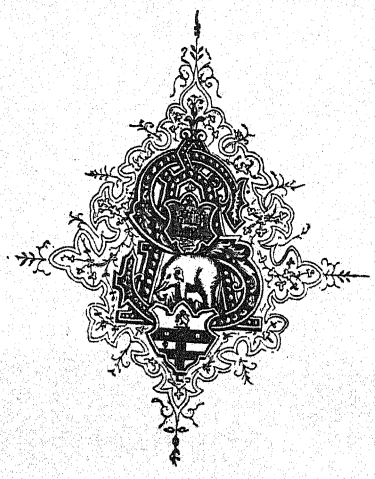

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I

# SUMERIAN AND GEORGIAN: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

By M. TSERETHELI

(*Continued from 1913, p. 821.*)

## III. Pronouns

*Personal Pronouns.*—Georgian (with Lazian, etc.) makes no distinction of genders in personal pronouns (as in general Georgian makes no distinction of genders). Herein Georgian corresponds perfectly to Sumerian. The personal pronouns in Sumerian are also very like to Georgian, though the same cannot be said of other pronouns. The 1st person singular is regularly *me-e* in Sumerian, and in Georgian მე *me* = I = Lazian *ma*, *man* (მა, მან) = Mingrelian მა *ma* = Svanian მი *mi*. The 2nd person is in Sumerian *za-e* = Georgian შენ *šen* = Mingrelian სი *si* = Lazian სი *si* = Svanian სი *si*. As to the 3rd person, it is most interesting that Georgian and the other languages of the Georgian group have no special pronoun to designate directly the 3rd person; in Sumerian it is the same. Both Sumerian

and Georgian borrow the pronoun for the 3rd person from demonstrative pronouns: Sumerian *ni* (rectus) and *na* (obliquus) for persons, and *bi* and *ba* for inanimate objects; Georgian ის, იგი *is, igi*, Mingrelian ენა, თენა *ena, θena*, Lazian ჰამ *ham*, Svanian ადა, ალა *ada, ala*. But in Georgian the root of the pronoun of the 3rd person appears in the genitive, dative, and other cases, and this root being მ *m* we can compare it with Sumerian demonstrative *bi* and *ba*. Indeed, we have in Georgian ის, იგი *is, igi* = he, she, it, but in genitive მ-ის *m-is*, dative მ-ას *m-as*, etc.; in Mingrelian ენა, თენა *ena, θena* = he, she, it, but in genitive მ-უ-ში *m-u-ši*, etc. In Lazian as independent personal pronoun 3rd person, the demonstrative ჰამ *ham* = this, is used, but the pronominal nominative is მ-უ-ქ *m-u-q*, genitive მ-უ-ში *m-u-ši*, etc. It must be remembered, moreover, that in Lazian the demonstrative pronouns have the root of the personal pronoun 3rd person მ *m*, and that is why they replace the personal pronoun 3rd person. In Svanian, it is true, this root მ *m* does not appear in oblique cases. Thus the root of the 3rd personal pronoun is მ *m* [მ < ვ *m* < *v*] in Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian, and its likeness with Sumerian root 3rd person *b* is, I think, not illusory. As to the other Sumerian root of 3rd person *n* (*ni, na*), we have its equivalents in Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian. In Georgian the archaic subjective suffix of the verb in the 3rd person is ნ *n*.: არ-ნ *ar-n* = he is, it is, this ნ *n*, instead of ს *s*, being a subjective *pronominal* suffix attached

to the verb in 3rd person singular; იყავ-ნ ნება შენი *iḳav-n neba šeni=fiat voluntas tua*, etc. In Lazian ნ *n* is also suffixed to the verb 3rd person singular passive: ზ-ენ *ẹen* = he is sitting; ტუბ-უნ *tub-un* = he is heating himself, etc.; in Lazian also რ-ენ *r-en* = he is. In many other verbs we find, indeed, this subjective suffix ნ *n* for the 3rd person singular. On the other hand, we have a Lazian relative pronoun ნა *na* = which, and another pronoun ნამუ *namu* = which, composed of *na* and *mu*, both roots *n* and *m* designating the 3rd person. Add to all this that in Sumerian the plural of *ni* is *e-ne*. This *ni* is the plural ending of nouns and verbs. The case is the same in Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian; in Georgian ნი *ni* and ან, ენ *an, en*, etc., form the plural of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs: კაც-ნი *kaθ-ni* = men; ჩუ-ენ *ṭû-en* = we; თქუ-ენ *θqû-en* = you; არ-ი-ან *ar-i-an* = they are; წერ-ენ *ṭer-en* = they write, etc. In Mingrelian we have კვილ-უ-ნა *ḳvil-u-na* = they kill, Lazian ჭარუმ-ან *ṭarum-an* = they write, etc. Finally, a Mingrelian personal-demonstrative pronoun ინა, თინა *ina, θina* = he, this there, ენა, თენა *ena, θena* = he, this here, may contain Sumerian root *n*. In Mingrelian ინა, თინა *ina, θina* and ენა, თენა *ena, θena* are employed as independent pronouns, while Sumerian *ni* occurs in this sense very rarely. But at any rate the general likeness of the Sumerian root *n* to the Georgian ნ *n* is evident, though the similarity is not in all cases exact.

Thus the general likeness of Sumerian and Georgian personal-demonstrative pronouns may be expressed by the following table:—

| Sumerian. | | | Georgian. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Independent. | Suffixed. | Independent. | Suffixed. |
| 1st pers. | sing. *ma-e, mē* | *mu* | მე *me* | |
| | plur. *mene* | *mēn* | ჩვ-ენ *ṭv-en* | |
| 2nd pers. | sing. *za-e, zi, si* | *zu* | შენ (L., M., Sv. სი *si*) *šen* | |
| | plur. *zene* | *zune* | თქვ-ენ *θqv-en* | |
| 3rd pers. | sing. *nī, nē* | *ni, ne* | | ნ *n* (verb. suffix. subject). |
| | *bī, bē* | *bi* | მ *m* (root of the 3rd pers.) | |
| | plur. *ene, enene* | *ene, nene* | ისი-ნი *isi-ni* | ნ *n* (ან, ენ *an, en*). |
| | *bine* | *bene, benene*, etc. | Id. | |

From the personal pronouns the possessives are formed in Georgian and related languages, and they are often suffixed to the nouns like Sumerian. Sumerian *lugal-mu* = my king; Georgian მამა-ჩემი *mama-ṭemi* = my father (father + my), etc. Just as in Sumerian the noun is unchanged in oblique cases, the possessive only receiving the case-endings: Georgian მამა-ჩემ-ის *mama-ṭem-is* = of my father; Lazian nom. ნანა-ჩქიმ-ი *nana-ṭqim-i* = my mother, gen. ნანა-ჩქიმი-ში *nana-ṭqimi-ši* = of my mother, etc. It is the same with the possessives of other

persons. But ჩემი, ჩქიმი *ṭemi, ṭqimi*, etc., are independent possessive pronouns and not pronominal suffixes like Sumerian *mu*.

*Other Pronouns.*—Other Sumerian pronouns manifest less likeness to Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian pronouns. Nevertheless, we shall endeavour to compare some of them: (1) Sumerian demonstrative $r > l$ (*eru, uru*) may correspond to Svanian ალა, ალ *ala, al*, a demonstrative pronoun used also as personal of the 3rd person, *ala, al* = this, he (cf. with Ḫaldian *aluš*). (2) Sumerian *anā* (from *na*) = what? compare to Georgian რა *ra*? = what? ($n > r$). (3) Sumerian indefinite interrogative for things *me-e* = what? compare to Mingrelian and Lazian მუ *mu* and მუღა *muya* and to Svanian მ̈ *mä*, იმ *im* = what? (4) Sumerian *ni, na* = *amelu* (for persons) compare with Georgian რომელი *romeli*, the root of which is also *r* (= Sumerian *n*) + *m*, i.e. the root of the 3rd person pronoun რომელი *romeli* = which (relative and interrogative for persons and things alike). To this Georgian *romeli* corresponds exactly the Mingrelian ნამუ *namu* = *na* + *mu* (Georgian *r* + *m*) = which? Lazian ნამუ *namu* = which? and Svanian იარ *iar* (also with the root *r*) = who? which? Sumerian *na-me* = which one? evidently belongs here. And Sumerian *na-me* = anyone, is interesting also as an indefinite pronoun since we have in Georgian the same ending -მე *-me* to form indefinite pronouns: ვინ-მე *vin-me* = anyone. Sumerian *na-me* (for things) = anything, corresponds exactly to Georgian რა-მე *ra-me* = anything.

## IV. Numerals

The numerals in Sumerian and Georgian seem to be in complete disaccord, but perhaps this is due to the fact that the etymology of Georgian numerals is in general very obscure. Yet we can compare three numerals of Sumerian and Georgian : (1) Sumerian *aš* = 1 seems to me very like to the Georgian ერ-თი *er-θi*, Mingrelian არ-თი *ar-θi*, Lazian არ-თი *ar-θi*, and Svanian ე̈შ-ხუ *eš-q̇u* = 1. Professor Marr compared Georgian ერთი *erθi* (**esθi*, **ešθi*) with Assyrian *išten*, considering that *išten* and Arabic أحد may be of the same root. But, as we know, to أحد corresponds, not *išten*, but *edu* in Assyrian, *išten* being a non-Semitic word. This *išten* may be borrowed by Assyrians from some non-Semitic nation related to Georgians. Now we think that the ending *θi* in Georgian ერთი *erθi* does not belong to the root signifying 1. We think rather that *er*, *ar*, *eš* signify 1 in Georgian, Lazian, Mingrelian, and Svanian. Our hypothesis is very probable since we have in Lazian არ *ar* = 1 without the ending *θi*, and even *a* = 1. Moreover, in other Georgian numerals we have the same ending *θi*, *di* : ხუ-თი *q̇u-θi* = 5, შვი-დი *švi-di* = 7, ა-თი *a-θi* = 10. Thus Georgian *ar* = Sumerian *aš* = 1 seems to me very probable, *š* = *r* being a phonetic phenomenon as often observed in Georgian as in Sumerian, Assyrian, and other languages. (2) If Sumerian *aššа* = 6 = *i̯a* + *aš* (5 + 1) is true, in this case its comparison with Lazian აში *aši* = 6 (Georgian ექვსი *eqvsi*, Svanian უსგვა *usgva*) is naturally impossible, but *i̯a-aš* = *i̯āš* = *āš* = *aššа* (!) seems to me doubtful. (3) Sumerian *u* = 10 can be compared more boldly with Lazian ვი-თ(ი) *vi-θ(i)* = 10, Mingrelian ვი-თი *vi-θi* = 10, Georgian

ა-თი *a-θi* = 10, and Svanian იე-შდ *ie-šd* = 10. Note that in Sumerian we have a variant of *u* which is *a* = Georgian ა(თი) *a(θi)*.

Another word which may have some relation with a Georgian word of the same meaning is Sumerian *šar* = totality. Georgian სულ *sul*, or rather ს(რ)ულ-ი *s(r)ul-i*, means also "totality", "total", "complete", but it is not employed to express any definite number. Compare also Svanian სურუ *suru* = very, totally. Then it is very interesting indeed that the Mingrelian word გვერ-დი *gver-di* means "side" and "half" at the same time. The root of this გვერ-დი *gver-di* is the same as Sumerian *bar*, this latter corresponding exactly to Georgian ფერ-დი *ϕer-di* = flank, side, rib, ფარ-დი *ϕar-di* = part, portion, and გვერ-დი *gver-di* = side, rib, and Mingrelian გვერ-დი *gver-di* = side, half, being of the same etymology as ფერ-დი *ϕer-di* and ფარ-დი *ϕar-di* = Sumerian *bar*. The difference is that in Georgian გვერ-დი *gver-di* means "side", "rib", "flank", but never "half", while in Mingrelian it means "side" and "half" at the same time. And the fact that Mingrelian expresses "half" by the word გვერ-დი *gver-di* = side, related to Sumerian *bar*, might perhaps lead us to think that the Sumerian *bar* expressed also the notion of the "half", "portion". But there is no direct proof of that, and the Sumerian word for "half", *maš*, seems to be quite another word, as Langdon affirms also in his *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 33, n. 1.

As to the rest of the numerals, cardinals and ordinals, no likeness can be noticed in this respect between Sumerian and the Georgian group of languages.

## V. The Verb

*Suffixed Conjugation.*—The most interesting feature in Sumerian and in the languages of the Georgian group is the verb. As far as I know, the Georgian verb has the most likeness in structure to the Basque verb and also to the verb of other languages related more or less to Basque. Now it is precisely with this latter that A. H. Sayce, F. Lenormant, and others have compared the Sumerian verb, and Fr. Hommel, on the other hand, pointed out that the systems of prefixes are very similar in Basque and Georgian. But nobody has ever tried to compare directly the Sumerian verb with the Georgian. We shall endeavour to do this, previously stating that the Georgian verb has undergone different development during the centuries in many respects, and in many cases it is in complete disaccord with the Sumerian verb. Nevertheless we shall find a striking similarity in the principles upon which the structure of Sumerian and Georgian verbs is based.

The first principle of the conjugation of the verb in the languages of the Georgian group is the use of prefixes and suffixes of pronominal origin, subjective and objective, added to the themata of the verbs. Sumerian possessed both prefixed and suffixed conjugation, and in this general respect Sumerian conjugation is like Georgian.

According to Langdon the suffixed conjugation which appears in the evolution of Sumerian exclusively in dependent phrases must have existed side by side with the prefixed conjugation from the beginning. Traces of this suffixed conjugation we find: Sumerian *zig-zig-zu* = thou ragest, *a nu-nag-a-mu* = water I drink not, etc. Likewise we find traces of the suffixed conjugation in the languages of the Georgian group: Georgian singular წერ-ს *ter-s* = he writes, არ-ნ *ar-n* = he is, plural წერ-ენ *ter-en* = they write, არ-ი-ან *ar-i-an* = they

are, etc.; Mingrelian ყვილუნ-ს *kvilun-s* = he kills; Lazian ჭარუმ-ს *ṭarum-s* = he writes, plural ყვილუ-ნა *kvilu-na* = they kill, ჭარუმ-ან *ṭarum-an* = they write. Those endings are the subjective pronominal suffixes in all these three languages, which show that in the 3rd singular and plural suffixes are preserved and thus the suffixed conjugation does exist partly in Georgian. Those Georgian suffixes fully correspond to Sumerian *ni* and *ene*: *sig-ni* = he fixes, *sig-ene* = they fix; Georgian არ-ნ *ar-n* = he is, არი-ან *ari-an* = they are; but it must be noted that in the Georgian there is no separate suffixed conjugation and there is also no separate prefixed conjugation; they occur together. While the 1st person is ვ-წერ *v-ṫer* = I write, i.e. prefixed, the 3rd is suffixed წერ-ს *ṫer-s* = he writes, and the 2nd is in the majority of verbs neither suffixed nor prefixed. I think it shows clearly that in the primitive Georgian both prefixes and suffixes were employed to form the persons of the verb, and now only traces, but quite evident, are preserved of all those suffixes and prefixes in the languages of the Georgian group. Thus, for instance, the prefix of the 2nd person, which has disappeared in other verbs, is preserved in ხ-არ *ḳ-ar* = thou art, etc. But while subjective prefixes have disappeared, the same cannot be said of objective prefixes, as we shall see later.

Sumerian *ni*, *na* (and *bi*, *ba*), as signs of dependent phrases, marking the primitive suffixed conjugation and even attached to the prefixed conjugation, have a remarkable likeness to Georgian რომ *rom*, Lazian ნა *na*, and especially Mingrelian ნი *ni*. First of all, რომ *rom*, ნა *na*, and ნი *ni* are all of pronominal origin

like Sumerian *na, ni*; then they are necessary for the construction of dependent phrases. In Georgian რომ *rom* is employed as a conjunction = which, when, if, and there is in Georgian another temporal conjunction, რა *ra*, of the same origin as რომ *rom*, but these conjunctions are employed quite independently and never as suffixes. In Lazian ნა *na* = when, which, if, as, is also employed as an independent conjunction put after the verb, but Mingrelian ნი *ni* is suffixed to the verb and shows great likeness to Sumerian and Ḫaldian constructions of independent phrases of that kind. Sumerian *1 maš* [d.] *nin-gir-zu ba-ga sal gir-zu-(ki)-ta tum-ni ni-gub* = one kid for Ningirsu which had been brought from the *baga* of a woman of Girsu, is here; *síga ú-šub-ba mu-ni-gar-ra-ni* [d.] *babbar im-da-ġul* = because of the brick which he made in the mould Shamash was made glad, etc. Mingrelian კოჩქ ცხენს გეხედუ-ნი ცხენიშე გეგლანთხუ *koθq θġens geġedu-ni θġeniše geglanθġu* = the man who (which) was on horseback fell down from the horse. (In Georgian . . . რომ იჯდა . . . *rom iġda* . . . = who was on horseback.) Lazian კოჩი ჳორსი ლაზური ნენა უშქუნ ნა *koθi vorsi lazuri nena ušqun na* = the man who knows well the Lazian language. In Georgian we have the same construction with *rom*. Note also Georgian temporal რა *ra*; რა ტარიელ ჰნაჲა, იჱნა, გამოუჲო, შემოვარდა *ra Tariel hnaġa, iθna, gamouǧo, šemovarda* = when Tariel recognized it (the letter), he took it (from him), he started (Sh.R. 1315, 4). In Mingrelian we often have two pronouns in dependent phrases—one independent relative and another suffixed to the verb: ქო-მო-მირთუ

წიგნიჴ, ნამუთი ყუდეს დიპტე-ნი *qomomirθu ṫigniq, namuθi ḳudes dipte-ni* = I have received the book which I left at home. Here ნამუთი *namuθi* = relative which, together with the suffixed *ni*, expresses the same idea. Mingrelian *ni* must not agree in case, number, and person with the antecedent subject described in the dependent phrase, being a simple suffixed conjunction. Herein it differs from the Sumerian *na, ni.*

*Prefixed Conjugation.*—Whether Sumerian verbal prefixes *mu, mi, me, ma*; *ni, ne, na*; *bi, ba* are pronominal prefixes or not, they are in every case demonstrative elements, and Langdon himself thus describes these elements *m, n, b.* By F. Lenormant, P. Haupt, G. Bertin, F. Thureau-Dangin they are considered as pronominal elements, and their hypothesis, I think, is quite probable. However, in Georgian, Lazian, etc., we have the *pronominal prefixes,* personal and demonstrative, which are indispensable for the conjugation of the verb. These pronominal elements denote the subject and direct and indirect objects of the verb in Georgian as in Sumerian. Therefore they are subjective and objective. They are as follows:—

SUBJECTIVE PREFIXES

| | | GEORGIAN. | LAZIAN. | MINGRELIAN. | SVANIAN. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1. | ვ *v* | ვ/ბ (ფ, ჳ) *v/b* (*φ, p*) | id. | ხვა, ხვი *q̇va, q̇vi* |
| | 2. | ხ *q̇* | — | — | ხა, ხი *q̇a, q̇i* |
| | 3. | — | — | — | (ჱ) ხა, ი<ჱი (*h*)*q̇a, i*<*hi* |
| Plur. | 1. | ვ *v* | ვ/ბ (ფ, ჳ) *v/b* (*φ, p*) | id. | ხვა *q̇va* |
| | 2. | ხ *q̇* | — | — | ხა *q̇a* |
| | 3. | — | — | — | ხა *q̇a* |

## Objective Prefixes

### Georgian

| | *Indefinite Case.* | *Genitive.* | *Dative.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. 1. | მ *m* | მი *mi* | მა *ma* |
| Sing. 2. | გ *g* | გი *gi* | გა *ga* |
| Sing. 3. | ს (ჱ) resp. შ *s(h)* resp. *š* | ჳ (<ვი) *u* (<*vi*) | ა (<ჰა) *a* (<*ha*) |
| | | ი (<ჰი) *i* (<*hi*) reflect. | |
| Plur. 1. | მ, გუ *m, gu* | მი, გჳ *mi, gw* | მა, გუა *ma, gua* |
| Plur. 2. | გ *g* | გი *gi* | გა *ga* |
| Plur. 3. | ს (ჱ) resp. შ *s(h)* resp. *š* | ჳ (<ვი) *u* (<*vi*) | ა (ჱ<ა) *a* (<*ha*) |
| | | ი (<ჰი) *i* (<*hi*) | |

### Lazian and Mingrelian

| | *Indefinite.* | *Genitive.* | *Dative.* Lazian. | Mingrelian. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. 1. | მ *m* | მი *mi* | მო-, მა *mo, ma* | მა + *ma* |
| Sing. 2. | გ *g* | გი *gi* | გო-, გა *go, ga* | გა + *ga* |
| Sing. 3. | — | ჳ *u* | ო-, ა *o, a* | ა *a* |
| Plur. 1. | მ *m* | მი *mi* | მო-, მა *mo, ma* | მა *ma* |
| Plur. 2. | გ *g* | გი *gi* | გო-, გა *go, ga* | გა *ga* |
| Plur. 3. | — | — Laz., ჳ *u* Ming. | ო-, ნა *o, na* | ა *a* |

SVANIAN

1. *For the Logical Subject*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1. | ⴓⴑⴀ | *oθ* | ⴓⴒⴔ | *od* | ⴓⴑⴁ | *on* |
| | 2. | ⴑⴀⴀ | *aθ* | ⴑⴒⴔ | *ad* | ⴑⴁ | *an* |
| | 3. | ⴑⴀⴀ | *aθ* | ⴑⴃ | *am* | ⴑⴁ | *an* |
| Plur. | 1. | ⴓⴑⴀ | *oθ* | ⴓ | *o* | ⴓⴑⴁ | *on* |
| | 2. | ⴑⴀⴀ | *aθ* | ⴑ | *a* | ⴑⴁ | *an* |
| | 3. | ⴑⴀⴀ | *aθ* | ⴑ | *a* | ⴑⴁ | *an* |

} also with other variants.

2. *For the Object*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1. | ⴅⴑ | *ma* | ⴑⴃ | *am* |
| | 2. | ⴖⴑ | *ḏa* | ⴑⴖ | *aḏ* |
| | 3. | ⴆⴑ | *q̇a* | ⴑⴆ | *aq̇* |
| Plur. | 1. | ⴅ″ | *nă* | ⴑⴂ | *ag* |
| | 2. | ⴖⴑ | *ḏa* | ⴑⴖ | *aḏ* |
| | 3. | ⴆⴑ | *q̇a* | ⴑⴆ | *aq̇* |

} also with other variants.

3. *Subject with Object*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ⴆⴂ ⴓ | *q̇v-o* | = I him |
| 2. | ⴆ-ⴓ | *q̇-o* | = thou him |
| 3. | ⴆ-ⴓ | *q̇-o* | = he him |

} plur. id.

It will of course be noticed that these Georgian subjective and objective prefixes distinguish the person and number, contrary to Sumerian, but this distinction is very slight. But they distinguish also the cases—namely, the objective prefixes—and in this respect they agree with Sumerian, Langdon suggesting that the

vowels of Sumerian prefixes really denote the case-inflexions. In Georgian, Lazian, etc., indeed, we have ი *i* and ა *a* for genitive and dative cases (Tubal-Cainian ო- *o* dative) as the vowel characteristics of these cases.

In Sumerian *mu, mi, ne, bi, e* may indicate the subject and the object. In practice only *bi* and *ni* are regularly employed for the object. The oblique forms are *ma, na, ba.* The order of prefixes is: subject + dative + accusative. According to Thureau-Dangin *mu* = the pronoun representing the subject; *na*, plural *ne* = the pronominal element representing the object in dative; *ni* = the pronominal element representing the object in accusative. Sumerian *mu-dū* = he + to build = he builds; *mu-na-dū* = he + to him + to build = he builds for him; *mu-ne-dū* = he + to them + to build = he builds for them; *mu-na-ni-dū* = he + to him + it + to build = he builds it for him; *mu-ne-ni-dū* = he + to them + it + to build = he builds it for them; *mu-ni-in-dū* = he + it + to build = he builds it.

The Georgian system of prefixation is the same, though not so completely preserved as in Sumerian—

1. *mu-dū* = subject + verb—

GEORGIAN

1. ვ-არ *v-ar* = I + to be.
2. ხ-არ *q-ar* = thou + to be.
3. — არ-ს(ნ) *ar-s(n)* = [he] + to be + he, etc.

or—

1. ვ-წერ *v-ier* = I + to write.
2. — წერ *ier* = [thou] + to write.
3. — წერ-ს *ier-s* = [he] + to write + he, etc.

The majority of Georgian verbs have preserved the subjective prefix in the 1st person singular and plural

only. The case is the same in Lazian and Mingrelian. But in Svanian we have—

1. ხვა-რ-ი *ġva-r-i* = I + to be.
2. ხა-რ-ი *ġa-r-i* = thou + to be.
3. ა-რ-ი *a-r-i* = he + to be, etc.

Here the subjective elements are preserved for all three persons (singular and plural).

2. Let us now take the formula *ma-an* or *mu-ni-in*: *mu-ni-in-dū* = subject + accusative + verb—

GEORGIAN

1. ვ-ჰ-კლ-ავ *v-h-kl-av* = I + him + to slay (+ to make).
2. — ჰ-კლ-ავ *h-kl-av* = [thou] + him + to slay (+ to make).
3. — ჰ-კლ-ავ-ს *h-kl-av-s* = [he] + him + to slay (+ to make) + he, etc.

3. *mu-na-dū* = subject + dative + verb—

GEORGIAN

Genitive.

1. ვ-უ-წერ *v-u-ṫer* = I + for him + to write.
2. — უ-წერ *u-ṫer* = [thou] + for him + to write.
3. — უ-წერ-ს *u-ṫer-s* = [he] + for him + to write + he, etc.

Dative.

1. ვ-ა-წერ *v-a-ṫer* = I + on him + to write = I ascribe him.
2. — ა-წერ *a-ṫer* = [thou] + on him + to write.
3. — ა-წერ-ს *a-ṫer-s* = [he] + on him + to write + he, etc.

Then მი-წერ-ს *mi-ṫer-s* = for me + to write + he (genitive *mi*), მა-წერ-ს *ma-ṫer-s* = on me + to write +

he (dative *ma*), გი-წერ-ს *gi-ter-s* = for thee + to write + he (genitive *gi*), გა-წერ-ს *ga-ter-s* = on thee + to write + he (dative *ga*), etc.

It is the same in Lazian, Mingrelian, and Svanian.

By such a combination of subjective and objective prefixes the Georgian verb expresses various relations between three persons singular and plural in the indefinite, genitive, and dative cases.

4. Lastly comes the Sumerian *mu-na-ni-dū*, *mu-na-ne-dū* = subject + dative + accusative; exactly the same is in Georgian, more often subject + accusative + dative, but also subject + dative + accusative, as in Sumerian. Indeed, if we consider the forms ვ-ა-წერ *v-a-ter*, გ-ა-წერ *g-a-ter*, etc., they mean not only I + on him + to write, or I + on thee + to write, but also I + it + on him + to write, I + it + on thee + to write, etc., and thus it is possible to reconstruct the primitive Georgian conjugation of the order: subject + accusative + dative—

1. ვ-ა-წერ *v-a-ter* = ვ-[ ]-[ ]ა-წერ *v-[h]-[h]a-ter.*
2. — ა-წერ *a-ter* = [ ]-[ ]ა-წერ *[h]-[h]a-ter.*
3. — ა-წერ-ს *a-ter-s* = [ ]-[ ]ა-წერ-ს *[h]-[h]a-ter-s.*

I + it + on him + to write, [thou] + it + on him + to write, [he] + it + on him + to write + he. Or—

1. ვ-ა-წერ *v-a-ter* = ვ-[ ]ა-[ ]-წერ *v-[h]a-[h]-ter.*
2. — ა-წერ *a-ter* = [ ]ა-[ ]-წერ *[h]a-[h]-ter.*
3. — ა-წერ-ს *a-ter-s* = [ ]ა-[ ]-წერ-ს *[h]a-[h]-ter-s.*

I + on him + it + to write, [thou] + on him + it + to write, [he] + on him + it + to write + he.

Such must have been certainly the primitive Georgian conjugation. The prefix-system must have been highly developed, and probably the primitive Georgian verb was far more complicated than the Sumerian verb itself, as we can see from its restored forms, which are quite regular, and the ruins of it we see in old Georgian as well as in modern Georgian.

Sumerian *ma* and *ba* may indicate the subject, but in the oblique case they represent the subject acted upon by an instrument, or as acting for itself in its own interest. *ma* and *ba* may thus express the passive and middle voices. Sumerian *ġa-ma-abbi* = may it be spoken; *ba-šub* = she is thrown; *uku ba-gar-gar kalam(e) ba-gub-gub* = the people are created by it, the land is established by it (but *lugal-e urbillum-(ki) mu-ġúl-a* = (year when) the king destroyed Urbillum); *ud-ba patesi-ge kalam-ma-na zig-ga ba-ni-gar* = then the *patesi* in his land took taxes for himself; *nam-ni ma-ni-kud-du* = whose oath he has sworn for himself (but *nam mu-na-kud-da* = an oath he has sworn for him). In Georgian we have just the same principle to express the passive and middle voices (as regards the employment of prefixes; otherwise Georgian has also other means to express the passive and middle voices): ვ-ი-კლ-ვ-ი *v-i-kl-v-i* = I am in the state of being killed, ვ-ი-ქც-ევ-ი *v-i-qθ-ev-i* = I am in the state of being destroyed, ruined, etc., ვ-ი-კლ-ავ *v-i-kl-av* = I am killing for myself, ი-ფიც-ავ-ს *i-φiθ-av-s* = he swears for himself, but უ-ფიც-ავ-ს *u-φiθ-av-s* = he swears to him, etc. Both these Georgian ვ-ი-კლ-ვ-ი *v-i-kl-v-i* and ვ-ი-კლ-ავ *v-i-kl-av* have reflective meaning, but the first forms the passive and the second the middle voice, as in Sumerian.

Very characteristic indeed are some typically Georgian combinations in Sumerian, when the oblique *ma* is employed in the dative case: *nig maš gig-ge ma-ab-gin-na-má* = that which midnight brought to me; *nam-nun-ni sag ma-ab-sum-sum* = grandeur hath one given unto me. Here the subject seems to be omitted, as Langdon says. And in Georgian, too, მა-ჩერ-ს *ma-ṫer-s*, მა-ნიჭ-ებ-ს *ma-niṭ-eb-s*—to me + to ascribe + he, to me + to give + he—are usual expressions, and here, too, მა *ma* indicates the dative, the subject being omitted as prefix, but suffixed instead of being prefixed.

As to the local force of the elements *e, m, n, b*, it is necessary to notice that the Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian verbal prepositions with the root *m* have just the same function, though they have nothing to do with the verbal prefixes discussed above. They always precede the verbal prefixes, as do all other verbal prepositions. Nor do we know if they are of pronominal origin or not. But their *local force* is interesting, since the same Sumerian root *m* is Georgian მ *m*, and since they denote *the direction of the action*. Georgian მო- *mo*, indeed, denotes the direction of the action from "there" to "here", მი *mi* the direction from "here" to "there", and compound მიმო- = მი + მო- *mimo* = *mi* + *mo* the continual movement between two points. Lazian მო- *mo* and მე *me* and Mingrelian მუ *mu* and მე *me* are the equivalents of Georgian მო- *mo* and მი *mi*. For the expression of the action of the subject remaining at the place the Georgian verb employs no preposition, or the preposition ა, ა *aǧ*, *a* = up, when the action is directed from a fixed place up to above. Sumerian *e-ne-bal* = he weighed out to him (here the

subject is dwelling at a fixed place); Georgian აღ-უ-წონ-ა *aǧ-u-ṫon-a* or ა-უ-წონ-ა *a-u-ṫon-a* = he weighed out to him. Here the prefix denoting the subject is omitted, but the preposition ა, აღ *a, aǧ* denotes the action at the place. But Sumerian *mu-na-bal* = he brought to him, where *mu* is the subject placed outside and acting towards the person who is in the centre, may be rendered in Georgian: მო-უ-წყო *mo-u-ṫko* = he brought to him (from outside). Here the preposition *mo* denotes the action from the exterior to the centre, the subject being omitted as usual (but the 1st person is: მო-ვ-უ-წყე *mo-v-u-ṫke* = I + to him + weighed out (or brought) with the preposition *mo* = from the exterior). Sumerian *ba-tum* = he has taken away (for himself) = მი-ი-ღო- *mi-i-ǧo* = he has received, he has taken away, *mi* being the preposition denoting the action from "here" to "there", and ი *i* the prefix, reflective, for the 3rd person genitive. Also Georgian მი-ვიდა *mi-vida* = he came (from here there), მო-ვიდა *mo-vida* = he came (from there here) are the most usual expressions, as Sumerian *ba-tum* = he has taken away (from here to there, or for himself). Note also Georgian და მი-მო-იტაცებოდა კიდობანი ზედა წყალთა *da mi-mo-itaθeboda kidobani zeda ṫkalθa* = וַתֵּלֶךְ הַתֵּבָה צַל-פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם (Gen. vii, 18), the Hebrew תֵּלֶךְ denoting here the Georgian მი-მო-იტაცებოდა *mi-mo-itaθeboda* = literally "was going from there here and from here there".—It is the same in Mingrelian and Lazian.

*The infixes ra, šu, da, ta.*—In Georgian also we have the verbal prepositions, the elements of which, *θ*, *d*, and *š*,

correspond to the postpositions and case-endings discussed above. As to the Sumerian *ra* of the 2nd person dative, it corresponds to Georgian dative case-ending ს *sa*, but when it is necessary to express the motion toward a person *da* of the directive is employed. As verbal infix, to the Sumerian *ra* corresponds in Georgian the pronominal objective prefix in indefinite, dative, or genitive case: Sumerian *eš e-ninnū-na dū-ba za-ra ma-ra-an-dúg* = he speaks to thee for building the house of his Eninnu. Here *za-ra* = to thee, corresponds exactly to Georgian შენ-დ *šen-da* = to thee, unto thee, and *ma-ra-an-dug* = Georgian გე-უბნება *ge-ubneba* = to thee he speaks. Sumerian *mu-du-ru . . . šu-za ma-ra-ni-in-dū* = he has fittingly placed into thy hand a sceptre, can correspond in Georgian only to a construction with the same pronominal objective prefix in indefinite, dative, or genitive case: მო-გა-ნიჭა *mo-ga-niṭa* = he has given (to) thee, etc.; Sumerian *ma-ra-dū-e* = I will build for thee = Georgian აღ-გი-შენებ *aǧ-gi-šeneb* = id., etc. Likewise Sumerian *ra* accusative can be expressed in Georgian with the objective prefix in indefinite case 2nd person: გ-კლავ *g-klav* = [I] + thee + am killing, which corresponds to the Sumerian construction *ǵe-ri-pad* = verily I will curse thee, etc. As to the elements *š* and *d*, *θ*, they are always prefixed in Georgian and are placed at the beginning of the word, preceding even the pronominal prefix; they are never infixed, as in Sumerian. Sumerian infix *šu* = Georgian preposition შე *še*, but this latter has preserved only the sense of "inside", "through", "up to" (Lazian შე *še*, Mingrelian (ე)შე *(e)še*, მი შე *miše* = *mi* + *še* = direction of the action from "here" to "there" + "inside"). Sumerian *lugal-za-ra* (?) *$^{giš}$ginar u-mu-sá*

*anšu-dun-úr u-ši-lal* = for thy lord prepare a wagon and attach a mule thereto; Georgian ბატონის ეტლ-ში ცხენი შე-აბი *batonis etl-ši ʒqeni še-abi* = attach a horse to the wagon of the lord. Georgian კაცი სახლ-ში შე-ვიდა *kaʒi saql-ši še-vida* = the man entered (into) the house; კაცი ხეზედ შე-ვიდა *kaʒi qezed še-vida* = the man has climbed up the tree, etc. The Georgian verbal preposition *da* has preserved mostly the locative sense, and it corresponds rather to the Sumerian locative *da, ta* than to *da* of accompaniment. It means in Georgian "down", "on": Georgian და-ქცევა *da-qʒeva* = to run (down), to pour (upon the earth); და-შვება *da-šveba* = to descend (from the mountain down), but also to let fall (anything upon the earth); და-რჩენა *da-rʒena* = to remain (on the spot), etc.; Sumerian *giš-ká-na-ta ba-ta-durun* = within the lintel he caused to repose; Georgian გიშკან-ად და-ასვენა *giškan-ad da-asvena* = in *giškana* he placed (him); ქალაქ-ად და-ს-ტოვა *qalaq-ad da-s-tova* = in the city he left him, etc. (Lazian preposition დო- *do*, Mingrelian დო- *do*, have the same functions). I should like to mention here also a Georgian preposition შთა *šθa* = down, from above down, which seems to be a compound preposition, შე + და(თა) *še* + *da*(*θa*); and really it indicates the notion of the movement directed from anything placed above to anything placed below. In this respect Sumerian double infixes are not without analogy in Georgian, though to Sumerian double . . . *ra-ta* . . . corresponds Georgian და-გ(ე, ი) . . . *da-g*(*e, i*) = preposition + the objective verbal prefix of the 2nd person

*g* and not *šθa* = two prepositions *še* + *da* : Georgian შთა-ვიდა *šθa-vida* = he came down, etc. These are the prepositions which may correspond to Sumerian infixes *ra, šú, da, ta* in the sense explained above. But Georgian, Lazian, etc., have a great number of other prepositions which express all other meanings of Sumerian *šú, da, ta,* which are lost now by Georgian შე *še* and და *da,* and also various shades of the meaning of the verb. We shall not enumerate these Georgian simple and compound verbal prepositions, since they are not of the same origin as Sumerian *šú, da, ta.* Yet I should mention one more Georgian preposition which seems to be composed of three simple prepositions: შთამო- = შე + და + მო- *šθamo* = *še* + *da* + *mo* = from above + down + in our direction; really Georgian შთამო-ვიდა *šθamo-vida* means "he came from + down + to us" (from a tree or from a city, etc.).

*Compound Verbs.*—The compound verbs in Sumerian are derived from the combination of the words for "eye" (*igi*), "head" (*sag*), "mouth" (*ka, gu*), "arm" (*á*), etc., with a verb of action: *igi-gar* = to see, i.e. to use the eyes; *šu-tuġ* = to grasp, i.e. to open the hand, etc. We have exactly the same compound verbs in Georgian, especially derived from the combination of the word for "hand", etc., with a verb of action: ხელ-ყო-ფა *ġel-ḳoφa* = to act (hand + to make), ხელ-ხდა *ġel-ġda* = to use (hand + to place), ლოცად-ყო-ფა *ǧaǰad-ḳoφa* = to raise the prayer (incantation, or simply speech + to make), etc. In Georgian also the prefixes are placed between the verb and internal object. Sumerian *galu-tu-ra igi-im-ma-an-šǧ* = he cast (his) eye upon the sick man = he beheld the sick man. Here *igi* is an internal object and *galu-tu-ra* an external object. The verbal prefix *an*

reproduces *igi* (the direct object), *ma* the external indirect object, and *im* the subject. In Georgian not all those elements are reproduced by the prefixes, since many of them have already disappeared in the Georgian prefixed conjugation in general, but some of them are reproduced: Georgian ხელ-ვ-ჰ-ყავ *ġel-v-h-ḳav* = I acted; *v* = the subject, *h* = the direct object (reproducing either internal or external object); ვერ ხელ-გე-წიფებს *ver ġel-ge-ṫiφebis* = thou hast no power (= not + to thee + hand + to reach); here only the logical subject is reproduced by the objective prefix გ *g*. Examples of the compound verbs of the second class (Langdon), when the compound verb acquires the power of acting directly upon the external object, occur in Georgian also very frequently. Indeed, such an exact distinction between the compound verbs of the first and second classes cannot be established in Georgian as in Sumerian. In the Georgian ხელ-ჰ-ყო-ფ-ს *ġel-h-ḳoφ-s*, *h* may represent the direct internal object and some direct external object as well — rather this latter. The Sumerian *lugal-e igi-ne-ne-in-gar-ri-eš-ma* = they beheld the king, may correspond to the Georgian გულისხმა-ვ-ჰ-ყავ სიტყვა იგი *gûlisχma-v-h-ḳav sitḳva igi* = I understood that word = the voice of the heart + I + it + to make + that word; *h* here represents the external object, "that word."

*The verb* $\sqrt{me}$ = *to be.*—The verb *me* = to be, the essential element of which, *m*, appears in the emphatic particle *ám* according to Langdon, may be compared with a Georgian decayed verb ბ/ვ, მ/ფ *b/v, m/φ*. This is no longer employed in Georgian as an independent verb. Its meaning is "to make", not exactly "to be",

but it is highly probable that in primitive Georgian it had also the meaning of "to be", as we shall see later on. There are in Georgian no forms derived from the root *m, b, v, ϕ* like Sumerian *lu-găl-bi a šu-mu im-me a gĕr-mu im-me* = this man is the son of my hand, son of my foot is he. The element მ, ბ, ვ, ფ *m, b, v, ϕ* plays in Georgian and Lazian (also Mingrelian) the part of auxiliary verb in the conjugation. It is suffixed to the verbal thema, first of all to the forms of the present, imperfect, etc.: Georgian ვ-ა-სხ-ამ *v-a-sq̇-am* = I pour out, I am pouring out; Lazian ბ-ჭარ-უმ *b-ṭar-um* = I write, I am writing, etc.; Georgian ვ-კლ-ავ *v-kl-av* = I kill, I am killing, but also ვი-კლ-ვი *vi-kl-vi* = passive, I am in a state of being killed; ვა-ქეთ-ებ *va-keθ-eb* = I make, I am making, but also passive ვ-ქეთ-დ-ები *v-keθ-d-ebi* = I am in the state of being made. This passive significance of the element *b, v* shows clearly that it must have had primitively also the meaning "to be". Then note Georgian infinitives or verbal nouns: კლ-ვა *kl-va* = to kill, the killing; სხ-მა *sq̇-ma* = to pour out, the pouring out; ქეთ-ება *keθ-eba* = to make, the making. Lazian ორდ-აფუ *ord-aφu* = to let grow, the growing; ობირ-ამუ *odir-amu* = to see, the seeing; Mingrelian ბირ-აფა *dir-aφa* = to see, the seeing; ყვილ-უა *ḳvil-ua* = to kill, the killing (here *m, b ϕ* > *u*). I think, besides, that this remarkable verbal root is preserved in Georgian also in the following forms: (*a*) In the abstract nouns with the suffix ობა *oba*: კაც-ობა *kaθ-oba*, Lazian კო-ჩ-ობა *koθ-oba* =

the manliness (= to be a man !), etc. (*b*) In the nouns of purpose : სა-კლ-ავ-ი *sa-kl-av-i* = that which is to be killed, etc. (*c*) In the nouns derived from the participle active and passive : მ-კლ-ავ-ი *m-kl-av-i* = he who is killing, ნა-კლ-ავ-ი *na-kl-av-i* = what has been killed ; etc. A great number of such and other nouns with the element *m, b, φ, u, v* occur in Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian, and therefore we shall not enumerate them. Sumerian formed with the aid of the verb *me* the participial conjugation *dúg-im-me* = *dúg-ám* = he speaks, this participial conjugation being particularly frequent in dependent clauses. In Georgian we have analogous constructions, and I think that this *dúg-im-me* = *dúg-ám* and the Sumerian construction with emphatic *ám* employed after finite verbs may correspond to the Georgian verbal construction with *am, aφ, eb*, etc., suffixed to the verbal thema : Sumerian *ib-gar-rá-ám* = he has made ; Georgian ვ-ა-სხ-ამ *v-a-sχ-am* = I am pouring out ; Lazian ბ-ჭარ-უმ *b-ṭar-um* = I am writing, etc. It is also very interesting that Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian possess another verb, არ *ar* = to be, which is a necessary instrument for the formation of various verbal forms. And the abbreviated არ-ს *ar-s* = it is = ა *a* has just the same function as Sumerian *ám, im, um* directly attached to a noun : Sumerian *ki-šu-bi-im* = it is a lamentation ; Georgian ტირილი-ა *tirili-a* = id. Sumerian *I-dé-mu-šu a-ba-ám bar-mu-šu a-ba-ám* = before me who is ? behind me who is ? = Georgian ჩემს წინ ვინა-ა *θems tin vina-a*, ჩემს უკან ვინა-ა *θems ukan vina-a* = id.

*Moods.* (1) *Imperative.* — It would seem that the Sumerian imperative differed completely from the Georgian

imperative. Still, we can perceive some analogies: firstly, that Georgian can also express on some occasions the pure imperative of direct command by the simple verbal root. Sumerian *é-ninnū an-ki-da mú-a* $^{d.}$ *ningirzu zag-sal* = Eninnu, built in heaven and earth, O Ningirsu, glorify! Georgian კალ *kal* = slay! Then the Georgian imperative proceeds also with prefixes, though in the Sumerian postfixed imperative the verbal root comes first and the particles follow after, a thing which never happens in Georgian. Sumerian *gar-mu-un-ra-ab* = return him unto (his god). Georgian მო-ჰ-კალ *mo-h-kal* = slay him! Here the prefix precedes the verbal root.

(2) *Optative of wish and intention, conditional and future emphatic with ġen, ġe,* etc.—In Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian the optatives, conditionals, and futures are formed in quite another way, having special verbal forms for these moods and tenses; but in one case the particle *ġen, ġe,* used in Sumerian for the future emphatic, conditional, and optative, may be compared with Mingrelian and Lazian emphatic article ქო- *qo.* This particle is always prefixed to all pronominal prefixes in the verb, like Sumerian *ġen, ġe.* It communicates more force to the moment in which the action is performed, and is used particularly in the aorist, but also in other tenses. The phenomenon of the vowel harmony which accompanies the use of *ġen, ġe* in Sumerian is also to be observed in Mingrelian and Lazian. In general, as far as Sumerian *ġen, ġe* has emphatic force, it corresponds to Mingrelian and Lazian ქო- *qo.* Sumerian *é-a-ni . . . ġu-mu-na-dū* = his temple verily I have built for him; *ē-mu-dū-da iti-bi ga-ra-ab-sĭg* = to build my temple verily a sign I will give thee. Mingrelian ქო-ვ-ორდი *qo-v-ordi* = I used to be, ქი-ვ-ყიდე(ნი) *qi-v-ḳide(ni)* = (if) I was (subjunctive past); here *qi* is used instead of *qo,*

because of the *i* of *v-ḳide(ni)*. Note also the use of *qo* in the following Mingrelian forms: ქო-დი-ვ-ჯირე(ნი) *qo-di-v-ǰire(ni)* = if I lay down; ქო-მა-ღვენუდას *qo-ma-ǧvenudas* = if I shall have; ქო-მა-ღვენუ *qo-ma-ǧvenu* = (verily) I will have; etc. Here all those Mingrelian forms can be used without *qo*, and they will preserve their senses of the conditional, future, and optative, but the use of *qo* is usual in those moods and tenses, as, for instance, in the simple future we have მა-ღვენუ *ma-ǧvenu* = I will have, and in the future emphatic ქო-მა-ღვენუ *qo-ma-ǧvenu* = verily I will have. The particle *qo* in Lazian has exactly the same function. In Georgian the particle ჳი *ki* corresponds to Lazian and Mingrelian ქო *qo*, but it is always used independently and has the sense of "certainly", "verily". Georgian ჳი წავალ *ki ṫaval* = certainly (verily) I will go. The variant of this *ki* must be, as far as I know, the particle ქცე *que*, dial. ქე *qe*, employed very often in the Georgian provinces of Imereθi (*qe*) and Raṭa (*qve*). To the Sumerian *mu-ni é dingir-ra-na-ta dub-ta ǵe-im-ta-gar* = may his name from the house of his god, from the tablet be removed, and *na-an-na-tur-tur dé-en-im-mi-dúg-a la-bi mu-un-kur-e* = if I say, I will not enter into it, its beauty consumes me (*ǵe* optative and *dé*(*ǵe*) conditional), may correspond in Mingrelian and Lazian the constructions with and without ქო *qo* in the optative and conditional. The etymology of these particles ქო *qo* and ჳი *ki* (also *qe*, *qve*) is not clear. It is very tempting indeed to attribute to them the primitive sense of "plurality" like Sumerian *ǵen* (𒂗𒂗𒂗) = to be abundant, since we have in Georgian ხი *ġi*, which denotes the

multitude of a people, and therefore also serves as ethnicon : ქოლ-ხი *kol-q̇i* = a Colchian, მეს-ხი *mes-q̇i* = a Meschian, etc., this ხ *q̇* being also the plural ending of the 3rd person in the Svanian verb and გჳა *gwa* and ქჳა *qwa* Svanian and Abchasian plural particles, but I do not think that ქო-, ვი, ქჳე, ქე *qo, ki, que, qe* have anything to do with ხი, ხ, გჳა, ქჳა *q̇i, q̇, gwa, qwa.* Besides, that the Sumerian verbal prefix *ǵe* is derived from the verb *ǵen* = to be abundant, seems to me a little doubtful.

(3) *Independent Conditional.* — Like Sumerian, in Georgian also the conjunction ოდეს *odes* has a conditional sense, though it is usually employed for the temporal clauses. This Georgian ოდეს *odes* is the same word, we think, as the Sumerian *udda, uda* = if, and the temporal *ud* = when. Indeed, Georgian ოდეს *odes* = when, if, the root being evidently ოდ = *od.* Sumerian *ud-da mu-šú-sam . . . lal-ma ù-na-dúg* = if he buy (a mule) let him say to him "pay me"; *ud-da enim-ba šu-ni-bal-e* $^{sa}$*šuš-gal* $^{d.}$*en-lil-lá . . . ǵe-šuš* = if he revokes his oath may the great net of Enlil . . . overwhelm him. In Georgian ოდეს მო-ვიდეს *odes movides* means "when he will come", "when he comes", but also "if he comes", etc. But to express this same conditional Georgian employs another particle, თუ *θu,* with conditional and indicative. Georgian თუ გასტეხა ფიცი *θu gasteq̇a ṗiθi* = if he has broken the oath, and თუ გასტეხდეს ფიცსა *θu gasteq̇des ṗiθsa* = in the case that he breaks the oath, etc. To the sense of

Sumerian *til* (𒍪) or *tal* (𒁹) conditional corresponds also this same Georgian თუ *თu*. But this latter is very obscure in its etymology. It is very tempting to consider it as a word related to ო-დ-ეს *od-es*, since the cuneiform sign for *ud* (𒌓) has also another phonetic equivalent, *tu*, which corresponds exactly to the Georgian თუ *თu*, but nothing for certain can be said about them, since the Sumerian *tu* has never been found in the cuneiform texts instead of *ud*.

*Tenses.*—In the formation of the tenses also only one analogy can be noticed in Sumerian and Georgian. That is the plural ending of the 3rd person *e-ne*, *ne* for the present and the future, and *eš* for the past, in Sumerian, and the ending with the consonant ნ *n* in the present, future, etc., and ეს *es* especially in the aorist, in Georgian. Sumerian *nam-šág-ga mu-tar-ri-éš-a šu na-mu-da-ni-bal-e-ne* = the destiny which they have decreed may they not change; *sib udu-sìg-ka-ge-ne . . . azag bi-gar-ri-éš* = the shepherds of the wool-bearing sheep . . . returned money, etc. Georgian ჰ-კლავ-ენ *h-klav-en* = they slay, ჰ-კლავ-დ-ენ *h-klav-d-en* = they were slaying, but მო-ჰ-კლ-ეს *mo-h-kl-es* = they slew; ს-წერ-ენ *s-ṫer-en* = they write, და-ს-წერ-ენ *da-s-ṫer-en* = they will write, ს-წერ-დ-ენ *s-ṫer-d-en* = they were writing, but და-ს-წერ-ეს *da-s-ṫer-es* = they wrote. Mingrelian კვილუ-ნა *ḳvilu-na* = they slay, დო-კვილუ-ნა *do-ḳvilu-na* = they will slay, but კვილუნ-დ-ეს *ḳvilun-d-es* = they were slaying, დო-კვილ-ეს *do-ḳvil-es* = they slew. Lazian ჭრ-უმ-ან *ṭar-um-an* = they write, ჭარან-ე-ნ *ṭarane-n* = they will write,

but ჭარუმ-ტ-ეს *ṭarum-t-es* = they were writing, ჭარ-ეს *ṭar-es* = they wrote. Now, as to the etymology of those Georgian endings ენ *en* and ეს *es*, we know already that ენ, ან *en, an* are the subjective suffixes of the 3rd person, of pronominal origin. As to ეს *es*, I think that it is also of pronominal origin in the languages of the Georgian group, though for the Lazian ეს *es* Professor N. Marr considers it as a decayed verb with the root ს *s* = to be (L.G. § 70, 6), and for the Georgian ეს *es* he considers this same ეს *es* as the subjective pronominal suffix of the 3rd person (OT, tab. ix). Whatever its origin may be, its correspondence with the Sumerian *eš* is striking, and therefore we have compared the Georgian ეს *es* and the Sumerian *eš*. Besides, the origin of this latter is also wholly obscure.

*Negative Particles.*—(1) *nu*. To this Sumerian *nu* correspond the Georgian ნუ *nu*, Mingrelian ნუ *nu*, Lazian მო *mo*, and Svanian ნო-მ, ნუმ *nom, num*. Georgian, Lazian, and Mingrelian have also another negative particle: Georgian არა *ara*, ვერ *ver*, Mingrelian ვარ *var*, Lazian ვარ, ვა *var, va*, emphatic ვართი, ვათი, ვათო *varθi, vaθi, vaθo*. The Georgian არა *ara* is employed with the indicative and subjunctive, and the imperatives can be formed in their negative forms also with the negative არა *ara* + subjunctive, and with ნუ *nu* + indicative and subjunctive. Sumerian *di-kud-a-na šu-nu-bal-e* = one does not change his decision; *šag-ga-ni nu-mu-zu* = its meaning I know not. Sumerian negatives *na, nam*, employed only with reference to the future: *igi-na-ši-bar-ri* = may he not look upon it; *gašan-bi-ta nam-ma-ra-e* = unto the queen let none ascend. Georgian

ნუ ჰკლავ *nu hklav* = slay (him) not, but also არ მო-ჰკლა *ar mohkla* = id., არა იყოს *ara iḳos* = let it not be, may it not be. Mingrelian ვარ მიღუ *var miġu* = I have not, but ნუ მიღუ *nu miġu* = let me not have; Georgian ნუ მაქვს *nu maqvs* = id. (indicative), and ნუ მქონდეს *nu mqondes* = may I not have. Also Georgian არ მქონოდა *ar mqonoda* = if I had not = Mingrelian ნუ მიღუდკო- *nu miġudko*, etc. Lazian ვარ ბჭარუმ *var bṭarum* = I write not, but მო- ჭარან *mo ṭaran* = let them not write, მო- ხაშკათ *mo ġaškaθ* = do not dig. Svanian ნომ ხიჩ ალას *nom ġiṭ alas* = do not do that, etc. (JRAS. 1911, O. Wardrop's "English–Svanetian Vocabulary", p. 617.)

(2) *bara.* This *bara* is a very interesting Sumerian word to which the Georgian negative არა *ara*, ვერ *ver*, Mingrelian and Lazian ვარ *var* correspond. The Sumerian *bara* is derived from the noun *bar* = side, outside, and thus *bara* acquired the meaning of the adverb "beside", "on the outside", also of the prepositions "beside", "without", "in lack of". From those meanings arose the negative optative particle *bara.* We think that the etymology of Georgian არა, ვერ *ara, ver* and Mingrelian–Lazian ვარ *var* is the same as for Sumerian *bara* derived from *bar* = side. Indeed, as we have already mentioned, the word for "side" and "flank" and "rib" is in Georgian ფერ-დი *ṗer-di*, Mingrelian (and also Georgian) გვერ-დი *gver-di.* These Georgian *ṗer* and *gver* may be the same root as Sumerian *bar.* We think they are

really all the same words, as we shall see more clearly in the Sumerian–Georgian Vocabulary. And, just like Sumerian, Georgian and Lazian–Mingrelian derived from this noun the negative არა *ara* = not, Mingrelian–Lazian ვარ *var* = id., Georgian ვერ *ver* = id. (and perhaps also (1) the adverb გარ-ედ *gar-ed* = outside, (2) the preposition გარ-და *gar-da* = beside, (3) the noun კარ ი *kar-i* = the door, etc. (see pp. 810–11 above), and also different other nouns, adjectives, etc. Perhaps the Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian negative prefix უ *u* (Svanian also ურ *ur*) is also of the same origin: უ-კაცო *u-kaθo* = without man, უ-შნო *u-šno* = without beauty, ugly, etc. Georgian არა *ara* has also the same negative optative force as Sumerian *bara*: Sumerian *gĭr-ne-ne gĭr-a-ni-ta ba-ra-a-teg-ga-e-ne* = their feet to his feet let them not bring nigh; *ki-sur-ra . . . ba-ra-mu-bal-e* = the boundary let him not cross over; Georgian მე ვარ უფალი ღმერთი შენი და არა იყვნენ შენდა ღმერთნი უცხონი ჩემსა გარეშე *me var uφali ğmerθi šeni da ara iḱvnen* (subjunctive expressing the negative optative) *šenda ğmerθni uθḳoni θemsa gareše* = the first commandment of Moses. The Georgian ვერ *ver* has the sense of "not being able": არ ვიღებ *ar viğeb* = I do not take, but ვერ ვიღებ *ver viğeb* = I cannot take.

## VI. Conjunctions

Georgian conjunctions are certainly more numerous than Sumerian conjunctions, and their usage is also different in the great majority of cases, but still even in this domain we can make the following remarks:—

1. In Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian the most frequently and commonly employed copula is Georgian და *da* and Mingrelian-Lazian დო- *do*, placed always between two nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. And this და *da* (Mingrelian-Lazian დო- *do*) corresponds exactly to the Sumerian *da*, though this latter is suffixed, as *sá-tar an-ki-da me-en* = judge of heaven and earth thou art; *nà za-gin-na guškin ruš-a azag-me-a-bi-da-ta* = with lapis lazuli, glowing gold and with silver, etc. Georgian კაცი და ქალი *kaϑi da qali* = man and woman; Mingrelian ჯოჩი დო ოსური *koϑi do osuri* = id., etc. The Sumerian postfix *da* possessing the inherent force of association is employed with the ordinary Sumerian conjunction *bi* and also alone to indicate co-ordination. That is this *da* which may correspond to the Georgian copula და *da*.

2. *ud*. The Sumerian *ud, udda* correspond to the Georgian ოდ-ეს *od-es* = when, as we have already mentioned above. The root of the Georgian *odes* is *od* > *ud*. *Odes* seems to be the adverbial form = *od-es* = at the time, used afterwards as conjunction. Sumerian *ud d. enlil . . . nam-lugal kalam-ma e-na-sum-ma-a* = when Enlil gave him the sovereignty of the land. Georgian ოდეს მოხვიდე სუფევითა შენითა *odes moqvide suφeviϑa šeniϑa* = when Thou comest in Thy glory.

The second part of the Sumerian compound conjunction *en-udda* corresponds to the Georgian root ვიდ *vid*, which is of the same origin as the verbal root ვიდ *vid* = to go, no doubt connected with Georgian ოდ(ეს) *od(es)* and Sumerian *ud*. Therefore we have Georgian

ვიდ-რე *vid-re* = Sumerian *en-udda* = as long as (Georgian also "until", "up to", and the comparative "than"); Sumerian *en-e ud-da al-til-la nam-maj-zu ǧe-ib-bi* = as long as he lives may he speak of thy greatness; Georgian ვირე (= ვიდ-რე) ცოცხალვარ, გეყო-ფი სატირლად და სატკივარად *vire* (= *vid-re*) *θoθḳalvar, geḳoφi satirlad da satkivarad* (Sh.R. 1284, 4) = as long as I live it is sufficient that thou weepest for me and sufferest because of me.

Sumerian *enna-enna* correspond to the Georgian ან-ან *an-an*, ანუ-ანუ *anu-anu* = either, or. But in Georgian ან *an*, ანუ *anu* are always employed independently: Sumerian *lil-ud-tar-en-na ḳal-lil-la-en-na ki-el-lá-en-na* = either the demon *lil-ud-tar* or the *ḳal-lillū* or the maid (of the wind); Georgian ანუ მო-მცეს განკურნება, ანუ მიწა მე სამარი *anu momθes gankurneba, anu mita me samari* (Sh.R. 15, 4) = let (her) give me either the healing (of my sickness) or the earth to be buried.

## VII. Adverbs

The ordinary qualifying adverb is formed in Sumerian by means of the suffix *šú* attached to the adjective: Sumerian *dingir lù-găl-lu dumu-a-ni-šú šu-bar-zid-zid-dé bur-e-eš ša-ra-da-gub* = the god of the man for his son to accomplish faithfully the absolution humbly stands before thee. In Georgian such adverbs are formed also by suffixing ად *ad* to the adjective: კარგ-ი *karg-i* = good, კარგ-ად *karg-ad* = well. But in Mingrelian and Lazian we have exactly the same formation of qualifying adverbs. "Without the consonantal element the Tubal-Cainian character of the dative serves for the formation

of the adverbs," says Professor Marr (L.G. § 15, *b*). And this consonantal character is just შ *š*, the vowel character being ო- *o*. Thus ო-შ *oš* must have been the ending of the primitive Tubal-Cainian adverbs. But the modern Lazes say დიდ-ო- *did-o*, without შ *š* = very, greatly, the adjective being დიდ-ი *did-i* = great. We have the same in Mingrelian: ჯგ̇ირ-ი *ǰgir-i* = good, ჯგ̇ირ-ო- *ǰgir-o* = well. Mingrelian has also another form of adverbs with the ending ას *as*: სქვამ-ა *sqvam-a* = beautiful, სქვამ-ას *sqvam-as* = beautifully; მალ-ას *mal-as* = quickly, etc. We may mention also the ablative case-ending in Svanian შ̇ჳ, ჴ̇ შ *šü, üš* = with, as far as the ablative has an adverbial meaning.

Among the simple adverbs we may mention only an interrogative adverb, Sumerian *me* = where? when? which may correspond to იმე *ime* = where? in Svanian. But first of all the above-mentioned likeness of Sumerian *šú* and Lazian ო-შ *oš*, Mingrelian ას *as*, is striking. This is more important, because of the regularity of the use of the *š*, *s* element in formation of adverbs, than the likeness of Sumerian *me* and Svanian *ime*, which may be also fortuitous.

Thus, in all parts of speech Sumerian and Georgian have many striking common features, as we have seen from this comparison. Naturally there are also many things which separate Georgian and Sumerian completely. But what is common to them enables us, I think, to attribute to them both an origin from some common linguistic stem. It must not be forgotten that Sumerian was spoken thousands of years before our era, and Georgian, on the other hand, must have undergone the

influence especially of Semitic languages, since it seems to be an historical truth that the Georgian people sustained a terrible struggle with Semitic peoples and have migrated during the centuries through the whole of Armenia and Asia Minor before being established at last in the Caucasus. The almost incredible stability of the Georgian language is astonishing when we compare it with Armenian or Greek. Relatively, Georgian has preserved its primitive purity and originality so well that its comparison with the languages of other living linguistic groups is as difficult as the comparison of Sumerian itself with various languages. It is for this reason that Georgian has been declared by scholars a separate and independent language, belonging to some primitive independent group of languages. But this "independent group" of Georgian languages has much in common with Sumerian—this still more puzzling riddle of modern philology—and owing to the extraordinary stability of Georgian alone we can to-day reveal its similitude with Sumerian, extinct many centuries B.C. We have seen this likeness when comparing their grammars, and we shall find it still more striking when we come to compare the roots of their words in the second part of this work.

II

# NOTES ON SIR AUREL STEIN'S COLLECTION OF TIBETAN DOCUMENTS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

By the Rev. A. H. FRANCKE, Ph.D.

THIS collection of ancient Tibetan documents, of which I have been engaged in preparing an inventory under an arrangement sanctioned by the India Office, contains close on two thousand pieces, none of them probably of a later date than the ninth century A.D., and is certain to shed a flood of new light on Tibetan archæology, history, grammar, culture, religion, and folklore. Most of the documents were found at two sites, viz. Mīrān and Mazār-tāgh. Mīrān is situated a few miles south of the westernmost end of the present Lop-nōr marshes, while Mazār-tāgh is a low barren ridge rising in the middle of the Taklamakān desert, on the left bank of the Khotan River. In his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. i, pp. 350 seqq., 439 seqq., Sir Aurel Stein has described the remains of the ruined fort which yielded these Tibetan records at the former site. For an account of the excavations which brought to light Tibetan and other documents in abundance from the refuse-layers adjoining the small ruined station on the Mazār-tāgh hill, vol. ii, pp. 417 seqq., may be consulted.

The documents were in both localities found scattered among the abundant deposits of refuse resulting from prolonged occupation by a Tibetan garrison. In part they may represent the last remains of ancient archives. That the Tibetans of the seventh and eighth centuries kept archives is made probable by the word *yig-dkar-cag*, "register of letters," which occurs in the documents. The word "register of debts" is also found in one of the documents.

Although many of the documents, especially the wooden ones, are in good preservation, the number of those which contain a fuller connected text is rather small. Of most of the documents on paper one-half only has been preserved. As Dr. Barnett, of the British Museum, observes, this fact reminds one of a custom in ancient Europe, according to which tallies were cut in two and each party received one half of the stick. Most of the wooden documents are labels containing addresses. These labels were probably tied to the various packages on transport of provisions or other articles. Other short wooden documents which were apparently used by tax-collectors on their journeys to the taxpayers are of a similar character, viz. they do not contain much besides personal and local names. All these documents, however, yield a very rich harvest of ancient Tibetan names, local as well as personal, and it will take us a long time before all the local names have been identified or all the personal names have been properly grouped. In a number of cases, of course, we cannot yet decide whether a now unknown name is of local or personal character.

At first sight the names give the impression that Tibet must have undergone great changes since the time when they were recorded. The Tibetan names of the present day are mostly Buddhist, and may in almost every case be understood at first sight as regards their meaning. It is surprising to find that a great number of the names contained in the Stein Collection do not show their significance so readily. They consist partly of syllables which have been lost to the Tibetan language during the last twelve hundred years. Such syllables are: *bzher*, *gsas*,[1] *kong* (or *khong*). The meaning of the syllables *rma* and *myes* is also uncertain, although *rma* may be connected with *rma-bya*, peacock, and *myes* with *mes-po*, forefather.

[1] *gSas* seems to be a Bonpo deity. "Shrines of *gSas*" are mentioned in the Bonpo chronicles, revised by Dr. Laufer: *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ii, No. 1.

In the following some specimens of names occurring in the Stein Collection are given :—

Compounds with *bzher*: *rGyal-bzher, Gling-bzher, gNyan-bzher, sTag-bzher, sKyi-bzher, Mang-bzher, Khri-bzher, Klu-bzher, 'aPhan-bzher, sKyed-bzher, rMa-bzher, lHa-bzher, dGe-bzher, bPal-bzher, mThso-bzher, gSum-bzher, Kon-bzher, Khrom-bzher, lDong-bzher, sTong-bzher, sNang-bzher, Zla-bzher.*

Compounds with *rma*: *sTong-rma, Klu-rma, Zla-rma, mDo-rma, Legs-rma, rMa-legs, Mang-rma, rGya-rma, Khri-rma, sKu-rma, Khrom-rma, lHa-rma, mThong-rma, rMa-sbu.*

Compounds with *myes*: *Myes-slebs, Myes-rtsebs, Myes-thong, Myes-legs, Myes-byin, dBā-myes-thsab.*

Compounds with *khong* (or *kong*): *Legs-kong, Khong-snang, Khong-bzang, Chab-kong, 'aPhan-kong, dPal-kong, Khrom-kong, Yang-kong, 'aDron-kong.*

Compounds with *gsas*: *Gung-gsas, gSas-chung, gSas-kong, gSas-seng, gSas-btsan, lHa-gsas, Phag-gsas, gSas-slebs, Klu-gsas, gSas-legs, Nya-gsas, sGor-gsas, gSas-ston.*

Among those names which may be understood more readily I may mention the following :—

Compounds with *skyes*, born : *rMang-skyes, Khrom-skyes, lHa-ri-skyes, Mon-thse-skyes, sTag-skyes, lHa-skyes, gSas-skyes, A-yul-skyes, Ga-cu-skyes, Yul-skyes, 'aBrug-skyes, Rab-skyes, Yang-skyes, sKyes-legs, sKyes-bzang* (= Eugene), *sDug-skyes, Kog-gsas-skyes, Myes-skyes, sTag-lung-skye*[*s*].

Compounds with *slebs*, arrived: *Rlang-khri-slebs, sTag-slebs, lTag-slebs, Mye-slebs, rMang-slebs, gSas-slebs, mKhar-slebs, Kong-slebs, sKyes-slebs, lHa-slebs, sPe-slebs, Myes-slebs.*

Compounds with *lha*, god : *lHa-sgra, lHa-bzher, lHa-bzang, lHa-skyes, lHa-dpal, lHa-'abrug, lHa-thubs, lHa-rma, lHa-'ago, lHa-zung.*

Compounds with *klu*, nāga : *Klu-bzang, Klu-rma, Klu-gang, Klu-rgyal, Klu-sgu, Klu-sgra, Klu-gso, Klu-nya, Klu-legs, Klu-gsas, Klu-bzher, Klu-rton, Klu-brtan, Klu-zigs, Klu-srong, Klu-sto, Klu-gtsug.*

Compounds with *stag*, tiger : *sTag-bzher, sTag-bzang, sTag-sgra, sTag-stag-rtsan, sTag-snya, sTag-gung, sTag-dge, sTag-dpal-legs, sTag-skyes, sTag-sras.*

Compounds with *khro*, anger: *Khro-btsan, Khro-bzang, Khro-lha.*[1]

Compounds with *btsan* (or *brtsan*), strong, majestic: *lHa-brtsan, Khro-btsan, bTsan-gsum, bTsan-gzigs, gSas-btsan, mDo-brtsan, Dro-brtsan, Khri-btsan.*

Compounds with *khri*, throne: *Khri-gzigs, Khri-bzher, 'aPhan-khri, Khri-gdas, Khri-m[r]dzes, Khri-btsan, Khri-rma, Khri-ldem, Khri-skugs, dPal-khri.*

Compounds with *dpal*, glory: *dPal-bzher, Nyi-dpal-bzang, dPal-grub, dPal-gyi-rin-chen, dPal-khri, dPal-kong, 'aJam-dpal, sTag-dpal-legs.*

Compounds with *'abrug*, dragon : *'aBrug-legs, 'aBrug-skyes, lHa-'abrug.*

Compounds with *spreu*, monkey : *lHa-spre, sPreu-phrug, sPreu-rgan, sPreu-thse, 'O-nal-spre.*

Warrior's names are the following: *sTag-dpā-legs*, good tiger-hero; *dGra-'adul*, subduer of enemies; *Khra-stag-chung*, falcon, little tiger; *dGra-dog-rje*, lord over the terror of the enemies; *Ham-p[h]ags*, high courage; *Pho-gseng*, male lion.

*lDong*, the name of a Tibetan tribe, is also found in several compound names; for instance, *lDong-'adus, dGe-ldong, lDong-bzang.* But we do not yet know whether they are local or personal names.

The following names appear to be of foreign origin : *Jir-kin, Du-ron, Kho-mo-cin, Ho-peng, An-phan* (the Chinese Amban ?), *Se-kyo-yo, Ti, Bor-lod, Lo-lo, A-ma-cha*

[1] Several Bonpo deities have names composed with the syllable *khro*. There are four great *Khro-bo*.

(this corresponds to the modern Tibetan pronunciation of Ahmed Shah).[1]

Although not a single royal name has as yet been found among the names of the Stein Collection,[2] several of the names are of historical interest, as they agree with ministers' names given in the old stone-edicts of lHasa. (See Lieut.-Col. Waddell's edition in the JRAS. 1910, 1911.) Thus the names of the famous ministers *rJe-blas* and *sTag-sgra*, of the Potala inscription of A.D. 730, are repeatedly mentioned on documents of the Stein Collection. The same may be said with regard to the ministers *Khri-bzher* and *sTag-bzher* of the Potala inscription of A.D. 764, and several names of ministers occurring in the inscription of A.D. 783. As regards the names on the stone-edicts, they are generally compounds of personal names and clan-names. The Stein documents, on the other hand, generally give only the personal names, at any rate in all those cases when a famous and well-known minister is addressed. For this reason the identification of the names found in the Stein Collection and on the stone pillars at lHasa cannot yet be called perfect, but it is quite probable that both authorities treat of the same personages.

Although royal names are not found in the documents of the Stein Collection, several of them seem to refer to kings, either of the whole of Tibet or of vassal states. The wish "May your helmet remain firm!" was addressed to royalty in those days as well as in quite recent times.

As regards the religious side of the question, a good number of the names are of Bonpo character. I may mention the names which contain the word *lha*, god (of the pre-Buddhist pantheon), and *Klu* (Nāga), *gSas*, *Khro*, as one of their compound parts. The principal part of the

[1] [This name may be connected with the title *A-mo-chih*, attested by the Chinese historical records for the rulers of Khotan in the eighth century; see *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, pp. 176, 266, 523.—*Stein.*]

[2] *Mu-khri* occurs as a minister's name.

name of the founder of the Bon religion, viz. *gShen-rab*, is found in several personal names; for instance, in *gShend-sum-bu*, *sKu-gshen*, *gShen-phan-legs*, etc. A few names remind us also of names occurring in the Kesar-saga, the old epic of Tibet. *bKra-shis*, the name of the smith of the saga, occurs among the names of the documents; the same is the case with regard to *Khyung-po* (Garuda) and *rGya-byin* (god Indra). The name *Khrai-sgo* of the documents is in all probability identical with *Khrai-mgo* of the Kesar-saga. (It must not be forgotten that we do not yet know the correct spelling of many names occurring in the latter.) Names which are compounds of *khro* or *khrom*, both meaning "anger" in certain connexions, and the name *Khro-mo-cin*, remind us of Agu *Khromo* of the saga. The name *Klu-sgu* of the documents is probably identical with the second part of the name *Cu-ru-lu-gu* of the saga. The last two syllables seem to represent *klu-dgu*, nine nāgas, and this may be the meaning also of *klu-sgu*, for prefixes may be exchanged.

Names of women are extremely rare in the documents. *rGya-mo* is the name of a female slave; *mNā-ma* occurs once as the writer of a letter, but the word means "daughter-in-law".

Buddhist names are also of rare occurrence. On entering a monastery a man received a new Buddhist name. Thus we read that a man who was formerly called *'U-tung-gsas-chung* received the name *Byang-chub-bkra-shis* when he entered a monastery. Other Buddhist names are: *gZhon-nu-dpal-grub*, *sPyan-ras* (probably), *Byang-chub*, *Yon-tan-seng-ge*, *dGe-bsnyen* (Upāsaka), *Sha-ri-bu* (Śāriputra), *lHa-sbyin* (Devadatta), *rDo-rje* (Vajra), *rDo-rje-dgyangs*, *'aJam-dpal* (Mañjuśrī), *Com-ldan-'adas* (Bhagavān), *dGe-mthso*.

Several names are of interest as having been observed also in documents of Ladakh or other literature. Thus the name *gYu-sgra* is found in the Stein Collection, and

the same name is also given in the *bTsun-mo-bkai-thang-yig*, which professes to date from Padmasambhava's time, edited by Dr. B. Laufer. The syllables *sMer-zhang* form part of one of the names in the Stein Collection, and several names containing the same syllables are found on the boulders near the bridge of Khalatse.[1] *gZhon-nu-dpal-grub*, a name occurring in the Stein Collection, reminds us of the famous monk *gZhon-nu-dpal*, whose name occurs in many works of Buddhist church-history. The name *'aBum-rdugs* of the Stein Collection is identical with the second half of the name *Khri-shong-'abum-rdugs*, which is found in the *sBa-lu-mkhar* inscription. Another similar combination, viz. the name *'aBum-rdugs-khri-skugs*, is also found in the Stein Collection. Then the name *Khro-btsan* of the Stein Collection recalls the name *bTsan-khro* of the *Khyung-rang-'abyon* inscription.

In many cases the personal names are found in connexion with titles. The most ordinary title of the documents is perhaps that of a minister, or *blon-po*, abridged *blon*. There are, however, various kinds of ministers, as, for instance, *rJe-blon*, a high minister; *The-blon*, minister of seals; *dGra-blon*, minister of enemies, probably "minister of war"; *So-blon*, minister of guards; *Khri-blon*, throne-minister; *Phyi-blon*, minister of outward affairs; and *Zhang-blon*, uncle minister.

The latter title, together with other similar titles, as, for instance, *Zhang-zhang*, reduplicated uncle, *rGya-zhang*, chief uncle, *Khu-gu*, uncle, reminds us of the title *Agu*, "uncle," of the heroes of the Kesar-saga, as well as of the title *mum-mo*, uncle, in the ancient Dard hymnal, "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival."[2] In the old days it was apparently customary to call a superior by a familiar name. In correspondence to the word "uncle" the word *thsa-bo*, nephew, is occasionally found.

[1] "Historische Dokumente von Khalatse": ZDMG, Bd. lxi.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxiv.

Other titles are: *Nang-rje-po*, the great man of the inside, which I have usually translated by "Minister of Inner Affairs"; *Kha-ga* (modern *Ga-ga*), nobleman; *Jo-cho* or *Jo-co* (modern *Jo-bo*), lord. I may note that in modern West-Tibetan the form *Jo-jo* is generally used for noble ladies, but in the Stein Collection the title *Jo-co* seems to refer to men; *rTse-rje*, high summit (the sphere of work of this official has not yet become plain, perhaps he was a magistrate); *Yi-ge-pa*, secretary; *sPyii-yi-ge-pa*, general secretary; *gNyer*, steward; *sDe-po*, head of a tribe; *mKhar-pa*, head of a castle; *Khams-kyi-dbang-po* seems to have been the title of the *major domus* who played such an important part in old Tibet. This title is given to *Blon-rgyal-gSum-bzher*, the royal minister *gSum-bzher*.

Another group of titles consists of compounds with the word *dpon*, master. The following kinds of *dpon* have been noticed in the Stein Collection: *Ru-dpon*, perhaps "master of a clan" (*rus*); *'Og-dpon*, lower officer, subaltern officer; *Zhing-dpon*, master of the fields (this title is still used nowadays: a *Zhing-dpon* is the man who has to regulate the irrigation of the fields); *sTong-dpon*, master of thousands, colonel; *dMag-dpon*, army officer; *dPhung-dpon*, master of the host; *Chibs-dpon*, master of the horse; *Khral-dpon*, tax-officer; *dNgos-dpon*, perhaps "frontier officer"; the title *Thsugs-dpon* cannot yet be exactly explained; it may be the title of a magistrate. Also the title *Khong-ta* cannot yet be translated.

As regards local names, we find a great number of them. The greater part seems to refer to districts or settlements in Turkestan and Tibet. Other countries do not seem to be referred to so often. The word *rgya*, in connexion with weights, may refer to India as well as China. We read of *Bod-bre* and *rGya-bre* in the documents. Whilst the word *Bod-bre* certainly refers to Tibetan weights, we do not yet know whether *rGya-bre*

means "weights of China" (*rGya-nag*) or "weights of India" (*rGya-gar*). Other foreign countries mentioned in the documents are the following: *Hirad* may be Herat in Persia; *sNa-nam* is the name of Samarkand, according to Jäschke; *Sog-po* would refer to Mongolia; *Ho-peng* may be in China; *Mon* is the Tibetan name of the Himalayan districts of India. The latter name is found in several personal names, as, for instance, *Mon-chung*, *Mon-khyi-gu-chung*.

Looking at names referring to Turkestan, the most important identification has been that by Dr. Stein of *Nob* with *Lob* or *Lop*. He says in his letter of October 19, 1910: "*Nob-chen*, 'Great Nob,' was probably the name of the Tibetan station at Mīrān. Topographical and archæological reasons compel me to believe that *Nob* is the Tibetan attempt at reproducing an ancient local name. The same name is spelt *Na-fo-po* by Hsüan-tsang, while Marco Polo writes *Lop*. *Nob-chung*, 'Little Nob,' may be identical with Chārklik (about 50 miles W.S.W. of Mīrān)." [Compare now regarding these local names *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. i, pp. 447 seqq.] Let me add that still another name referring to *Nob* is found in the documents; it is the name *Nob-shod*, or "Lower Nob". "Three castles of Nob" are occasionally mentioned, and the name of a castle situated in Little Nob was *Nob-chung-ngu-gYung-drung-rtse*.

Another local name which may be connected with Turkestan is *Li*. According to the dictionaries, *Li* is the Tibetan name of Khotan. I suppose that in the documents it refers to a larger tract of country. This name is not often found singly; in most cases we find it connected with other, probably often personal, names. Such compound names are: *Li-snang*, *Li-mngan*, *Li-bu-god*, *Li-gos-de*, *Li-shir-de*, *Li-hir-bod*, *Li-gchig-chad*, *Li-rje*, *Li-sa-bdad*. The Tibetan name *Hor*, for Turkestan, is also found in the Stein Collection.

Tibetan local names which have become known from Tibetan geography occur also among the documents. The following may be mentioned: *rGod-tsang, lHo-brag, Nag-shod, Khams, 'aBrom, dBus, Chog-ro, Bu-srang-gi-sde* (perhaps identical with *Bu-hrangs*, modern Purang), *Nang-gong* (Baltistan), *sTong-sde* (perhaps in Zangs-dkar), *Gle* (very probably the capital of Ladakh, Leh—in the old chapters of the chronicles the spelling *Gle* as well as *Sle* is used for Leh). *mNgaris* seems to be used as a name of the western parts of Tibet. In the old parts of the chronicles it is used as a name of the West Tibetan Empire. *Byang-po* is the name of the *lHa-sa* district. *'A-zha*, a name found often in the Padmasambhava literature, is supposed to be identical with the present *Gar-zha* or *Ga-zha*, Lahul. In the Stein documents *'A-zha* is once called *rGya-la-gtogs-pa*, belonging to *rGya*. The village of *rGya* seems to have been the capital of Western Tibet (*rGya-sde*) in ancient times.

Although in many cases we cannot yet decide whether a certain name is of local or personal character, a good number of local names are furnished with the attributes *sde*, province, or *rtse*, summit, and thereby sufficiently characterized. The following are some of the names furnished with the syllable *sde*: *Bro-thsams-kyi-sde, Lang-myii-sde, Byan-po-rgod-lding-gi-sde, Nyen-kar-gyi-sde, 'aBrong-tsams-kyi-sde, 'aDzom-smad-kyi-sde, Thong-kyab-kyi-sde, Khrom-legs-kyi-sde, Ngam-ru-pag-gi-sde, Shang-sde, 'O-thsol-gi-sde, sPyi-rtsang-gi-sde, Yel-rab-gyi-sde, mNyal-bai-sde, Khri-dang-gi-sde, sKya-stod-gi-sde, Khri-boms-kyi-sde, Nag-shing-gi-sde.*

The following are some of the compounds with *rtse*, summit: *lHa-rtse, Bye-ma-rdor-gyi-rtse, Klu-rtse, sTag-rtse, mDong-rtse, Chu-rtse.*

Fairly often local and personal names are found combined, and experience has shown me that in such cases the first name is always the local, and the second

the personal name. The first local name is to be taken as the birth-place of the person mentioned thereafter. *Lang-myi-sde-zhims-stag* means "*Zhims-stag* of the province of *Lang-myi*". *'A-zha-yang-bre* means "*Yang-bre* of *'A-zha*".

Lakes and rivers do not often seem to be mentioned. I have noticed the following: *mKhar-'athso* probably stands for *mKhar-mthso*, lake of the castle; *Mye-long*, mirror, is apparently the name of a lake, also *sPrul-gyi-mye-long*, enchanting mirror; *Khyung-byi-tsa-mthso-gong* means "upper lake of *Khyung-byi-tsa*". The expression *Sho-rtsang-'agram-du* means "on the shore (bank) of *Sho-rtsang*".

The documents of the Stein Collection contain a great number of dates. Although they generally give the numbers of days and months and the name of the year, they are not of much use to the historian, for the names of the year invariably refer to the cycle of twelve years only. All the same, the documents furnish us with material to prove the veracity of the Tibetan (Ladakhi) chronicles, where we find a statement to the effect that the Chinese calendar was introduced into Tibet under *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* (seventh century). The cycle of twelve years was apparently all that became known to the Tibetans of those days, and we cannot help feeling suspicious when a Tibetan chronicle, in describing the times between A.D. 600 and 1,000, makes use of the cycle of sixty years. This is the case in particular in the chronicles of Central Tibet, whilst the chronicles of Ladakh use the twelve years' cycle down to the fifteenth century. It is well known that the dates of reigns given in the sixty years' cycles of Central Tibetan chronicles are not in agreement with the dates given by Chinese historians for the corresponding reigns. Nobody would ever doubt the accuracy of the Chinese statements. Thus we are driven to believe that the dates in the sixty years' cycle, referring to early times and given in Central Tibetan

chronicles, are fabrications of a later time, when the sixty years' cycle had become known in Tibet. The Ladakhi chronicles, which are free from such erroneous dates, may be far more reliable works than the Central Tibetan works.

The Tibetans of those times had a system of twelve months, which were called after the four seasons: *dpyid*, spring; *dbyar*, summer; *ston*, autumn; and *dgun*, winter. Each season had three months, called the first, the middle one, and the last, as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| dpyid-sla-ra-ba. | ston-sla-ra-ba. |
| ,, 'abring-po. | ,, 'abring-po. |
| ,, mthā-chungs. | ,, mthā-chungs. |
| dbyar-sla-ra-ba. | dgun-sla-ra-ba. |
| ,, 'abring-po. | ,, 'abring-po. |
| ,, mthā-chungs. | ,, mthā-chungs. |

How many days each of these months was given we do not yet know.

There are a few passages in the documents which seem to point to a different, perhaps more ancient, calendar, as follows: *gYui-lo*, turquoise-year; *gShol-'abor-bai-sla*, month of putting aside the plough; *'aTron-kong-gi-sla*, month of diligence; *sKyald-gyi-sla*, month of sending.

Among the complete documents we find a great number which apparently originated with tax-collectors. They are of two styles. One of them consists of tablets of a length of about 30–40 cm., square in section. They show notches at their edges, evidently intended to mark the number of bushels of grain contributed by various taxpayers. In writing, we find such words as "barley", "wheat", "millet", "grass", "horse-fodder", written close to the notches, whilst the names of peasants and notes regarding their payments are found at the other end of the tablet. The other kind of tax-collector's documents consists of short wooden tablets, coloured red on the surface. The right lower corner is generally cut out

purposely, apparently to mark them specially. They also show notches and short notes in writing, like the other kind of documents. Thus we read: "Six *bre* of barley were not received," and then "Received later on", or "Four *bre* of barley were received afterwards". Sometimes we find the two words, *bab*, taxes, and *thar*, free, and nothing else, on the same piece of wood. Then we may suppose that the person who held the document was free from taxes.

There is another kind of document, marked by a broad stroke of red colour, running round the middle. I have not yet been able to discover what these may have in common. To say that they are messages from Government would not mean much, considering that most of the documents are of an official character. On one of these documents the red stroke was apparently painted with blood.

As regards the general character of the contents of the better-preserved documents on paper and wood, we find there lawsuits, inventories, distribution-lists of provisions or presents, demands for military assistance or for more provisions, arrangements for the service of the guards or sentinels, complaints that wages or rewards were not given, reports of illness, prayers for medicine, accounts of debts, appointments to some post, lists of transports of arms, etc. In the latter lists we read of shields, bows and arrows, arrow-blades, arrow-flags, helmets, swords, coats of arms. There are a few documents which contain something like records of battles. These notes are, however, not of much use to the historian, as they are very meagre, and cannot be dated. A note like "The *Rong-lings* country was seized" does not help us at all at the present stage of Tibetan historical research. An interesting lawsuit is that about the sale of a slave called *rGyal-phu-tsab*. The price amounted to 8 weights of *dMar* (= *dmar-gro*, red wheat ?). In

case the slave should run away, the former owner was bound to provide another servant (slave) of the same capacity. Underneath this document as well as underneath many others the names or the seals of the forty-four chief witnesses (*dpang-rgya*) are given. These forty-four formed a court of witnesses, and it is of interest that the number forty-four is also found as that of certain officials in the account of *gNya-khri-btsan-po*, in the Ladakhi chronicles.

A considerable number of documents refer to the *so-pa* (watch, spy, sentinel), i.e. to those soldiers who had to do military service on the frontier or (probably) in unreliable districts. This service had to be done in turns, and it was not only a round of service among individuals, but among tribes. Whenever the term "turn of service" refers to an individual, we may be sure that the same is an officer. In one document we hear of two officers, who had exchanged their turns of service and done service for one another during their respective turns.

Besides the *so-pa*, the documents mention the *'adrul-ba* (= *'agrul-ba*), runners, very often. I am convinced that these "runners" were postal runners. Ancient Tibet and Turkestan seem to have been in enjoyment of an institution similar to that of present-day India, where the post-runners still have to do a great part of the postal work. Passages like the following occur repeatedly among the documents: "As the runners are just leaving, I take the opportunity to write you the following words." Besides the *'adrul-ba*, the *bang-chen* or *bang-ka-pa*, swift messengers, are occasionally mentioned. One document which speaks of a *pho-nya*, or "messenger", is impressed with a seal showing a rider galloping. It looks almost like a stamp insuring quick service.

Several letters are of an entirely intimate and familiar character, and there is hardly a single piece where the personal tone is altogether wanting. Inquiries after

health are found continually, and joy is expressed at good news or at the expectation to see the other's "good face" (once "his face which looks like sun and moon") again. Good wishes for health or long life generally conclude the letters. We get the impression that many of these phrases have become conventional. There are some letters which contain nothing besides such conventional phrases. We must not forget, however, that in most of these letters we have before us the correspondence of a number of high officials who may have been closely related to one another, besides being related to the royal family. In Ladakh we know for certain that the royal family intermarried with the families of high ministers. In Ladakh the title or name *btsan, btsan-po,* would indicate that a certain person was descended from the royal family. I suspect that all those ministers mentioned in the documents whose names show the syllable *btsan* were related to royalty. But on the whole we get the impression that not only the high officials, but a great part of the population, knew reading and writing. A cook as well as a baker are found among the addressed persons, and peasants write letters to the court when they wish to accuse a certain person.

Special terms of civility found in the documents are the following: the writer speaks of himself as "I, a bad one" (*bdag-ngan-pa*); he places his letter before the feet of the addressed person (*zha-sngar* seems to be an abbreviation of *zhabs-sngar*); a ruler is greeted with the wish, "may your helmet remain firm!"

It is of interest that a number of documents contain fragments of the Tibetan alphabet. They may represent portions of copy-books used by beginners in the art of reading and writing. They are, of course, of great importance, because they belong to times not long after the alleged invention of the Tibetan alphabet by Thon-mi-sambhota. From the fragments we learn that the old alphabet was hardly different from the alphabet of thirty

letters as used nowadays. There is one piece in the collection which contains a full alphabet, but some of the characters were omitted and added later on; the latter are somewhat indistinct. It is of particular interest to see that the letter *ba*, which may be pronounced *va*, is not always placed between *pha* and *ma*, where we find it in the modern Tibetan alphabet, but between *la* and *sha* (*ś*), where the *va* was placed in the Sanskrit alphabet. The letter *ṭa* (inverted *ta*) appears occasionally in the Stein Collection, and *wa* is written as a combination of *'a* and *ba*, not *la* and *ba* as it is written nowadays. I shall not now enter into detail regarding palæographical questions, because I have treated them fully in an article on the Tibetan alphabet written for the *Epigraphia Indica*. Two of the documents of the Stein Collection seem to be a fragment of a syllabary. They contain repetitions of the same consonant, furnished with all four vowel-signs and the Anusvāra.

A particular class of documents seems to refer to the distribution of fields, probably after the conquest of a new district. There we find personal names or titles followed by a numeral referring to "*dor* of field". The word *dor* is not known from other Tibetan literature, but it is evident that in the documents of the Stein Collection it is the name of a measure of area. As regards agriculture, the documents mention the following occupations: *zhing-pa* seems to be an ordinary field-labourer, *chun-pa* is the person who irrigates the fields. Ploughing of the fields and threshing of the grain is repeatedly mentioned. Punishment is announced for all who let the water dry up (*chab-rkam-bgyid-pa*). The most remarkable discovery is, however, that "maps of the fields" (*zhing-'agod* = *zhing-bkod*) are referred to in one of the documents.

A certain number of wooden documents are furnished with a carefully cut socket at one end of the tablet. As we know from a few better preserved specimens, this

deepening was filled with clay, and a seal was probably impressed on the latter. As regards the writing found on these documents furnished with seals, it never contains much beyond addresses. This leads me to believe that what remains now is never the complete document. The wooden boards may represent only the cover of the paper document which was originally packed between them.[1] As, however, writing material was rare in Turkestan, the wooden documents were used several times, the old writing being scratched off to make room for a new text. Thus the documents furnished with deepenings for seals may also have been used again for less important documents, and several of them appear like ordinary labels.

Paper must have been a rather rare article, for we find it occasionally mentioned as a little present offered to the addressee, if the latter was in a high position. The custom not to approach a person in a high position without a little present was apparently in vogue in those early days. Most of the paper documents contain different letters on their two sides, and there are a few palimpsests in the collection.

Regarding measures, the following may be gathered from the documents: a *khal* is a horse-load; a *srang* seems to be a smaller weight, but it is probably more than an ounce, as we find it described in Jäschke's Dictionary. A *bre* is a still smaller weight, 4 pints according to Jäschke. As stated above, there are two kinds of *bre*, the *bod-bre* and *rgya-bre*, viz. the Tibetan and the Indian (or Chinese) *bre*. Also the word *rdo-gram* seems to signify a weight. Silver was probably counted by *dbyam* or bars, whilst for gold and jewels the word *zho*

[1] [Judging from the shape of these small tablets and the analogy of many Chinese documents of the Han period found along the ancient Tun-huang Limes, it seems more probable that missives of this kind were meant merely to authenticate verbal messages and orders which the person carrying the tablets was to deliver.—*Stein.*]

(= $\frac{1}{10}$ ounce) is used. Of great interest is the following equation, found in one of the documents: $\frac{1}{2}$ *zho* of gold = 3 *zho* of silver.[1]

Among the articles forwarded in trade, or taken as taxes or as spoil of war, we find the following mentioned: kinds of grain are, *gro*, wheat; *nas*, barley; *khre* and *chi-thse*, two kinds of millet; *rta-bra-bo*, horse-buck-wheat; *'abras* may stand for "rice", although it may as well be translated by "fruit"; *'abras-skam* would be "dry rice" or "dry fruit"; *rtsa*, grass or fodder, is also repeatedly mentioned. The words "black", "white", or "red" in connexion with kinds of grain, may refer to black or white barley or wheat, or to red rice, etc. Favourite products of the garden were: *la-phug*, radishes; *rgun*, grapes; *kham*, dried apricots; perhaps even carrots. Products of the flocks were: *mar*, butter; *thud*, cheese; *zhun-mar*, melted butter, probably the Indian *ghī*; dried yak-meat. I may mention that great stores of "old meat" and "old butter" play an important part in the Kesar-saga. *sPod*, spices, were required for the preparation of dishes. *sKyems*, beverage, is probably the name of the ordinary Tibetan beer prepared of green barley. It was required for weddings and for the New Year's festival, and kept in *thul* (*skyems-thul*), leather bags. A particular kind of beer may have been the *sog-skyems*, Mongolian beer. Of fabrics we hear at least of two kinds, viz., *snam*, the ordinary woollen cloth of Tibet, and *men-thri*, a kind of cloth which has not yet been specified. *Pha-thsa* seems to stand for *phad-thsa*, coarse sackcloth. *Thsos-bal* is probably dyed wool; *gtan* are carpets, perhaps the felt-carpets of Turkestan.[2]

[1] [Marco Polo records exactly the same relative value of gold and silver for Western Yünnan at the close of the thirteenth century; cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, iii, ii, pp. 79, 95.—*Stein.*]

[2] [Carpet-weaving was an ancient art of Khotan; cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i, p. 134.—*Stein.*]

Of mineral articles the following are mentioned: soda, copper (at any rate *zang-bu*, copper kettles), gold, silver, turquoises, pearls, corals. *rDzeu* seem to be clay-pots; but what *skyogs* are cannot yet be decided; it may mean cups or ladles.

Looking at the animal world, we notice that practically all the animals mentioned in the documents are used for transport. Of horses, a particular breed, that of Amdo, is mentioned in one of the fragments. This is of particular interest, because this breed is of great fame even nowadays. Mules and donkeys were hired out, and quarrels arose about the latter. Goats, and probably sheep also, had to carry loads—in particular, wool. Camels, yaks, and oxen are not so often mentioned. It looks as if yaks, as well as horses, were occasionally used for sacrifices. As regards horses, the local name *mchibs-yon-gyi-sde*, province of the horse-sacrifice, would point in that direction. From some documents we learn that horses suffered occasionally from epidemics.

Although the documents containing Buddhist literature are not included in the collection with which my inventory deals, we get a few glimpses at the religious state of Tibet in the eighth century. Judging from personal names, Buddhism was not yet powerful at the time of the documents. Buddhist priests are mentioned occasionally, but the title *bla-ma* (with the feminine article *ma*) is never found. Titles like *rje-bla* or *sku-bla* may refer to priests, but we are not certain. The most common title used for priests is *ban-de*, but also *dge-'adun* and *btsund-pa* are found. Nuns are called *ban-de-mo* or *btsun-mo*. Other titles used for higher ranks of Buddhist priests are *mkhan-po*, abbot, and *chos-rje*, prince of religion. A Buddhist temple is called *gTsug-lag-khang*. *Theg-khang-rnying*, old house of the vehicle, seems to be the name of a monastery.

The Bonpo priests were apparently known as *Bon-po*,

*lha-myi, mngan* (sorcerer); perhaps also as *gYon-len*, taking the left. The latter name may refer to their custom to keep the honoured person or object on their left when circumambulating him or it. Also the Bonpo form of the Svastika is repeatedly found among the documents.

Although a few religious charms occur in the collection, the *ōm maṇi padme hūm* formula has not yet been discovered. *Ōm ā hūm* was apparently popular, and *vadzra paṇi phaṭ* can also be traced.

Religious ceremonies are referred to, but we do not yet know whether they were in every case performed by Buddhist or Bonpo priests. The word *sku-rim* (a religious ceremony in time of illness, practically the exorcising of the spirits in the illness) is found several times. A *sman-yon* seems to be an offering to a *sman* or evil spirit; *chab-yon* is a "water offering". As stated above, yaks were apparently offered according to one document, and a local name makes horse-sacrifices probable. Before starting on a journey an astrologer was apparently asked to look out for a good day. A few documents seem to treat of religious persecution. They may refer to the struggle between the Buddhist and the Bonpo religions in the eighth century.

The title *sMan-pa* may be that of a doctor. In one of the documents a recipe is given regarding a medicine to be "smeared on a corpse", probably to preserve it. It consists of sheep-dung boiled with a little water "until it melts", butter, barley, etc. A few names of diseases occur, but we do not yet know what their nature was. Such names are: *yams, grums, gcong, 'abring-nad.*

The style of the letters and secular documents is absolutely different from that of the classical language as it has become known from Buddhist religious literature. The language of the latter has practically remained stationary, for the fragments of Buddhist literature as

found in the ancient sites of Turkestan show the same language as the present editions of the *bKā-'agyur* and the *bsTan-'agyur*. The language of the secular documents of the eighth century, on the other hand, is full of constructions with the auxiliary *mchis*, which is very rarely used in classical essays. From this it becomes probable that the language of Buddhist literature was already a sacred language when it was used for the first translations. It may have been the sacred language of Bonpo literature which had been handed down orally. The secular documents of the Stein Collection, on the other hand, may represent the language of daily life of the eighth century.

As regards the orthography of the documents, it is anything but settled. The nowadays silent prefixes are written or not according to the pleasure of the writer; thus we read *gzigs* or *zigs*, *dgra* or *gra*, *mchod* or *chod*, *bkā* or *kā*, *mkhar* or *k*[*h*]*ar*, etc. Aspirated tenues are continually mixed up with unaspirated ones; *'apan* is written for *'aphan*, *kong* for *khong*, *gchig* for *gcig*, *kri* for *khri*, *krom* for *khrom*, etc. It is as if the ground were giving way under the feet of those who have been working in Tibetan phonetics. The subjoined *d* after *n*, *l*, and *r* is used or not just as the writer pleases.

We must not forget, however, that most of the documents were written in a foreign country, and this circumstance may account for a great number of orthographical mistakes. But one observation may be of importance: although the prefixes are not written in a great number of cases, we hardly ever find the wrong prefixes used. In this respect the old documents differ from Tibetan letter-writing by ordinary people as we find it nowadays. Let me note that there are two groups of prefixes in Tibetan, viz. *m* or *'a*, which are of passive character, and all the rest, which are of active character. Nowadays a Tibetan mixes up all the active

prefixes with one another, and the two passive prefixes also. He may use a *b* instead of a *d*, a *g* or *r* instead of an *s*, etc. In the eighth century a Tibetan made use of the right prefix or he did not use it at all. From this observation we may conclude that the prefixes, although already on the point of disappearing from the spoken language, were still heard to a certain degree in the eighth century.

A considerable number of words show already the characteristics of later dialects. Thus the word *'agrul-ba*, runner, is invariably spelt *'adrul-ba*, in agreement with the present-day pronunciation. The same must be said of the word *phyir*, again, for, etc., which we find spelt *cir* or *chir* in the documents. Of interest are also the spellings *Rud-pon* instead of the more correct *Ru-dpon*, or *lhad-pal* instead of *lha-dpal*. As in modern Ladakhi, the prefix of the second syllable was sounded as final consonant of the preceding syllable. Other cases of dialectical influence we have in *tho-re* instead of *tho-ras*, to-morrow; *brgyed* instead of *brgyad*, eight; *men-tog* instead of *me-tog*, flower; *sreu* instead of *spreu*, monkey; *ched-po* instead of *chen-po*, great; *gYog* instead of *'og*, below. Purely dialectical words seem to be: *nan-ning*, last year; *pho-re*, goat; *phyed-'ang-gnyis*, one and a half; *skyu*, a dish of stuffed dumplings; etc.

There are many words the meaning of which is still quite uncertain. To mention only one instance, we do not yet know how to explain the local names *Bod*, Tibet, and *Li*, Khotan, when they are connected with numerals—*bod-gnyis*, *li-bzhi*, etc.—as is often the case. The following words, which are also of frequent occurrence, I have tried to explain in the following manner: *'athsal-ma*, provisions (Jäschke has "breakfast"); *dor*, a measure of fields; *men-thri*, a kind of cloth (this word is often connected with *yug*, a piece of cloth); *thsugs*, a district; *thang*, a couple; *thugs-bde*, well-being; *ngos-dpon*, frontier

officer; *zha-sngar* (= *zhabs-sngar*), before. Regarding the word *sug*-[*pa*], we do not always know whether it should be translated as "hand" (hand-seal), or as "reward".

The marks of punctuation are used in a rather unusual manner. A *shad* is not much used to mark the end of a sentence; it is placed between any syllables in the middle of a sentence. Besides strokes and dots, pairs of little circles are occasionally used as marks of punctuation.

III

# ANCIENT ARABIAN POETRY AS A SOURCE OF HISTORICAL INFORMATION

By Sir C. J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

*Read at the International Congress of Historical Studies, April 7, 1913*

THE conquest of the Persian and half of the Byzantine Empire by the Arabs, under the banner of Islam in the seventh century, was one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. On the one side were ranged the forces of two highly-organized military powers, Imperial New Rome and Imperial Persia, which for over three centuries had been engaged in constant conflict with each other. Although this necessarily tended to exhaust the material resources of the combatants, it would naturally be supposed that it must have given them military experience, and their leaders a training in generalship, adequate to enable them to face with confidence of victory enemies hitherto regarded with contempt as mere barbarians. On the other side we see hosts of men, reared in a country where the conditions of life have always been of the hardest and most precarious, divided by tribal feuds and secular hatreds, poorly armed, with no practice in warfare against disciplined foes, and with no allies to swell their legions. Yet from the beginning the progress of the Arabs was one of almost uninterrupted success.

How this happened, what the antecedents were that led to the great catastrophe which befell the ancient civilizations before the new world-power, must always be one of the most interesting problems of history.

Materials for the study of the Byzantine Empire exist in the works of Greek historians. For the conditions of

the Persian Empire we have the history of the Sasanians as recorded by Ṭabarī, based upon the *Khudhāī-nāmah* of indigenous origin, and also some good information from Syriac sources. But in both cases the period of the conquest is poorly represented by contemporary documents. Of this part of the subject, however, I do not propose to speak. My object is to draw attention to the materials which exist for a survey of the history and conditions of Arabia during the century which preceded the conquests of Islam, and more especially of that part of Arabia which furnished the invading forces, as distinguished from the religious revolution, begun at Mecca and consummated at Medina, which drew its inspiration from the Prophet Muḥammad.

These materials, so far as they are contemporary, are wholly contained in the ancient Arabian poetry, the earliest surviving texts of which may be said to begin with the commencement of the sixth century A.D. This poetry was almost entirely transmitted by memory, and we have no reason to suppose that, except in a very few special cases of which I will speak further on, it was reduced to writing until the first century of Muslim conquest was well advanced. It is the product and the picture of the tribal life of nomadic Arabia, the work, in the first instance, of composers who formed a special class of skilled artists in verse: from whom, however, the custom of making verse later on took a wide extension, so that in every tribe we meet with a large number of singers, mostly men of action, who celebrate their own deeds as well as the exploits of their fellows in poems called forth by the events in which they were engaged.

The bulk of this poetry which has survived is by no means small, although, in the opinion of the scholars who, during the literary age which set in with the latter half of the reign of the House of Umayyah and continued under the early 'Abbaside Caliphs, collected and recorded

the remains which we possess, the amount which has perished before it could be written down, with the death of those who carried it in their memories, is very large. How much has so perished we have no means of judging.

The earliest poems which have survived probably belong to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century A.D. They relate to the long warfare which raged, for a period stated by tradition in round numbers at forty years, between two large kindred groups, who occupied the mountains of al-Yamāmah in East Central Arabia called Bakr and Taghlib. This war, known as the War of al-Basūs, produced many poets on both sides, one of whom, Muhalhil, the chief of Taghlib, is perhaps the most ancient of whom we have remains: two short poems by him are contained in the collection of ancient odes made by al-Aṣma'ī (died 216 H.). Another very ancient poet, probably contemporary with Muhalhil, is Muraqqish the Elder, of Bakr, to whom are attributed several pieces preserved in the collection called the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (completed before 168 H.). Peace was eventually arranged by al-Mundhir III, king of al-Ḥīrah on the Euphrates, who exercised a wide jurisdiction over nomad Arabia; but the rancour stirred by the conflict survived for generations, and two of the seven long poems called the *Mu'allaqāt*, one by 'Amr son of Kulthūm, chief of Taghlib, and the other by al-Ḥārith son of Ḥillizah, of Yashkur, a division of Bakr, which were composed between 556 and 568, testify to the enmity which still subsisted in the time of al-Mundhir's successor, king 'Amr of al-Ḥīrah.

Not much later than these is the group of poets connected with the history of a tribe of Yamanic origin called Kindah, which, in the latter half of the fifth and the first third of the sixth century A.D., established itself in the northern half of Central Arabia as a superior power controlling the tribal organizations. Its chiefs, who took

the title of king, contracted intermarriages with the Ma'addic Arab tribes, and had their centre in al-Qaṣīm, the comparatively well-watered territory where now stand the towns of Buraidah and 'Unaizah, in the great Wādī ar-Rummah, the main torrent-bed of Central Arabia. Tradition connects the extension of the authority of Kindah with the state of confusion and internecine strife produced by the War of al-Basūs, and it is certain that the princes of the tribe were connected by marriage with both Bakr and Taghlib. The power of Kindah stood at its highest at the end of the fifth century and beginning of the sixth, when the king, al-Ḥārith, appeared on the Roman border as an invader. He seems at one time to have held al-Ḥīrah on the Euphrates, and al-Mundhir III, who was the most formidable enemy of the Romans in that region, was his son-in-law, though afterwards his enemy. The tribes who owned allegiance to al-Ḥārith were placed by him under the governance of his four sons, and Asad, whose lands were among those nearest to the Kindite centre at Ghamr Dhū Kindah, became the portion of Ḥugr, al-Ḥārith's eldest son. The son of Ḥugr was Imra' al-Qais, the most celebrated of all the ancient poets, of whom a large quantity of verse has survived. During the years of Ḥugr's dominion in Asad the art of poetry made much progress. The bard of Asad was 'Abīd son of al-Abraṣ, whose *dīwān*, now for the first time published from an ancient MS. in the British Museum, is about to appear. The death of Ḥugr, whom the men of Asad slew about A.D. 530 after the king of Kindah, al-Ḥārith, had died, is the central event round which has gathered much poetry by Imra' al-Qais and 'Abīd; and there can be no doubt, from the poems by these authors which we possess, that there were many other contemporary singers, though little of that early time has reached us.

After the wreck of the dominion of Kindah the power of the kings of al-Ḥīrah gradually extended itself over

the northern half of the peninsula and along the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf. The energetic kings al-Mundhir III and his son 'Amr b. Hind are often heard of in the poems of that time. These kings ruled, the former from 505 to 554, and the latter from 554 to 569. King 'Amr was killed, in the midst of his Court, by a proud Arab chief, 'Amr son of Kulthūm of Taghlib, upon whom he was endeavouring to fix an indignity which the fierce nomad resented. Two of 'Amr's brothers succeeded him and had short reigns, and then, between 580 and 602 or 603, followed their nephew an-Nu'mān Abū Qābūs, the last Lakhmite king of al-Ḥīrah. The Courts of all these kings were frequently visited by poets from the nomad tribes, and much verse which has survived was composed on these occasions.

On the side of Rome there was another princely house, the line of Jafnah, kings of Ghassān, who kept the marches along the *Limes* which defined the boundary of Byzantine rule. These princes, who were adherents of Christianity, and, though nomads of the Syrian wilderness, comparatively civilized in their habits, were also resorted to by poets from the South. Their most famous king, al-Ḥārith the Lame, son of Jabalah, who reigned from 529 to 569, is addressed in a long poem by 'Alqamah son of 'Abadah of Tamīm, contained in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*; he also figures in the history of 'Abīd and Imra' al-Qais. One of his successors, 'Amr, is the subject of a fine poem by an-Nābighah of Dhubyān, probably in the last decade but one of the sixth century.

Within the peninsula during this time warfare was frequent between the tribes, but it would take too long to endeavour to set forth the various causes and histories of quarrel. From a literary point of view the most famous contest was that called the War of Dāḥis, which had its origin in a horse-race held between the chiefs of two sister stocks belonging to the large group of Ghaṭafān,

the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān. This struggle also is said to have lasted forty years, but it is probable that its length has been considerably exaggerated. To this period belong the famous poets an-Nābighah of Dhubyān, 'Antarah of 'Abs, and Zuhair of Muzainah, whose *Mu'allaqah* celebrates the making of peace, which probably happened some time before the close of the sixth century A.D.

In the next twenty years, which are those preceding the appearance of Muḥammad as a prophet, the number of poets was very large. The most famous were Maimūn al-A'sha, of Qais b. Tha'labah, a division of Bakr settled in al-Yamāmah; Labīd, of Ja'far b. Kilāb, a branch of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah; Ḥātim, of Ṭayyi'; Bishr, son of Abū Khāzim, of Asad; and Ka'b, son of the Zuhair just mentioned: of all these we have *dīwāns*. Another poet of the time, and also a celebrated man of action, was 'Āmir son of aṭ-Ṭufail, cousin of Labīd, whose *dīwān*, now published for the first time, is about to appear. Ṭufail of Ghanī, a small tribe in subordinate alliance with 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, belongs to the same age, and his *dīwān*, hitherto unknown, is also now on the eve of publication.

I said just now that these poems were not written down at the time when they were composed, save in a few exceptional cases. One of these exceptions is afforded by the *dīwān* of 'Adī b. Zaid, a Christian Tamīmite of al-Ḥīrah who was intimately connected with the history of an-Nu'mān Abū Qābūs, the last king of that state. The story of his long imprisonment by an-Nu'mān, and of his having addressed to the king poem after poem in order to induce him to release him, necessarily implies that the messages were in writing. His surviving poems, which are interesting as the work of a town-bred Arab of culture (for he was brought up among ministers and secretaries at the Persian Court), have been collected and will, I hope, shortly be published by my friend

Mr. Krenkow, of Leicester. Another exception is found in the works of Umayyah b. Abi-ṣ-Ṣalt, also a townsman, of aṭ-Ṭā'if, and an older contemporary of the Prophet, whose collected remains have recently (1911) been given to the world by Professor F. Schulthess, of Göttingen. These poems are of great importance and interest as evidence of the currency, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, of an acquaintance with the stories of the Old and New Testaments and the apocryphal literature connected therewith, and thus as affording some clue to the source whence Muḥammad drew the narratives dealing with the same subjects contained in the Qur'ān.

The coming of Islam, and the diversion to exterior conquest of the energies which had hitherto been spent upon tribal feuds, had a striking influence on the poetry of Arabia. We have a large mass of verse composed by persons who, having been originally pagans, accepted the new religion. Besides authors like al-Ḥuṭai'ah, ash-Shammākh, al-Khansā, and Abū Dhu'aib, who have left *dīwāns*, a large proportion of the odes contained in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* are the work of such *Mukhaḍrims*, as they were called. It is very interesting to notice how little the austere practices of the new faith affected the ideals or the workmanship of these singers. They continue to celebrate the delights of wine-drinking and gambling with arrows, to extol unbounded expense in hospitality, and to boast of accomplishment in the art of war, and especially of satire. Satire, indeed, though severely handled by the early Caliphs, becomes, with panegyric as its complement, more and more the work of the professional poet. The list of poets born in the first century of Islam, when poetry began to be recorded in writing as it was composed, includes (to mention only those of whom we have published *dīwāns*) al-Farazdaq and Jarīr, both of Tamīm, al-Akhṭal, a Christian of Taghlib, and al-Kumaīt of Asad, all of whom were expert

in the arts of praising great men and of delivering biting shafts of satire upon their enemies. Amatory themes took a wide extension in the poems of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah, a Quraishite of Mecca. Ghailān, called Dhu-r-Rummah, of 'Adī b. 'Abd-Manāt, was the last who maintained the old standards of poetic achievement, and with him the cycle of nomad poetry is sometimes said to have closed. He died, aged 40, in 117 H. (A.D. 735). His *dīwān*, edited for the first time by my friend Mr. C. Macartney, is now in the press.

These compositions, it will be seen, cover a very long period of time—fully 200 years, and are strictly contemporary documents. I do not propose to discuss here the proof of their genuineness and authenticity; what I have to urge on the subject will be found in the Introduction to the *Dīwān* of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, which will soon be before the public. It will suffice to say that while fabricated verses and even whole poems are to be found in our collections, the majority of the materials contained in them bears (in my opinion) the stamp of genuineness, and compels us, by its vividness and actuality and close correspondence with the known conditions of the age and locality, to admit its claims to be the real work of its reputed authors.

But the poems by themselves are not, strictly speaking, history. An Arabian ode hardly ever contains a consecutive narrative of events. Nothing in the nature of Epic poetry exists. The occurrences touched upon are mentioned for the most part allusively, generally in the briefest manner, and the bard, often himself an actor in the scenes he portrays, enlarges on his own prowess and the glories of his tribe; or, on the other hand, he assails his enemies with words of scorn and contempt, recounts their defeats and disasters, and depicts them in the most odious light. In all cases of tribal warfare, which is the chief subject of the poems, great exaggeration prevails.

In order to utilize the poems, to read them aright, to use them in interpreting the situation, we require to know from some outside source the circumstances in which they were composed. This is furnished to us by the labours of those men who, during the first and second centuries of Islam, collected from the mouths of the living representatives of the tribes the traditions of the tribal histories. Many scholars occupied themselves with this task when the poems came to be written down for preservation, but two stand out among all others in their industry and the thoroughness with which they carried through their task. These two are Hishām ibn al-Kalbī and Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā, called Abū 'Ubaidah. The former, son of Muḥammad b. as-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (died 146 H.), had an hereditary interest in historical research, for his father before him was an industrious collector of traditions. To Ibn al-Kalbī, who died in 204 H., we owe the first attempts made to obtain a sequence of dates for the kings of al-Ḥīrah, Ghassān, and Kindah, a great mass of tribal genealogies and of the traditions bearing thereon, and other investigations into Arabian antiquity. His narratives of the battles or "Days" celebrated in the poems, and his anecdotal biographies of the persons who figure in the tribal traditions, are full of interest, of liveliness, and of graphic detail. Against this must be set a constant disposition to exalt the cause of the Yamanic tribes against that of the Ma'addic Arabs. His own tribe of Kalb, descended from Quḍā'ah, considered itself to be of Yamanic origin; and on this account he is never impartial when the contest is between a representative of al-Yaman and one of Ma'add. He appears on more than one occasion to have fabricated poems in support of his anecdotes to the discredit of Ma'addic heroes. Abū 'Ubaidah (110–209 H.), on the other hand, has every appearance of being impartial; his narratives are full of detail, and his citation of the authorities from

whom he derived his information (see the index to the *Naqā'iḍ*) most complete. He is often critical in his examination of the sources. He was not, like Ibn al-Kalbī, himself of Arab descent, but a Jew of al-'Irāq whose family had become converts to Islam. Thus he stands outside of racial partialities, though he everywhere displays the keenest interest in his subject. We learn from Ibn Khallikān that he was the author of a work setting forth the evil qualities of the Arabs (*Mathālib*), a species of literature very popular in his time under 'Abbāsī rule, when the Persians came into favour. If this is correct, it must at least be admitted that he did not invent for them odious characteristics, but told his stories in a manner which, if not flattering, is, to our eyes at least, not marked by any manifest desire to press unduly upon their unamiable traits, and generally appears to bear the stamp of truth.

Neither of Ibn al-Kalbī nor of Abū 'Ubaidah do we possess (so far as known) any works in their original form; but these two are the main source from which innumerable books written by literary and historical compilers draw their material. The greatest of all these compilations is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu-l-Faraj of Iṣfahān (284–356), now rendered conveniently accessible by means of the exhaustive series of indices which we owe to Professor Guidi. Of so well-known a book it is unnecessary to speak at any length. The first volume of Ibn al-Athīr's history called the *Kāmil* contains an abridgement of Abū 'Ubaidah's *Ayyām al-'Arab* which is very useful, though the printing, especially in the verses, leaves much to be desired. Better even than the *Aghānī*, where the two come into competition, are the extracts from Abū 'Ubaidah contained in the commentary to the *Naqā'iḍ*, or satiric contests of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, the edition of which has just been completed by Professor Bevan. This work, which from its character is full of

allusions to Arabian antiquity, is supplied with a complete and instructive commentary, in which the latest hand is that of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Yazīdī (died 310). Here we have large extracts from Abū 'Ubaidah's *Ayyām*, elucidated as to language and often compared with other accounts, which leave nothing to be desired so far as concerns the events with which they deal. Professor Bevan's indices render the use of the work for reference as easy as possible, and an exhaustive glossary is also supplied.

Another work which is now in the press and will, it is hoped, be completed before very long is the collection of ancient Arabian odes made by al-Mufaḍḍal, of the tribe of Ḍabbah, a learned man who lived under both Umayyad and 'Abbāsid rule, and died in 168. The exhaustive commentary of al-Qāsim al-Anbārī, which is being printed with the text, contains, like that to the *Naqā'iḍ*, large detailed accounts of the events to which the poems relate, mainly drawn from Ibn al-Kalbī. I need only mention another work of a similar but less authentic kind, the celebrated *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām, which, with at-Tibrīzī's commentary, has been in the hands of Arabic scholars since 1828.

When we compare the poems with the traditions illustrating them, we find, of course, many deficiencies. Often there are no details forthcoming to explain obscure passages: those who once were able to furnish them perished before the scholars got hold of them. Not unfrequently the poems do not agree with the traditions. I may illustrate this by a case which is well-known to my hearers, and comes from a cycle of literature strictly analogous to the Arabian historical legends and ancient heroic poems—I mean the Book of Judges in the Old Testament. In the Song of Deborah, which celebrates the defeat of Sisera and his host by the tribes of Northern Israel, the description of the murder of the fugitive chief

by Jael, in defiance of all the laws of hospitality, is inconsistent with the account given in the prose story. As the poem is in all probability contemporary, we naturally prefer its testimony to that of the prose writer, who may have lived some centuries later. Similar discrepancies are not uncommon in the old tribal poetry and traditions of Arabia. But although such cases call for careful critical examination, the material available is very large, and by the help of the poems and the narratives put together we are able to construct, at least in general outline, a fairly complete account of the main events and the state of society in Arabia during that pregnant century which preceded the establishment of the Empire of Islam.

Not only so: owing to causes with which I cannot now deal, the conditions of life in Arabia, which are those established by the climate and natural features of the country, have prevailed over the mighty unifying forces which in the seventh century drew the tribes together and started them on their career of conquest. In spite of Islam, the Arabian nomads live at the present day very much as their ancestors lived thirteen centuries ago. They are marked by the same characteristics, divided by the same blood-feuds, engaged in the same life of rapine, subject to the same customary laws of hospitality and mutual intercourse, as prevailed before the Prophet of Medina took them in hand. So it happens that those who have travelled with seeing eyes and an understanding heart in that great wilderness in our own day are able to set before us a picture of society which, with certain allowances made, is extraordinarily like that which we gather from the ancient poems. The best of all commentaries on the literature of the sixth and seventh centuries in Arabia is to be found in the great book of our countryman Charles Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*. With this I should mention the *Tagbuch* of the scholar whose

recent death we all mourn, Julius Euting, and the works of Aloys Musil dealing with the tribes of the Syrian Desert.

Sixty-six years ago M. Caussin de Perceval published his well-known *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, a work of which it is difficult to speak in terms of too much praise. So far as it dealt with the century before Muḥammad, it was based almost entirely on the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, then only accessible in MS., and for the time of its production it was a marvel of industry, clearness of arrangement, attractive style, and penetrating insight into the subject. But much has happened since it appeared, and the time has now come for the period with which it dealt to be handled afresh. As a basis for such a re-handling, it appears to me that what we chiefly want is translations of the ancient poems, worked up and commented on, with utilization of all the available material. It must be admitted that to general historians the field is still in a great measure closed. The texts, in the original Arabic, have to a large extent been published; but without commentaries and elucidation they are not available except to the specialist. It is the task for the latter-day scholars to make them available, so that all may judge of their bearing. No works of an ancient poet should be published without a translation. To translate adequately demands close and minute study, and to deal with the problems presented by any one poet's work necessitates a survey of a wide field and many by-paths of inquiry. France and Germany have set us a great example: is it too much to hope that in this country also labourers will be found to help forward the cause?

*Vannic Inscription from Baghin.*

## IV

## A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE VANNIC KING MENUAS

By Professor A. H. SAYCE

CAPTAIN L. MOLYNEUX-SEEL has been good enough to send me a photograph of a Vannic inscription discovered by him built into the wall of a ruined Armenian chapel at Baghin, north of the Murad Su. Baghin is on the right bank of the Kighi Su, which falls into the Murad Su near Kharput, and it is about 50 miles north-east of the latter city and almost due north of Palu, where an inscription of Menuas has long been known to exist (No. XXXIII of my memoir). The new inscription is important, since it not only adds a new word, *titiani*, "a boundary-stone," to the Vannic vocabulary, but it also fixes the western boundary-line of the Vannic kingdom in the reign of Menuas.

The inscription reads as follows (in continuance of my notation its number will be XCIII):—

[1. D.P. Me-i-nu-u-a-s
*Menuas*

2. D.P. Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi-ni-s
*the son of Ispuinis*

3. i-ni TAK pu-lu-śi
*this inscribed stone*]

4. [ku-]-u-gu-u-ni
*has written*

5. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
*for the people of Khaldis,*

6. al-śu-u-i-si-ni
*the mighty,*

7. D.P. Me-nu-u-a-ni
*belonging to Menuas*

8. D.P. Is-pu-u-i-ni-khe
*the son of Ispuinis,*

9. erila tar-a-i-e
*the powerful king,*

10. erila al-śu-u-i-ni
*the mighty king,*

11. erila MAT Bi-a-i-na-u-e
*king of the country of Van,*

12. a-lu-śi ALU Dhu-us-pa-a-patari
*inhabitant of Dhuspas the city.*

13. D.P. Me-nu-u-a-s a-li
*Menuas says:*

14. te-ru-bi ⟩ ti-ti-a-ni
*I have set up a boundary-stone*

15. is-ti-ni NISU EN-NAM
*as the limit of the governor*

16. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
*of the people of Khaldis,*

17. us-ma-a-si-i-ni
*the gracious,*

18. e-u-ri-i-e
*the lord.*

19. D.P. Me-i-nu-u-a-s
*Menuas*

20. D.P. Is-pu-o-i-ni-khi-ni-s
*the son of Ispuinis*

21. i-ni TAK pu-lu-śi
*this inscribed stone*

22. ku-u-gu-u-ni
*has written*

23. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
*for the people of Khaldis*

24. al-śu-u-i-si-ni
*the mighty.*

5. It is clear that *Khaldinini*, "the children of Khaldis," must here signify "the people of Khaldis", i.e. the inhabitants of Van, rather than "the divine offspring of Khaldis", since the boundary-stone was intended for the inhabitants of the country and not for the gods. This throws light on the adjectival suffix *-si*: in *alśui-si-ni* the suffix *-si* will refer to the god Khaldis, while the suffix *-ni* agrees with the whole grammatical complex *Khaldinini*. Hence the form would literally be "of (the people) belonging to the mighty (god)".

14. Literally "one", *suśi-ni* in Vannic. The signification of *titiani* is fixed by the words which follow.

15. For *istini* see XCII, 5. The boundary-stone or stela has the form of a Roman milestone, except that it is

not round. Captain Molyneux-Seel is doubtless right in believing that it came originally from the citadel of Baghin.

POSTSCRIPT.—Professor Lehmann-Haupt tells me that the Baghin inscription was discovered by himself and Dr. Huntington, and that he has given an account of it in the *Verhandlungen* d. Berliner anthrop. Gesellschaft, 1900 (November 17), pp. 522–75, and the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxiii, pp. 175 ff., 1901, where he has supposed *Titiani* to be a proper name. This, however, is now excluded by the discovery of the meaning of *istini* which has since been made.

V

# WAS THERE A KUSANA RACE?

By Baron A. von STAËL-HOLSTEIN

THERE is no lack of numismatic evidence for the fact that the words *Kūšān šāhān šāh* and *Kūšān šāh* were used as personal attributes by certain princes reigning about the year A.D. 300. On the obverse of one of the coins in question Professor Marquart reads the legend: *mazdēsn bagē Pērōzē (i) wažurg Kūšān šāh*, "des mazda-verehrenden Gottes Pērōz, grossen Königs der Kūšān." M. Drouin translates the same legend as follows: "le mazdéen, le divin Pérose, grand Kouchan, roi."[1]

It would be difficult to decide which of these two translations was preferable, if the words *Kūšān šāh* were always preceded or followed by a personal name. This, happily, is not the case. Ibn Khordadbeh,[2] who wrote in the ninth century A.D., gives a list of many royal titles, and tells us that the title of the King of Transoxania (ماوراء النهر) was *Kūšan šāh* (كوشان شاه).

This enables us to state positively that the title *Kūšān šāh*, "king of the Kūšān," enjoyed a great prestige in A.D. 300, and was not forgotten even in the ninth century of the Christian era.

[1] See Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901, p. 49, and Drouin, *Revue numismatique*, 1896, p. 170.

[2] The author of the fundamental work *Turkestan at the time of the Mongol Invasion*, by W. Barthold, St. Petersburg, 1900 (in Russian), drew my attention to p. 98 of his book, where, while discussing the title *Kūšān šāh*, he refers to Ibn Khordadbeh (cf. de Goeje's edition of the latter's *Liber Viarum et Regnorum*, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, pars sexta, text p. 40, transl. p. 29). Cf. also *Annales quos scripsit . . . Tabari*, secunda series, iii, Recensuerunt I. Guidi, D. H. Müller, et M. J. de Goeje, Lugd. Bat., 1885–9, p. 1449, l. 21.

We find the earliest mention of the Chinese form of the title *Kūšān šāh*, viz. *Kuei-shuang-wang*, in the phrase [1] 自 (*tzŭ*) 立 (*li*) 爲 (*wei*) 王 (*wang*) 國 (*kuo*) 號 (*hao*) 貴 (*kuei*) 霜 (*shuang*) 王 (*wang*), "he [Kadphises I] established himself as a king (*wang*) and used the dynastic title 'king of the Kūšān'." This phrase occurs in the Hou-han-shu (Annals of the later Han dynasty), and from the same chronicle we learn that Kadphises I (K'iu-tsiu-k'io) at the beginning of his reign had to content himself with the more modest title of 貴 (*kuei*) 霜 (*shuang*) 翕 (*hsi*) 侯 (*hou*). It was only after having defeated certain rivals that he styled himself Kuei-shuang-wang (*Kūšān šāh*).

Everybody seems to admit that Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou (Cantonese pronunciation according to Williams' Cantonese dictionary: Kwai-séung-yap-hau) is the Chinese form of

[1] I give the original phrase as I find it in the Chinese block-print (As. Dep., No. 624, ch. 118, p. 11*b*) of the Hou-han-shu, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. A copy of the same edition has, apparently, been used by Dr. O. Franke, who quotes the same page in his book *Zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens* (Berlin, 1904, p. 66). The translation is mainly based on the authority of Dr. Franke, whose rendering of the phrase is, "Er setzte sich selbst als König (*wang*) ein und führte den dynastischen Titel König von Kuei-shuang."

It can hardly be doubted that the first word of the title *Kūšān šāh* represents the name of a race. Cf. the title Guṣanavaśasaṃvardhaka (according to M. Senart's reading of the Manikyāla inscription, *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier–Février, 1896, p. 8), which Professor Lüders translates by "scion of the Guṣana race" (JRAS., 1909, p. 666). M. Senart (op. cit., p. 12) hesitated between two alternative translations: "auteur de l'accroissement de la race des Koushans" and "issu de la race des Koushans". Dr. Thomas (JRAS. 1906, p. 203) translates the title by "propagator of the Kushan stock".

Dr. Vogel has been so kind as to supply me with his "provisional" reading of one of the inscriptions discovered near Muttra in March, 1912. The name of the king seems to be doubtful, but the titles *Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputro Kuṣāṇaputr*[*o*] are quite clear. It seems most natural to interpret as the name of a race the first part of the title *Kuṣāṇaputr*[*o*]. (The long vowel (*ā*) is also of great interest.)

Considering these facts, I have no doubt that "König der [*not* von] Kuei-shuang" is the correct German rendering of the title *Kuei-shuang-wang*.

the title Kuṣanayavuga, which is found on the Kharoṣṭhī side of some (type 1) of the coins of Kujula-Kadphises (Kadphises I).

The title Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou being undoubtedly represented on the coins of Kadphises I, it would seem extremely strange if no numismatic equivalent could be found for Kuei-shuang-wang (*Kūšān šāh*) on any pieces of that monarch. Does it not seem natural under these circumstances to consider the syllables *Khuṣanasa*,[1] which we find on the Kharoṣṭhī side of what Mr. Vincent Smith calls type 3 of Kadphises I's coins, as the equivalent of the title *Kūšān šāh*? And could not the corresponding syllables XOPANCY of the legend in Greek characters be regarded as a barbaric genitive of *XOPANCA, representing *Kūšān šāh*?

The fact that *Khuṣanasa* does not show the genitive termination (*Khuṣanasa*)*sa*[2] can easily be accounted for by assuming that the existing *sa* (=*šāh*) forms a compound with the next word of the Kharoṣṭhī legend.

The following are the full Kharoṣṭhī legends of the types Kadphises I, 1 and 3, according to Mr. Smith's catalogue (I replace the *sh* of the catalogue by *ṣ*):

[1] It is just possible that the Kharoṣṭhī letters read *Gushanasa* by Sir A. Cunningham represent another form of the title *Kūšān šāh*. Unfortunately, however, the letters immediately following *Gushanasa* in the Panjtar inscription are broken off or mutilated, except the first one, which according to the editor is R, or perhaps N. "The second letter, which is very doubtful, may be either *re*, or *ha*, or *ne*" (Cunningham, Archæological Reports, vol. v, p. 62). The original of the Panjtar inscription being lost (op. cit., p. 61) it will hardly be possible to use it for the purpose of proving or disproving my contentions.

[2] On some coins of Gondophares, who was a *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*, we find the title *sasasa* (Gardner, pp. 104, 106, 189) in Kharoṣṭhī characters, which probably represent the genitive of *sa*[*n*]*sa* (=*šāhān šāh*). I have not succeeded in ascertaining the presence of the sign representing *ṇ* (or *n*) at the bottom of the akṣara read *sa*(*sasa*) by Gardner, the lower part of it being, apparently, damaged on all the coins belonging to the Imperial Hermitage, as well as on the ones reproduced in the catalogues of Gardner and Smith. Cf. the title *saansa*(*an*) mentioned below (p. 87, note).

*Kujula-kasasa Kuṣana-yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa* (type 1); *Khuṣanasa yavüasa* [*sic*], or *yaüasa*, *Kuyula-kaphsasa sa*[*cha*]*dhrama*[*ṭhita*]*sa* (type 3).

Only the transcription of the first legend is followed by a translation ([coin] of Kujulakasa, the Kuṣān chief, the pious), and those who contend that *Khuṣanasa* is a genitive singular will hardly be able to interpret the second legend (type 3) without getting into difficulties. Besides having to admit that the equivalent of *Kūšān šāh* (*Kuei-shuang-wang*) cannot be found on the coins of Kadphises I, they will be forced to concede that he called himself "a Kūšān [and] a yavu[g]a" on some of his coins (*Khuṣanasa yavüasa*, type 3) and "the yavuga of the Kūšān" (*Kuṣanayavugasa*, type 1)[1] on others. Both difficulties vanish as soon as my interpretation of *Khuṣanasayavüasa*, "king [and] yavu[g]a of the Kūšān," is accepted.[2]

We know that the Persian word *šāh* has been rendered by the Greek letters *σα* (for instance in the name *σαπωρης* = šāhpūr), and the legend *σατραπυ ζε*[*ιω*]*ν*[*υ*]*σου*

[1] The translation of *Kuei-shuang-wang* as "king of the Kūšān" being certain, *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou* and its equivalent *Kuṣanayavuga* must mean "yavuga of the Kūšān".

The Kharoṣṭhī legends of Kadphises I's type 1 (*Kuṣanayavugasa*) are not only found on pieces bearing that monarch's Greek name on the obverse, but also on coins which he minted conjointly with Hermæus (cf. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. i, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906, p. 33). The Kharoṣṭhī legend, type 3 (*Khuṣanasayavüasa*), however, is found only on coins belonging exclusively to Kadphises I. This proves *Kuṣanayavugasa* (the admitted equivalent of *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou*) to be older than *Khuṣanasayavu*[*g*]*asa* (which, as suggested above, contains the equivalent of *Kuei-shuang-wang* [*Kūšān šāh*]).

It need hardly be pointed out how well the data of the Chinese Chronicle agree with the Kharoṣṭhī legends if interpreted according to my view. I do not discuss the types 2 and 4 of Kadphises I, the readings being too uncertain. I have, however, examined them without finding anything disproving my contentions.

[2] Accumulations of various titles are very frequent on the numismatic and epigraphic documents of the period, and it will hardly strike anyone as improbable that Kadphises I, after having assumed the more exalted dignity (*Kūšān šāh*), should retain his old title (*yavu*[*g*]*a*) by the side of the new one.

(Gardner, p. 110) shows that it is not impossible to regard XOPANCY as a genitive.[1] When composing his catalogue of the coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, Professor Gardner evidently considered XOPANCY as consisting of two words, (1) XOPAN and (2) CY (cf. Cat., p. 187). Both words the distinguished numismatist places under the heading "Scythic [titles] in Greek letters". He also states that the same word *συ* occurs on some coins of the king Hermæus. The fact that three of the four words composing the Greek legend (*βασιλεως στηρος συ ερμαιου*) of those coins undoubtedly show genitive terminations tends to support my explanation of XOPANCY[2] as a genitive of *XOPANCA (*Kūšan šāh*).

Some of Kaniṣka's coins, according to Mr. Smith, bear the following legend (on the obverse): ÞAONANOÞAO-KANHÞKIKOÞANO, *Ṣaonano - ṣao Kanēṣki Koṣano*, "Kaniṣka the Kuṣān, king of kings." (I replace Mr. Smith's *sh* by *ṣ*.) It is difficult to think of any reason why we should not consider KANHÞKI as the first (or the last) word of the legend, and KOÞANO ÞAONANO ÞAO as his title. This is the only arrangement which enables us to recognize the title *Kūšān šāh* (in an amplified form, cf. the title *Kūšān šāhān šāh* mentioned on p. 79) on the coins of the monarch who, surely, was the most prominent Kūšān ruler known to history.

I have already pointed out (Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, 1908, p. 1369) that the last three letters (ANO = *ānu*) of the genitive

[1] Professor Rapson (JRAS., 1897, p. 321) and Dr. Thomas (JRAS., 1913, p. 632) also regard XOPANCY as a genitive singular.

[2] It is a significant fact that we find the word *rajarajasa* on the Kharoṣṭhī side of several Hermæus (alone without Kadphises I) coins showing *συ* on the obverse, and that the word *rajarajasa* never appears on the pieces (mentioned by Gardner, Smith, and von Sallet, *Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*) bearing the shorter Greek legend *βασιλεως σωτηρος ερμαιου*. If there were no *συ* coins omitting *rajarajasa* we should possess an absolute proof for the fact that *συ* was a royal title.

plural ÞAONANO (according to Mr. Smith "of kings") represent the same termination which appears in the word *gyastānu* (genitive plural of a theme *gyasta*, meaning "deus"), and which generally indicates the genitive plural in the second "unknown" language of Eastern Turkestan.[1]

The second ANO of the title KOÞANO ÞAONANO[2] ÞAO almost certainly representing *ānu* (Professor Lüders, loc. cit., speaking about the title *ṣāhanuṣāhi*, says: "das griechische ANO kann für ānu stehen, wie BOΔΔO für Buddha zeigt"), the rendering of KOÞANO by Kuṣānu is, to say the least, possible. That this rendering is more than a possibility is suggested by various circumstances.

The *akṣara* corresponding to the letters (*guṣa*)*na* in the third line of the Manikyāla inscription (as read by M. Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, Janv.-Févr. 1896, p. 8, pl. i) shows a distinct hook at the bottom of the *mātṛkā*. The hook is absent from the *mātṛkā* in all other cases (fourteen) where *na* has been read, but it is clearly visible at the bottom of the *akṣara* representing *thu* (in *thuvaṃ*,

[1] The *a*-themes of that language generally show the termination *i* in the nominative singular, and in the article mentioned I compared the title *ṣāhānuṣāhi* (or *sāhāṇusāhi*), "king of kings," which apparently belonged to Kūšān princes (cf. Sir M. A. Stein's article in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p. 95 sq., and Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8), with the expression *gyastānu gyasti* (in the language ii "deorum deus"). I arrived at the conclusion that traces of the language ii could be found in the titles of the Kūšān princes. This view has since been accepted by Professors Konow (*Festschrift für Vilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 96) and Lüders (Sitzungsberichte Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., 1913, p. 426).

[2] Professor Konow accounts for the first N in ÞAONANO, which he explains as a genitive plural of a theme *ṣavan* (derived from *kṣāy*+*van*), by assuming that the N lost in the nominative singular ÞAO reappears before the termination of the genitive plural ANO. Dr. Salemann draws my attention to the fact that this explanation is confirmed by the existence of the words *χšē-van-ê* (king) and *χšâ-van* (might) occurring in the "Soghdische Texte" published by Professor F. W. K. Müller (see the index of that edition in the Abhandlungen Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., 1912 [published 1913], p. 108). Professor Konow tells me that his full explanation of the N will soon appear in the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

l. 6). M. Senart (op. cit., p. 11) has not overlooked the hook in the third line, and explains it as a "maladresse du lapicide".

On two coins of the Imperial Hermitage of St. Petersburg, and on at least as many specimens of Kadphises' I pieces belonging to the Kgl. Münzkabinett of Berlin, instead of *Kuṣanayavugasa* (type 1, cf. above, p. 82) we clearly read *Kuṣanuyavugasa*.

1 2 3

Reverses of Kadphises I's coins belonging to the Kgl. Münzkabinett (Nos. 1 and 2), and to the Imp. Hermitage (No. 3). The Greek legend of coin No. 3 has [κο]ζουλο (not [κο]ζουλα).

These facts obviously cannot be accounted for by assuming a series of identical blunders, and we shall have to admit that the word *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*)[1] really existed, or to suppose that the die-sinkers of Kadphises I conspired with the stone-cutters of the general Lala in order to puzzle future archæologists.

As soon as the explanation of KOÞANO as representing *Kuṣānu* is accepted, the interpretation of it as a genitive plural of the theme *Kuṣa* suggests itself (cf. *gyastānu gyasti*, "deorum deus"), and we are fortunately able to show that such a theme did exist at the time of Aśvaghoṣa's patron.

[1] The long *ā* generally being neglected in the Kharoṣṭhī writing of the period, both readings *Kuṣănu* (*Guṣănu*) and *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*) are possible. The fact that in the title *Kuṣāṇaputr*[*o*] (cf. sup., p. 80), on the (Pahlavi) legends deciphered by Drouin and Marquart (cf. sup., p. 79), in Khordadbeh's work, and in other Arabic texts the *ā* is clearly marked, suggests the reading *Kuṣānu* (*Guṣānu*) [not *Kuṣănu* (*Guṣănu*)]. Cf. also the legend *Kidâra Kushâna shâhi* mentioned by Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, p. 184.

In Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, which only exists in a Chinese translation, we find the phrase, 拘 (*kü*) 沙 (*sha*) 種 (*chung*) 中 (*chung*) 有 (*yiu*) 王 (*wang*) 名 (*ming*) 眞 (*chen*) 檀 (*tan*) 迦 (*kia*) 膩 (*ni*) 吒 (*ch'a*), "in the Kuṣa[1] (kü-sha) race there was a king (*wang*) called devaputra Kaniṣka (Kanikṣa)." According to Dr. Thomas' translation of the Mahārājakani[ṣ]kalekha, which has come down to us in a Tibetan version (*Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 356), Aśvaghoṣa writes to Kaniṣka: "Train yourself in the way of your own people: born in the Kuśa race (*ku-śahi-rigs-su*) do you impair not the household law of your ancestors."

Considering the fact that the existence of the theme Kuṣa, meaning "a member of Kaniṣka's race", is suggested by circumstances independent of the two texts just quoted, we must refuse to believe that Kuśa in both cases is nothing but an abbreviation of, or a mistake for, *Kuṣana*.

Consequently we are justified in translating the title KOÞANO ÞAONANO ÞAO by "the emperor of the Kuṣas", and *Kūšān šāh*[2] *by* "the king of the Kuṣas (or Kūšas)".

[1] It cannot be disputed that *kü-sha* represents *Kuṣa*. Cf. M. Sylvain Lévi's translation of the passage, *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Déc., 1896, p. 457. The character 沙 (*sha*) is in many transcribed texts the regular representative of ष (*ṣa*). See my edition of the *Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan* (Aśvaghoṣa's *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* in a Chinese transcription, Bibliotheca Buddhica, xv, p. 179). According to Giles' Dict. (No. 2886) 種 (*chung*), i.a., means "race". I quote the Chinese phrase from the copy of the Tripiṭaka (vol. xix, fasc. 4, ch. 6, p. 93*b*) belonging to the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. It was Professor Konow who first pointed out to me that some confirmation could be found for my view (*Kuṣa*, not *Kuṣana*) in Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṃkāra*.

[2] Cf. the title شاه هندوان (transcribed *Hindowân-schâh* by de Goeje and followed by "dans l'Inde" in the translation of Khordadbeh's work, p. 13) and the title Σεγανσαά, "the king of the Çakas," mentioned by a Greek historian of the sixth century A.D.: Ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος Οὐαραράνῃ τῷ τοῦδε πατρὶ ἐδεδούλωτο, εἰκότως ἄρα ὁ παῖς Σεγανσαὰ (Segansaa) ἐπωνόμαστο· δύναται γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ Σεγεστανῶν βασιλεύς (Segestanorum rex). This passage we find in Agathias (ed. Niebuhrius, Bonnæ, MDCCCXVIII, p. 261). The Latin

The fact that on some coins of Kadphises I we find the title *Kuṣānu yavuga* with the Scythian case suffix (genitive plural) preserved in the half-Prākṛtized legend, shows that the first part of *Kuṣana yavuga* (the form which the title takes on other pieces of the same monarch) must be regarded as a Prākrit genitive plural (*Kuṣāna* or *Kuṣāṇa*).[1]

Those who accept the interpretation of *Kuṣāna yavugasa* (Kadphises I, type 1) as meaning "of the yavuga of the Kuṣas", will admit that the explanation (the improbability of which has been demonstrated by other considerations, cf. sup., p. 82) of *Khuṣanasa-yavu[g]asa* (Kadphises I, type 3) as consisting of two genitives singular becomes impossible.

They will have to concede that *Khuṣana* (read *Khuṣāna*) *sa* is one of the forms of the title *Kūšān šāh*, and that the corresponding XOPANCY is a barbaric genitive of *XOPANCA also representing *Kūšān šah*, "king of the Kuṣas (or Kūšas)."

It is a well-known fact that there is a Sanskrit word signifying "store" which the classical writers spell both ways: *kośa* and *koṣa*. It is much less astonishing that a foreign word should be spelt *Kuśa* (in the *Kani[ṣ]kalekha*), and *Kuṣa* (in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*). Under these circumstances I do not think it necessary to blame *Tibetan* scribes for the spelling *Kuśa*, and

equivalents mentioned are those of Bonaventura Vulcanius' translation which accompanies Agathias' Greek text. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (ed. Gardthausen, Lipsiæ, MDCCCLXXIII, vol. i, p. 173) the title *saansaan*, "rex regibus imperans," belonged to the Persian king Sapor [II?], and I have no doubt that *saansaan* is nothing but a clerical error for *saansa* or *saansaa* (=*šāhān šāh*).

[1] No mechanical reproduction of the newly (March, 1912) discovered Muttra inscription mentioned above (p. 80) being at hand, Dr. Vogel was unable to tell me whether the reading *Kuṣāṇuputr[o]* (instead of *Kuṣāṇaputr[o]*) was possible or not. In any case the interpretation of that title would be identical with the translation of *Guṣanuva[ṃ]ša-saṃvardhaka* (cf. sup., pp. 80, 84), viz. "scion of the Kuṣa (Guṣa) race".

I believe that both ways of spelling the name were current in *India*. I think that these considerations enable us to recognize the name of Kaniṣka's race in the one of the dvīpa (Kuśadvīpa) mentioned immediately after the Śākadvīpa by the *Matsyapurāṇa* (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. i, p. 235). In the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Bibl. Buddhica, xiii, p. 52) we find among the names of the Cakravartins the Great Kuśa (Mahākuśa), Kuśa, and Upakuśa. The rôle assigned to Kuśa, the son of Rāma, in Indian mythology is certainly not marked enough to explain the inclusion of his name in the chapter just quoted, and it does not seem impossible to connect the Mahākuśa, etc., of the *Mahāvyutpatti* with the second Aśoka.

Whatever we might think of the derivation of Kuśadvīpa, Mahākuśa, etc., we must admit that Aśvaghoṣa is the best imaginable authority on the main question involved, and that Kuṣa (not Kuṣana) was the correct name of the warlike race that gave Kaniṣka to the Buddhist world.

# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## The Pabhosa Inscriptions

From a cave-residence at Pabhōsā, close to Kōsam in the Allahābād District, we have two inscriptions which present matter for comment.[1] They were edited in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 2, pp. 242, 243, by Dr. Führer, who, on account of the resemblance of their letters to those of the Śuṅga period, B.C. 183 to 72, assigned them to "the second or first century B.C." And Bühler gave in his *Indian Palæography*, plate 2, col. 19, an alphabet from them, which on the same basis he assigned to "about B.C. 150."[2]

The two inscriptions register one and the same act, the founding of the cave: but they do so in different terms:—

No. 1, which is on the rock outside the cave, over the left corner of the entrance door, says:—"By Āsāḍhasēna, maternal uncle of the *Rājan* Gōpālīputra-Bahasatimittra (*and*) son of Gōpālī the Vaihidarī, (*this*) cave has been caused to be made, in the tenth year of Ūdāka (?), [for the use] of the Kaśśapīya Arahaṁtas."

No. 2, which is inside the cave, on the west wall, says:—"Caused to be made by Ashāḍhasēna, son of the Vaihidarī, (*and*) son of the *Rājan* Tēvaṇīputtra-Bhāgavata, son of Vaṅgapāla *Rājan* of Adhichhatrā (*and*) son of Śōnakāyana."

[1] They are Nos. 904, 905, in Professor Lüders's List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix.

[2] He compared the characters of them with those of the inscription, which refers itself to the time of the Śuṅgas, on a pillar at Bharaut, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 138, from which, with two letters, *ū* and *ī*, added from other sources, he gave an alphabet in col. 18 of the same plate, with the same assignment, "about B.C. 150."

The purport of these two inscriptions is calculated to present them as being very closely contemporaneous, if not actually so. And Bühler seems to have regarded them in that light: at any rate, he gave a combined alphabet from them, taking his illustrations, indeed, chiefly from No. 1, but figuring at least the *kā*, *ñō* (imperfectly), *dhi*, and *śō* from No. 2. But we must bear in mind that he did not choose by any means all the selections presented in his plates: also, that the magnitude of his task was such as to preclude the detailed examination of records which becomes necessary in other circumstances. And an inspection of details in this case shows marked differences between the two records, which tend to separate them somewhat widely.

First, as regards language. The language of both the records is classed as Mixed Dialect: but that of No. 2 is an advance on that of No. 1, which is more of a Prākṛit. It is true that No. 1 has *rājñō*, once, while No. 2 has *rāñō*, twice. But No. 2 has *putrēṇa*, with the lingual *ṇ*, twice, against the *putrēna*, with the dental *n*, once, of No. 1: and it has the genitive in *sya*, four times, against the genitive in *sa*, twice or perhaps three times, of No. 1.[1] In No. 2 the first component of the name of the founder of the cave is *ashāḍha* (for *āshāḍha*): in No. 1 it is *āsāḍha* (also for *āshāḍha*).

Secondly, as regards the alphabet: here we have differences between the two records which are not indicated at all by the selection given in Bühler's plate.

No. 1 presents two types of *r*. One *r* is of the same general style with the waved *r* which is found in the records of Aśōka at Girnār and Rūpnāth and in Mysore;[2]

[1] In No. 1, l. 6, the word *ūdākasa* is damaged and doubtful: but the last syllable of it is at any rate not *sya*. The first syllable seems to be the long *ū*; not the short *u* as read by Professor Lüders.

[2] See Bühler, ii, 34, viii–xii.

but it is not waved to the same extent, the bends being reduced in number by using longer strokes for them: this *r* occurs twice, in *rājñō*, l. 1, and *vaihidarī*, l. 4, and has been illustrated by Bühler from the latter word. The other *r* is of the type in which the waved stroke was superseded by a plain straight one:[1] this *r*, which was not illustrated, is seen very clearly in *kāritaṁ*, l. 6, and is also found in *savachharē* and *arahaṁ*, l. 7.

No. 2, again, presents two types of *r*, neither of which is illustrated by the selection. It has not the waved *r*; except to the extent to which the subscript *r* is waved in both this record and in No. 1, in the stage before that in which it assumed the form of a smooth sweeping curved stroke. It has (1) the plain straight *r* of No. 1, which it presents in *rāñō*, l. 2, and *vaihidarī* and *kāritaṁ*, l. 3. And it has (2) a still later type—later by two stages, in fact—in which the bottom of the letter was finished off by a bend up to the left: this is presented in *rāñō*, l. 1.

In No. 1 the subscript *u* in *putrasa*, l. 1, and *putrēna*, l. 4, is a plain straight vertical stroke.[2] In No. 2, in *puttrasya* at the middle of l. 2, the *u* is finished off, to match the second *r* of this record, by a bend up to the left; and in *putrasya* at the beginning of l. 2 and *putrēṇa* at the end of that line and again in l. 3, either the same form was intended but was not properly completed, or we have instances of an intermediate type, similar to that through which the *r* passed, in which the letter was finished off by a curve down to the left, before the bend upwards was developed.

[1] In this *r* in both the records, and in many other letters too, the straight lines which were intended have not always been well followed: but the intention is plain.

[2] In *mātulēna*, l. 3, the *u* is of a different type, as was customary in connection with the letter *t*; being a short straight horizontal stroke to the right from the end of the lower right-hand part of the *t*, as in Bühler's ii, 23, v, viii, xxiv.

There are other letters the development of which also went more or less along with that of the *r*.[1] One is the palatal *ñ*. In No. 1 the main stroke of this letter is a plain straight one. In No. 2 it is finished off, as in the *r*, by a bend up to the left: this can be seen clearly in the *rāñō* of l. 1, though this *ñō* has been figured in the selection without showing this detail; and it seems to have been intended in also the *rāñō* of l. 2.

Other such letters are the initial *a* and *ā*. Both of these occur in No. 1; and each of them is formed there entirely between what we may call the two lines of the writing.[2] In No. 2 we have apparently only the short *a*, twice:[3] in both cases the vertical stroke is prolonged, like that of the *r*, to a length below the bottom line of the writing equal to about the measure between the lines; and in one of them, in *adhichhatrāyā*, l. 1, though perhaps not in the other case in l. 3, there seems to have been an intention, not fully carried out, to finish off the vertical, as in the *r* and *ñ* of the next word, *rāñō*, by a bend up to the left. These details, again, are not shown in the selection in Bühler's plate, where both the vowels are figured from the inscription No. 1.

In view of such differences as these, in both the language and the alphabet, it is plain that the two inscriptions cannot have been either composed by the same person or written by the same hand, at any rate

[1] The *k* in particular is such a letter: in these two inscriptions, however, we have only the *k* which matched the second *r* of No. 1 and the first *r* of No. 2; not the *k*, with the bend up to the left at the bottom of the vertical stroke, which answered to the second *r* of No. 2.

[2] This expression is a convenient way of indicating the limits and size of such letters as were made like our a, c, e, m, etc, without any projections above as in b, d, f, or below as in g, j, p. But, whatever may have been done in subsequent times, the more ancient writers evidently did not use much, if at all, the expedient of ruling two such lines with a view to insuring uniformity in their work; and the result was generally a considerable variation in the relative sizes of all the letters.

[3] In l. 3, *ashāḍha* seems to have been written, instead of *āshāḍha*.

not at all at the same time, and cannot be contemporaneous records: an appreciable interval must be placed between them. We need not hesitate to accept Bühler's estimate, about B.C. 150, as the approximate date of No. 1: it is justified by the general style of the characters, and in particular by the occurrence of the waved *r* and the form of it which is presented. But No. 2 must be placed at least half a century later; though the use in it, as in No. 1, of a peculiar form of the superscript long *ī*, resembling in some cases the twisted horns of an antelope,[1] seems to preclude any much longer interval than that. And it seems to be a commemorative record, due to a son, grandson, or relative, or some admirer, of Āshāḍhasēna: apparently the inscription No. 1 was not easily readable, if at all, from the ledge in front of the cave, and No. 2 was therefore put up in a convenient position inside the cave, so that the name of the founder of the cave might be known and his memory might be preserved.

J. F. FLEET.

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## GINGER

The short note which I contributed under the above heading to this Journal for 1912 (p. 475 f.) has elicited communications from several scholars which encourage me to ventilate the same subject once more and to sum up the results of its discussion by Dr. Thomas and others.

The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya informed me that in Tamiḻ the word *vērkkombu* is used for both green and dry ginger, and that the usual Tamiḻ word for "dry ginger" is *śukku*. The former fact was mentioned also by Professor Kern, and the second by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar. First of all it may be convenient to arrange

[1] Figured by Bühler, along with the waved *r*, in the *rī* of *vaihidarī*, No. 1, l. 4.

in three groups the various terms used in some Indian dialects.

1. *Dry ginger*

Tamiḷ *śukku*, Sanskrit, Kanarese, and Malayāḷam *śuṇṭhi*, Telugu *śoṇṭhi*[1] or *śoṇṭhikommu*, Hindī *sōṇṭh*.

2. *Green ginger*

Sanskrit *ārdraka*, Hindī *ādā*, Telugu and Kanarese *alla*,[2] Tamiḷ and Malayāḷam *iñji*.

3. *Ginger in general*

Pāli *siṅgivēra*, Sanskrit *śṛiṅgavēra*, Tamiḷ *vērkkombu*.

The first group offers no difficulties: Dr. Thomas (above, 1912, p. 1093) is probably correct in deriving *śukku* and *śuṇṭhi*, etc., "dry ginger", from the Sanskrit *śushka*, "dry", and **śushṭi*.[3] His derivation of these terms is further supported by that of their counterparts *ārdraka*, *ādā*, *alla*, "green ginger" (Dr. Thomas, above, 1905, p. 170). It is not only self-evident that *ārdraka* goes back to the Sanskrit *ārdra*, "wet", but *alla* is known from other sources to be one of the recognized *tadbhavas* of the latter; see Hēmachandra's Prākṛit Grammar, i, 82, and Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *allo* (where, however, no derivation is given).

We have now to consider the Sanskrit *śṛiṅgavēra* and Tamiḷ–Malayāḷam *iñji*. The former seems to be the prototype of the Arabic *zanjabīl* which occurs in the Koran (76, 17). But, as remarked by Professor Franke (ZDMG, 47. 600), the Greek ζιγγίβερις is more closely related to the Pāli *siṅgivēra*, and Professor Jolly has actually found the more ancient Sanskrit form *śṛiṅgivēra* in the medical *Bhēḍasaṁhitā* (above, 1905, p. 168). These facts render Professor Uhlenbeck's derivation of *śṛiṅgavēra* from

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 6, p. 238, text line 141 f.

[2] Loc. cit., text line 138.

[3] But, as Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar suggests, *śuṇṭhi* may be connected with the Tamil root *śuṇḍu*, "to dry up".

*śṛiṅga* and its translation by "horn-shaped" untenable. Moreover, the Sanskrit word *vēra*, "the body", which figures in his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache* (Amsterdam, 1898–9), p. 297, is a fiction of Sanskrit lexicographers. They inferred its existence from the name of the god Kuvēra, which they explained by "misshapen";[1] see Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Uṇādisūtras (ed. Aufrecht, Bonn, 1859), i, 60 (p. 17). As I have pointed out before (above, 1912, p. 475), Dr. Gundert was the first to derive *siṅgivēra* from the Tamiḻ and Malayāḷam *iñji*, "green ginger", + *vēr*, "a root". He further compared *iñji* with Sanskrit *chiñchāṭaka* or *chiñchōṭaka* (which, however, cannot be proved to mean "ginger"), and thus arrived at **chiñji* as the supposed prototype of *iñji*. The Greek form ζιγγίβερις and the Arabic *zanjabīl* would rather take us to an original form **ziṅgi*. At any rate, the Pāli *siṅgivēra* shows an initial sibilant which has been lost in the Tamiḻ *iñji*. In this connexion Professor Kern has favoured me with the following interesting remarks:—

"In my opinion the older Draviḍian language possessed an *s*. I find the proof for it in the absence of the sibilant in the oldest words derived from Sanskrit, e.g. *āyiram* from *sahasram*. According to my theory this became first **saasiram*, as *sr* could not remain. After the language had lost the sibilant, **saasiram* became **aa(y)iram*, and finally *āyiram*. In the same way *āvaṇi* comes from a Prākṛit form *sāvaṇi* (Sanskrit *śrāvaṇī*, properly the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa), and *āḍi* from *āshāḍhī* (Tamiḻ *āshāḍam* is a later importation). Sometimes *y* takes the place of a Sanskrit or Prākṛit sibilant, e.g. *āyāyam* = Sanskrit *ākāśa* or Prākṛit

[1] Dr. Kittel (Kannaḍa Dictionary, p. xix) derived *vēra* from the Tamiḻ *vayiṟu*, "the belly", a word which was known to Bhaṭṭa Kumārila; see now *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 42, p. 201. In a Bharaut inscription (id. 21. 234, No. 92) the word *Kuvēra* is spelt *Kupira*.

*ākāsa*.[1] This *y* may have originated through a softening of *ś*, perhaps *ź*. It is worth noting that some dialects still possess an *s*. Thus in Kui the numeral 'five' is *siṅ-gi* and the numeral 'six' *saj-gi*, and in Gōṇḍī the same are *saiyūṅg* and *sārāṅg*; i.e. *si* and *sai* correspond to the *ai* of Tamiḻ *aindu*, 'five', and *sa* and *sā* to the *ā* of Tamiḻ *āṟu*, 'six'." [2]

The ancient Draviḍian word **siṅgi* or **ziṅgi*, the existence of which may be inferred from the comparison of *iñji* with *siṅgivēra* and *ζιγγίβερις*, need not be indigenous in India. As suggested by Dr. Thomas (above, 1905, p. 169), it may have been imported with the article which it denotes from Burma, Siam, or China, where the drug is designated by similar names.

The curious Tamiḻ word *vērkkombu*, "ginger", consists of *vēr*, "a root", and *kombu*, "a horn", and looks like a later retranslation of the artificial Sanskrit word *śṛiṅgavēra*, though in the latter the "horn" did not follow but preceded the "root". A similar formation is the Telugu *śoṇṭhikommu*, where *śoṇṭhi*, "dry ginger", is combined with *kommu*, "a horn".

For a list of other Sanskrit words which may be borrowed from the Draviḍian languages see Dr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, pp. xvii ff. I would add **काञ्जिक**, "rice-gruel", = Tamiḻ *kañji*, **मुरङ्गी** or **मुरङ्गी**, "the horse-radish tree", = Tamiḻ *muruṅgai*, Malayāḷam *muriṅṅa*, Telugu *munaga*, Kanarese *nugge*, and **विट**, "a roué", which is perhaps connected with the Tamiḻ root *viḍu*, "to abandon". From Dr. Gundert's list (ZDMG, 23. 521) may be added **काण**, "one-eyed", = Tamiḻ *kāṇā*, "not seeing".

[1] Dr. Gundert (ZDMG, 23. 524) adds the following examples:—Tamiḻ *amaṇa*, *īyam*, *Īḻam* = Prākṛit *samaṇa*, *sīsa*, *Sīhala*, and Malayāḷam *mayayiram* and *ōṇam* = Sanskrit *mṛigaśiras* and *śravaṇa*.—E. H.

[2] Cf. also the Telugu *padi-hēnu*, "fifteen", and *pada-hāru*, "sixteen" in which the *h* may represent an original *s*.—E. H.

I avail myself of this opportunity for a correction of my remarks on the participle *nipista*, "written", in the Shāhbāzgarhi text of Aśōka's rock-edicts (above, 1913, p. 654). It must not be derived from the Sanskrit *nish-pishṭa*, "ground", but rather from *nipishta*, "written", which occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia; see Professor Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, New York, 1908, p. 111. The word is still living in the modern Persian نوشتن, "to write". As the Shāhbāzgarhi version is the only one in which the Indian *likhita*, "written", is replaced by *nipista*, would it be too hazardous to assume that the latter is a foreign word which was imported from Īrān along with the Kharōshṭhī alphabet? And may *pustaka*, "a book",—a word for which no satisfactory etymology is found in Sanskrit—be connected with it?

E. HULTZSCH.

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## VARENDRA

The Varendra Anusandhāna Samiti (Research Society) was started in the year 1910, in the district of Rājshāhi in Northern Bengal, chiefly through the exertions of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, M.A., of Dighapatiya in that district, with the object of carrying on antiquarian research in the tract of country called in Sanskrit literature Varendra, and in modern colloquial language "the Barind". This is a tract of comparatively high land, which includes portions of the Malda, Rājshāhi, Dinājpur, Rangpur, and Bogra Districts in the Rājshāhi Division, with a stiff soil of reddish clayey loam, distinguishing it from the remainder of those districts, the soil of which is sandy alluvium of recent formation. In its general direction this belt of land runs east and west, comprising Western Bogra, South-Western Rangpur, Southern Dinājpur, and Northern Rājshāhi, but on the

west the belt takes a turn southward, and extends almost to the Ganges at Godāgāri, embracing the eastern portion of Malda and part of Western Rājshāhi. The tract in question contains many remains of ancient towns, forts, temples, and palaces, and it appears probable that the capital cities of rulers, who at different times extended their sway over wide territories in Bengal and adjacent provinces, were situated within its limits. There is evidence that the tract was once densely populated—it probably was so at a time when the adjacent stretches of more recent alluvium had not risen high enough to be fit for habitation. In later times, owing to causes not ascertained, the Barind became depopulated, overgrown with forest, and unhealthy, while population flocked into the lower alluvial areas adjoining, as these rose higher, and became cultivable and habitable. Owing to the jungle with which they were covered or surrounded, the archæological remains of the Barind were for a long time difficult of access to explorers, but some of them have been examined and described by different investigators, among whom Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, General Sir Alexander Cunningham, Messrs. Westmacott and Ravenshaw, and Dr. Blochmann, may be mentioned. In recent years, a great part of the Barind has again been opened up and brought under cultivation, largely through the agency of Santāli immigrants, and the work of investigation has thereby been greatly facilitated.

The traditional boundaries of Varendra are the Mahānandā River on the west and the Karatoyā on the east, the latter river marking the western boundary of Kāmrup, while the Mahānandā was the eastern limit of Mithila or Tirhut. Karatoyā was the name borne in ancient times by the lower course of the great Tistā River, from the point where it issues from the Himalayas. This part of the course of the Tistā has, like so many other Indian rivers, frequently shifted. In Rennell's map of

1770 the Tistā is shown as flowing from the hills almost due south, and ultimately joining the Ganges, whereas now it takes a south-easterly course, and joins the Brahmaputra near Chilmāri in Rangpur District.

It is known that in the year 1787 a change in the course of the Tistā occurred, the river swinging eastward to join the Brahmaputra at Chilmāri, and then combining with the Brahmaputra to force a new channel southward. Before that great change, the mighty river, which now sweeps down from Chilmāri to join the Ganges at Goalanda, and is known locally as the Jamunā, but is shown on maps as forming the lower course of the Brahmaputra, did not exist,—the Brahmaputra from Chilmāri flowing eastward through what is now the Maimansing District, where an attenuated stream bearing its name is at present found. Portions of rivers, or abandoned river beds, bearing locally the name of Karatoyā, are found in different places in the Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, and Bogra Districts, and probably mark some ancient course of the Tistā or Karatoyā. One such river, a narrow, sluggish stream, flows through the Bogra District, immediately to the east of Bogra town and of the site of an ancient city now known as Mahāsthān, or "the great place", which has been identified by some as the city of Puṇḍravardhana, described by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. This Karatoyā marks the eastern limit of the Barind, as it is now known, the land to the west of the river being a stiff, reddish clay, while the land to the east of it is composed of loose, friable, sandy loam.

The River Mahānandā issues from the Himalayas, a few miles to the west of the Tistā, and takes a westerly course for some distance before it turns south to join the Ganges at Godāgāri. In the lower part of its course the Mahānandā still marks the western limit of the Barind, the land to the east of it being comparatively high and of

a stiff soil, while to the west is alluvial land of lower level and more recent formation.

The name Gauḍa appears to have been used in ancient times, in its narrower sense, as a synonym for Varendra, but, when the rulers of that region extended their sway to adjacent countries, the former name was employed in a wider sense, including countries subject to them besides Varendra proper. In later times the name came to be applied to the city 8 miles west of the Mahānandā, which became the Muhammadan capital of Bengal. That city, known before the Muhammadan conquest as Lakhnāotī (Lakshmaṇāvatī) was first chosen as the capital of his kingdom by Lakshmaṇa Sena, the last Hindu ruler of Gauḍa, and probably acquired the name of Gauḍa from the country of which it was the capital. Before the Muhammadan conquest, the name Gauḍa seems to have been always applied to a country, kingdom, or empire, not to a city.

In the seventh century, at the time of Yuan Chwang's pilgrimage, Puṇḍravardhana was the name of a kingdom subordinate to Harshavardhana's empire, and of the kingdom's capital, the site of which was probably at the place now known as Mahāsthān in Bogra, at the extreme eastern limit of Varendra proper. In copper-plate grants of the Pāla kings of Gauḍa, Dharmapāla, Mahipāla I, Vigrahapāla III, and Madanapāla, Puṇḍravardhanabhukti is mentioned as a province or division of the kingdom. The names Puṇḍra and Pauṇḍra, with which Puṇḍravardhana is obviously connected, also appear in different ancient writings as appellations of states, or provinces, or tracts of country.

The special interest of Varendra as a field of antiquarian research lies in its having been the home of the great Pāla dynasty, which ruled for some three centuries over the greater part of Bengal and Bihār, and at times brought under its sway adjacent territories in

Northern India, forming what may properly be described as an empire. The founder of the dynasty, Gopāla, who appears to have been a petty chief in Varendra, rose to power in a period of anarchy, towards the end of the eighth century, being chosen by some form of election as paramount ruler of Gauḍa, and succeeded later in bringing Magadha, or South Bihār, under his control. His succęssor, Dharmapāla, extended his power further to the west, and dethroned the king of Pañchāla, whose capital was Kanauj. The Senas, who replaced the Pālas in the twelfth century, are believed, on acquiring Varendra, to have made their capital at Bijayanagar near Godāgāri in the south-west of the tract, and to have subsequently moved to Lakshmanāvatī, the town which afterwards took the name of Gauḍa.

During the short period of the Varendra Research Society's existence, its members have been very active in exploring the various sites in Rājshāhi, Bogra, Rangpur, and Dinājpur, where remains of antiquarian interest are found, and a collection has been made of specimens of mediæval sculpture and ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, which have been housed temporarily in the building of the Rājshāhi Public Library. The Society proposes to publish a series of Bengali monographs dealing with different subjects connected with the history of Bengal. Two of these have already appeared:—*Gauḍarājamālā*, a history of Gauḍa down to the Muhammadan invasion; and Part I of *Gauḍalekhamālā*, an edition of inscriptions of the Pāla reigns with Sanskrit texts in the Nāgarī character, and translations and critical notes in Bengali. Other publications contemplated are Part II of *Gauḍalekhamālā*, comprising additional Pāla inscriptions, and those of the Varman and Sena dynasties, Part III of the same series (a collection of Arabic and Persian inscriptions relating to the time of the Pathān Sultans of Gauḍa), a descriptive account of places

of antiquarian interest in Varendra, a history of Gauḍian Art, a treatise on ethnology, and works on grammar and Tantric philosophy, from manuscripts found in Varendra.

The Pāla Kings were Buddhists, and, when at the height of their power, were certainly the greatest reigning sovereigns of that religion in India. It is, therefore, not without reason that the claim is made that "from the ninth to the twelfth century, the whole of the Buddhist world drew its inspiration in religious literature and art from the Kingdom of Gauḍa".

The ancient university of Nālanda lay within its borders; Dharmapāla, the second Pāla King, founded a second great university at Vikramasila; and a third seat of learning, at Jagaddala in Varendra, flourished during the Pāla period.

According to the Tibetan historian, Tārānāth, two great religious painters and sculptors, named Dhiman and Vitapal, flourished in Varendra in the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla; and it is surmised that some of the best specimens of mediæval sculpture found in Bengal may be the work of those artists or their schools. The marks of decadence are discernible in sculpture attributed to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which saw the decline and fall of the kingdom of Gauḍa.

Although the inscriptions contained in part i of the *Gauḍalekhamālā* have all been printed before in different publications, a valuable service has been rendered to the history of Bengal by their collection in one place, and by the learned and discriminating commentaries of Babu Akhaya Kumar Maitra. The introduction to this collection contains an interesting quotation from the Yājnavalkya Saṁhitā and its commentary of rules for the drafting of royal deeds of gift, in which it is laid down that the grant should be engrossed on a sheet of cotton or a copper-plate, should be preceded by an account of the

virtues and prowess of the donor and his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, should contain a specification of the donee and the land granted, with its boundaries, etc., and should bear the Rāja's seal, with the date.

The seven copper-plate grants, which are reproduced in the collection, comply more or less closely with these instructions, the preliminary eulogium of the donor and his family being in verse; the essential portion, namely, the words conveying the grant, with the description and boundaries of the land, the name and additions of the donee, and the date, in prose; and the documents concluding with some comminatory verses, directed against anyone who should disturb the grantees' possession in future. It is noteworthy that the earliest grant, of Dharmapāla, which must be assigned to the first half of the ninth century, and the latest one, of Madanapāla, probably executed early in the twelfth century, are in the same form and are largely expressed in the same words.

These grants throw some light on the Pāla system of administration, which was evidently of the feudal type. Dharmapāla's grant recites that a feudal chief named Nārāyaṇa Varma had, through the Juvarāja or heir-apparent, informed his overlord Dharmapāla that he (Nārāyaṇa Varma) had erected a temple to the god Vishṇu, and requested Dharmapāla to make a grant of four villages to the Brahmin who had been appointed guardian of the temple. It would appear that the largest territorial division, the *bhukti*, contained so many *maṇḍalas*, each *maṇḍala* so many *viṣayas*, and each *viṣaya* so many *grāmas* or villages.

The prose portion of each grant is in the form of a notification addressed to members of the royal family, to a long list of officials, whose posts are specified, and to the cultivators of the locality, calling upon them to respect the grant. The lists of officials vary slightly in the different grants, and the functions of all of them have

not been ascertained—they may afford an interesting subject of speculation and inquiry,—but they include, besides police and revenue officials of different grades, overseers of elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, and sheep. They would thus suggest a somewhat elaborate system of administration, though of course it does not follow that all the classes of officials mentioned in each grant actually existed at the date to which it belongs. The cultivators are exhorted to pay to the donee the customary taxes, and all other kinds of revenue. These taxes appear to have included, besides the royal land-tax of a sixth part of the produce, a number of subsidiary rates and cesses payable on different accounts—perhaps the prototypes of the *abwābs* with which we are familiar in Bengal. In certain of the grants the notification takes the form, *matam astu bhavatām*, "May it please you gentlemen," which Babu Akhaya Kumar Maitra regards as reflecting the democratic basis of the Pālas' power. In other cases the formula is *viditam astu*, "Be it known."

Although the Pālas were Buddhists, there is evidence that Brahmanical Hinduism enjoyed a large measure of tolerance under their rule; the hereditary ministers of four successive kings of the dynasty, including the two greatest, Dharmapāla and Devapāla, belonged to a Brahmin family, and grants of land to Hindu temples and Brahmins were made by different sovereigns of the line.

The *Gauḍarājamālā*, by Babu Rāmaprasād Canda, with an introduction by Babu Akhaya Kumar Maitra, contains an exhaustive discussion of the evidence bearing on the early history of Bengal supplied by inscriptions found in Bengal and other parts of India, and available from other sources. Not the least interesting part of the work is that devoted to refuting the improbable but commonly accepted account of the conquest of Gauḍa contained in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. Babu

Rāmaprasād Canda shows that the "Bihar" so easily captured by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar was probably not a fortress, nor a capital city, but a Buddhist college or monastery. He also throws doubt on the identification of the "Nodiyah" of the Tabakat-i-Nasiri as Nadiya, and suggests that it may have been the same as Bijayapura, the ruins of which are believed to have been found at the place now called Bijayanagar, near Godāgāri. However this may be, it seems probable that, after Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar had conquered and occupied Magadha, or South Bihār, Lakshmaṇa Sena removed his capital from Lakshmaṇāvatī to some place at a safer distance from the frontier, and that, later on, Lakshmaṇāvatī and Western Varendra succumbed without much resistance to the Muhammadan invader.

There is some reason for surmising that, before this invasion, the Muhammadan religion had been introduced in Northern Bengal by means of peaceful conversion, the missionary preparing the way for the soldier. But the capture of Lakshmaṇāvatī by no means implied the complete conquest of Bengal. Probably it was not till long after the death of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar that Muhammadan supremacy came to be acknowledged throughout Varendra, and even then a great part of the tract continued to be administered by Hindu feudatory chiefs.

F. J. MONAHAN.

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## SOME CRITICAL NOTES ON AŚVAGHOSA'S BUDDHACARITA[1]

In 1912 Professor C. Formichi published a new (Italian) translation of this grand poem of Aśvaghoṣa, with introduction and critical notes. This work was

[1] [The death of Professor Speijer while this article was passing through the press is a matter for profound regret, and not less on account of his personal qualities than of the eminent services which he had rendered, and might still have rendered, to Sanskrit and Buddhist studies. An

reviewed in the ZDMG. for that year (lxvi, 517–19) by Professor E. Leumann, with whose praise and blame—for his appreciation was of mixed character—I fully agree. In some respects Professor Formichi's translation marks a progress since Cowell; yet in many a case he is in the wrong, as will appear to any scholar who takes the trouble to compare both.

The appearance of a new book on the Buddhacarita induced me to read the poem carefully over once more. As a small fruit of this perusal I offer to the readers of this Journal some new proposals for emending corrupt passages. Some of them presented themselves to my mind in this *iterata lectio*; others I have taken from my previous marginal notes. *Boni consulas, benevole lector!*

First of all, I would draw attention to a large gap in canto I, which, I believe, has until now not been observed.

The passage I, 35–45, describes in detail the rejoicing of all classes of beings, Devas, Nāgas, etc., at the birth of the Bodhisattva in his last existence, and points out the manifold tokens of honour and worship which they bestow upon the holy child. This description not only ends abruptly, but in the next verse (I, 46) the reader is on a sudden transported to a quite different stage. He finds himself, without the slightest hint of this transition being supplied by the poet, a hearer of the answer given by the learned Brahmans to Śuddhodana concerning the destiny of his son. This verdict of the *naimittikas*

obituary notice is printed below. After perusing in MS. and later in proof my respected friend's contribution, I had intended to examine and report to him the evidence of the Tibetan version in regard to the critical points which he here discusses; and I had indeed the satisfaction of announcing to him the confirmation by that version of his suspicion of a gap after verse i, 45. I have examined also the other passages which he discusses, and in one or two cases I am recording the result in notes. To do more would hardly be of advantage, as in a future re-edition of the text both that version and Professor Speijer's notes will no doubt be taken into full consideration.—F. W. T.]

comes to a conclusion in verse 51. It is, moreover, very unlikely, not to say impossible, that verse 46 should be its exordium. The sentence which begins *yad rājaçāstram*, etc., cannot be understood as the preamble of a speech uttered by counsellors to their king; it evidently belongs to a substantive part of that speech, the illustration by examples of a general rule which is laid down—probably also laid down a second time—in verse 51. The previous part of the answer must be lost.

That there must be a gap between the verses 45 and 46 necessarily follows also from another consideration. The very wording of verse 52, **एवं नृपः प्रत्यचितैर्द्विजैस्तैः**, etc., demonstrates that those Brahmans are not mentioned here for the first time, but must have been introduced in a former portion of the canto. How can the pronoun *taiḥ* be otherwise accounted for? Formichi translates "i suoi brahmani", as if the text had **स्वैः** instead of **तैः**;[1] Cowell avoids the difficulty by writing "the brahmans".

Having become convinced of the existence of a considerable gap between I, 45 and 46—and is it not in itself extremely improbable that Aśvaghoṣa should have passed over the convocation of the brahmans by the king and the reason of that convocation, and how he addressed them, putting them questions?—I consulted vol. xix of SBE., which contains Beal's English translation of the Chinese version of the Buddhacarita. And at once I realized that a large portion of the Chinese text is missing in the tradition of the Sanskrit text, from about verse 32 *apud* Beal (p. 6) to verse 56 (p. 10). There can, I think, exist little doubt that the contents of this portion (the conclusion of the miraculous phenomena; Māra's grief; the attitude of Śuddhodana and Māyā; the naimittikas'[2] observation of the superhuman signs on the

[1] He does so tacitly.

[2] Of course a number of them, though Beal from his Chinese source mentions only one Brahman.

body of the child; and the first part of their verdict), be they ever so unreliable in detail, must have formed part also of the original text, when still intact. This missing portion makes up about twenty-four stanzas of the Chinese. Assuming the proportion of the number of verses between the Sanskrit text and the same text in Chinese garb to be nearly the same as in the preceding thirty-two verses of the Chinese, which correspond to thirty-seven Sanskrit ones (Chinese, I, 1–32 = Sanskrit, I, 9–45), about twenty-eight stanzas may have been lost between I, 45 and I, 46.[1]

In the following I venture to propose some new emendations :—

I, 43. Better than by the reading of Böhtlingk and Kielhorn **तद्दर्शनार्थं वनमाप्पुपूरे** the text will be amended thus: **तद्दर्शनायाम्बरमाप्पुपूरे**. The celestials and the atmospherical divine beings are always represented in the sky, and the parallel passage signalized by Leumann and quoted by Formichi has the selfsame turn. I conjectured thus many years before knowing the note of Leumann.[2]

III, 14. **ताः स्रस्तकाञ्चीगुणविघ्निताश्च सुप्तप्रबुद्धाकुललोचनाश्च ।**
**वृत्तांतविन्यस्तविभूषणाश्च कौतूहलेनानिभृताः परीयुः ॥**[3]

What is here the meaning of **वृत्तांत** ? Cowell translates "in the stir of the news", Formichi "all'udire la notizia", though *vṛttānta* by itself, without some verb of arousing or hearing added, cannot of course convey this meaning. It simply means the "news" and nothing more. Yet Cowell realized that the poet must have expressed somehow that the ladies put on their ornaments in a hurry. It is, however, a mistake made by the translators that they attributed that signification to

[1] [The Tibetan version confirms Professor Speijer's view, showing at this point about seventeen additional verses.—F. W. T.]

[2] [The Tibetan supports *vanam*.—F. W. T.]

[3] I have adopted here the correction of Lüders **अनिभृताः**.

*vinyasta*. The verb *vinyasyati* is here = Latin *disponit*; it does not imply the idea of *saṃbhrama* and "haste". That such a *bhāva* is likely to be described by Aśvaghoṣa is clear; but it is not in the word *vinyasta* that we have to seek for the adequate term indicating the agitation of the matrons anxious to contemplate the prince passing. The fact is that the expression of the haste is hidden under the corrupt **वृत्तांत**. The genuine reading must be **वृथात्त°**. The ladies went down from their apartments, having put in their different places (**विन्यस्त**) the ornaments (**विभूषण**) which they had taken up (**आत्त**) in a hurry at random, the first they could get (**वृथा**), as they had no time to make a choice. *Vṛthā* has here its old meaning, which is akin to that of Latin *temere*, Greek *εἰκῇ*, and which is instanced by passages from the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (**वृथामांस**) in the St. Petersburg Dict., s.v. **वृथा**.[1]

III, 48. The Bodhisattva has come home from his second drive outside his palace grounds in a sad and meditative frame of mind. The king seeing him thus returning (**तं दृष्ट्वा प्रेक्ष्य च संनिवृत्तं**), and having heard what *nimitta* occasioned that melancholy mood, acts as is explicitly stated in the stanzas 49 and 50. But how the king came to know that *nimitta* we do not read in our text. Instead of this we are informed that the king "entered the city (himself)" (Cowell), "si recò in città" (Formichi) = **पुर्यागमं भूमिपतिश्चकार**. This entering of the city by the king, who has not before been said to have left his capital, is not only out of place, but also inconsistent with his having seen (**प्रेक्ष्य**) his son come back. Moreover, the wording itself, **पुर्यागमं चकार**, to express his coming into his capital, is strange and suspect. Instead of **पुर्यागमं** I propose **पर्येषणं** as the true reading. The old king, *taṃ prekṣya saṃnivṛttaṃ*, made an inquiry, *paryeṣaṇaṃ cakāra*; thereby he learns of the *nimitta* and acts

[1] [The Tibetan has, however, *gnas-lugs-gtam-gyis* = **वृत्तान्त**.—F. W. T.]

accordingly. The Chinese version of our poem (verse 236 on p. 35 of Beal's translation) has likewise "asked anxiously the reason why", but knows nothing of that returning of the old king to his capital. I guess that the source of the depravation of *paryeṣaṇaṃ* into *puryāgamaṃ* is to be sought in a misspelt **पर्येश्नं**.[1]

IV, 38. **शुभेन वदनेनान्या भ्रूकार्मुकविकर्षिणा ।**
**प्रावृत्यानुचकारास्य चेष्टितं वीरलीलया ॥**

I do not wonder that **प्रावृत्या°**, as edited by Cowell, is disapproved by scholars. Cowell's interpretation of that word is strained. But neither **प्रक्षत्या°**, the conjecture of Böhtlingk, nor Formichi's proposal to read **प्रनृत्या°** are satisfactory. The genuine reading cannot, I think, be but **आकृत्या°**; I adopt *ākṛtyānucakārāsya*, etc., with the meaning "she imitated him by (assuming his) outer appearance". *Ākṛtyā* is the instrumental of *ākṛti* of the kind instanced in my Sanskrit Syntax, § 73. Cf. Raghuvaṃça, xi, 13.

IV, 52. **अपि नाम विहङ्गानां वसन्तेनाहितो मदः ।**
**न तु चिंतयतश्चित्तं जनस्य प्राज्ञमानिनः ॥**

I am not satisfied with **चित्तं**. This word disturbs the construction of the whole sentence, whether it is taken as the nominative case or as the accusative. Formichi, as well as Cowell, translating here rather freely, does not solve the difficulty, and will scarcely be followed in his effort to account for the genitives *vihaṅgānāṃ* and *cintayataḥ* by making them dependent on the verb *ā* + *dhā*. In his note on p. 335 of his book he seems to explain *cintayataś cittam* as a so-called accus. etymologicus, which is of course impossible.

By a slight correction, reading **चित्ते** instead of **चित्तं**, all will become right. Construe: *api nāma vihaṅgānāṃ*

[1] [Tibetan *yoṅs-su-gros-byas-so* = a compound with *pari* = (probably *paryeṣaṇa*) made consultation.—F. W. T.]

(*citte*) *vasantena mada āhitaḥ, na tu cintayato janasya citte?* "should Spring infuse love's drunkenness into the mind of the birds and not in the mind of the being endowed with reason and holding himself for wise?"

IV, 56. **जरेयं** must be corrected into **जरेदं**. Youth (*yauvana*) is mentioned in the preceding line, old age (*jarā*) not so. If we keep *jareyaṃ*, the reading of MSS., the pronoun *iyam* cannot be accounted for, whereas *idam* (viz. *yauvanam*) is the very pronoun wanted. I read the whole stanza as follows:—

**किमिमा नावगच्छन्ति चपलं यौवनं स्त्रियः।**
**यतो रूपेण संपन्नं जरेदं नाशयिष्यति॥**

"how is it that these women do not realize the fickleness of youth, since, may it be ever so adorned with beauty, old age will ruin it?"

IV, 92. **यद्यप्यात्य**, etc. I doubt the genuineness of *yadi*. There is no room here for a concessive particle. The prince must mean: "and as regards your assertion that with females it is allowed to use untrue speech, I do not understand," etc. In other terms, **यद्यपि** is a clerical error for **यदपि**. Cowell, indeed, translates "and when thou sayest", not "if".

V, 22. Kielhorn was right in stating that the second pāda, **प्रविविक्षुः परमाश्वमारुरोह**, as found in the MSS. and edited by Cowell, must be somehow corrupted, since the object of *praviviksuḥ* cannot be wanting. His correction **पुरमश्व°** does not satisfy. The adversative particle **तु**, introducing what follows in pāda *c*, shows that the prince by going to the town and not to the forest had changed his mind. How, then, can it be said in the preceding line that he mounted on horseback with the intention of going to the town? On the contrary, the prince, under the strong impression of the miraculous appearance of the monk, had made up his mind to betake himself to the forest (çl. 21*d*). Yet **परिवारजनमवेक्षमाणः** (the true

reading is here proposed by Lüders), he did not follow his inclination, and, putting off that design until a later time (**स्मृतौ निधाय**), he returned into the town. Hence it follows that Aśvaghoṣa cannot have expressed himself but thus: **प्रविविक्षुर्वनमश्वमारुरोह** "he mounted on horse-back, in order to enter the forest".[1]

V, 58. **शिथिलाकुलमूर्धजा तथान्या**
**जघनस्रस्तविभूषणांशुकान्ता ।**
**अशयिष्ट विकीर्णकण्ठसूत्रा**
**गजभग्ना प्रतिपातितांगनेव ॥**

The *upamā* contained in the fourth pāda is differently understood by Cowell and Formichi. According to Cowell the *aṅganā* in question is a(nother) woman "crushed by an elephant and then dropped"; Formichi explains the word as denoting a female elephant, subdued (*bhagnā*) by a male elephant and thrown to the ground. Both interpretations are to be rejected, since they would involve the highly improbable, not to say impossible, assumption of a simile borrowed, not from ordinary and common things, but from something unusual and far-fetched. Moreover, in the interpretation of Formichi the descriptive part of the rhetorical figure, as it is elaborated in the pādas *a*, *b*, and *c*, fails to have its effect. *Śithilā-kulamūrdhajā*, etc., suits the female musician; how can it be explained to fit the female elephant? We have rather to expect that the girl, lying on the ground with dishevelled hair and her ornaments sliding down from their places, should be compared to some creeper, trampled down by the feet of an elephant and crushed. Accordingly I suppose °*tāṅganeva* to be corrupt, and confidently emend **प्रतिपातिता लतेव**.

VII, 12. The first word of this stanza, **तत्**, can be accounted for neither as a conclusive particle nor as a pronoun. In fact, both translators leave it out in their

[1] [The Tibetan has *groṅ-la* = *puram*.—F. W. T.]

translations. I suspect its genuineness, and read the first pāda as follows: **अपूर्वमद्याश्रमदर्शनं मे**. *Apūrva*, not *pūrva*, is the very word wanted: "it is the very first time I see an hermitage; for this reason," etc.

VII, 13. Cowell has edited: **तपोविशेषं तपसः फलं च**, following the Paris MS. The Cambridge MS. has **तपोविशेषां त°**. Considering that the prince wants to be informed of the various kinds of *tapas* (the **तपोविकाराः** of st. 11), and that after the detailed general exposition of *tapas* in st. 14 there follows an account of the **भिन्नाः . . . तपसां विकल्पाः** — note the plural *tapasām*— the true reading must surely be **तपोविशेषांस्तपसः फलं च**. The ascetic, in fact, does not praise the excellence (*viśeṣam*) of the *tapas*, but commemorates the manifold kinds (*viśeṣān*) of it.[1]

VII, 43. **वासस्त्वया हीन्द्रसमेन सार्धं**
**बृहस्पतेरभ्युदयावहः स्यात् ॥**

Cowell retains in his edition this reading of the MSS., and translates: "to dwell with thee who art like Indra would bring prosperity even to Bṛhaspati." This interpretation seems to me better than Formichi's, who takes *abhyudaya* as meaning the same as *udaya*, "arising," a rather arbitrary opinion, which makes him render the line thus: "il dimorare con te che sei simile ad Indra farebbe di certo sorgere un (secondo) Bṛhaspati." Far-fetched, indeed!

I suppose a slight fault. We have but to replace the *bh* in *abhyudayā*° by the akṣara *t*, which is so similar to it in Nepalese MSS., and we get—

**वासस्त्वया हीन्द्रसमेन सार्धं**
**बृहस्पतेरत्युदयावहः स्यात् ॥**

"to dwell with thee, who art like Indra, would bring a source of delight (even) to Bṛhaspati." The sub-audition

[1] [The Tibetan has *khyad-par-rnams* = *viśeṣān*.—F. W. T.]

of **अपि** cannot be a hindrance to the emendation, in poetry.[1]

VIII, 49. **तदेवमावां नरदेवि दोषतो**
**न तत्प्रयातं प्रतिगंतुमर्हसि ।**

Cowell translates: "Do not therefore assume that his departure arises from the fault of either of us, O queen!" Formichi likewise: "Però, o regina degli uomini, non voler credere che la partenza di lui avvenne per colpa di noi due." The purport of the sentence is in this manner well rendered, yet the interpretation is anything but exact. It rests on the assumption that *pratigantum* = *pratyetum*, "to believe"; but since there does not exist, as far as is known, another instance thereof, Cowell himself supposed a corruption in *pratigantum* and proposed *pratipattum*. But neither this nor any other correction of the transmitted akṣaras is required. They are sound and genuine. The awkwardness of interpreting them arises from a wrong division of words; **प्रतिगन्तुम्**, in fact, is not one word, but two. Read **न तत्प्रयातं** (if not **°यातिं**, as is in MS. C) **प्रति गन्तुमर्हसि**, and construe: *nārhasy āvāṃ doṣato gantuṃ tatprayātaṃ* (or *°prayātiṃ*) *prati*, "do not therefore inculpate us in this manner for his departure." *Doṣato gantum* = *dūṣayitum*. Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Bomb., vi, 105, 13: **नाक्षिप्तस्त्वं महाराज त्वं मां . . . दोषतो गन्तुमर्हसि**. As to *prati* cf. Buddhacarita, xiii, 16: **शैलेन्द्रपुत्रीं प्रति येन विद्धो देवो ऽपि शम्भुः**.

VIII, 54. Formichi declares the first line of this stanza to be inexplicable and a *locus desperatus*; he does not even venture to translate the stanza. My opinion on this point is quite different. Not only does the purport of the verse seem clear to me, but I think also that it has been faultlessly transmitted by the MSS. There is no reason to change with Cowell **पतिं** (a word, moreover, indispensable for the sentence) into **प्रति** to avoid to construe **अभागिनी**

[1] [The Tibetan *mnon. par. mtho. ba* supports *abhyu°*.—F. W. T.]

with the accusative. Though that construction looks somewhat strange, it is unobjectionable. Why, when nobody will find fault with a turn like this, *anarhā vasundharā taṃ patim*, "Earth does not deserve him as her ruler," should one be averse to such a one, where *anarhā* is replaced by *abhāginī*? The objective accusative with verbal nouns in °*in* is sufficiently proved as good Sanskrit; cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 271*b*, my Sanskrit Syntax, § 52, and Rām., ed. Bomb., i, 6, 19: शूद्राः स्वकर्मनिरतास्त्रीन्वर्णानुपचारिणः.[1]

IX, 32. The prince, justifying his retirement from the world, says that he would not have left his family and relatives, if separation from them were not something unavoidable. In the half-śloka which contains the second member of the alternative, "since separation *is* unavoidable, for this reason," etc., there is a gap of three syllables filled up by Cowell. I should prefer to fill it up otherwise. In my opinion, Aśvaghoṣa's text may be better restored by reading the stanza as follows:—

द्रष्टुं प्रियं कः स्वजनं हि नेच्छेन्
नासौ यदि स्यात्प्रियविप्रयोगः ।
यदा तु भावी प्रि(यविप्र)योगस्
ततो गुरुं स्निग्धमपि त्यजामि ॥

भावी = भविता is my conjecture for भूत्वा, and in the पि that follows I recognize the mutilated first syllable of प्रिय°. Our poet greatly likes the repetition of the same wording in both members of alternative and adversative sentences.

IX, 38. Leaving aside the pādas *a* and *b*, where the Bodhisattva, refuting the prejudice that only old age is the proper time to forsake the world, just as in the foregoing and following verses he repeatedly employs the terms *kāla* and *akāla* — which verses owing to their corrupt and fragmentary condition I do not understand— I think I might propose a plausible correction of pādas

[1] [The Tibetan seems to omit VIII, 54.—F. W. T.]

*c* and *d*, which contain an independent sentence. By reading *sarvakāle* for *sarvakālā*, and changing the nonsensical subsequent akṣaras **नर्चार्हके** into **नन्वीप्सितः**, we would get a line that runs thus :—

**कालो जगत्कर्षति सर्वकाले**
**नन्वीप्सितः श्रेयसि सर्वकालः ॥**

"Death drags away the living at every time. Is, then, not every time fit for (striving at) the Highest Good ?" [1]

IX, 56. The reader of Cowell's translation of this stanza must be struck by the self-contradiction of the view expressed. Liberation is first promised as attainable by the line of precepts laid down in st. 55—viz. the discharge of one's debts to the Ancestors, the Ṛṣis, and the Devas—and immediately after it is said : "those who seek liberation will find (nothing but) weariness." The translation of the edited text is here, indeed, good; but the original cannot possibly have this purport. It is clear that the king's counsellor must mean this : "Pay your debt to the Pitaras, the Ṛṣis, the Devas; by these means you will obtain salvation; those who seek for liberation *in some other way* do not get it, may they exert themselves ever so." In other terms, the second line of st. 56 is to be read thus :—

**प्रयत्नवन्तो ऽन्यविधिक्रमेण**
**मुमुक्षवः खेदमवाप्नुवन्ति ॥**

XII, 19. The emendation **विद्धि** in pāda *a*, proposed by Windisch, cannot be upheld, as it spoils the metre. From the transmitted **बुद्धिस्तु** of C, I rather elicit **बुद्धेस्तु**, and **विद्धि** of çl. 18 is to be understood also in 19. Arāḍa teaches here that the eleven *indriyāṇi* and their *viṣayās* are modifications of *buddhi*.[2]

[1] [The Tibetan confirms this translation. It also implies **अर्थविधौ**, a probable reading, in the previous line.—F. W. T.]

[2] [The Tibetan *mkhyen. mdzod* agrees with Professor Windisch.—F. W. T.]

XII, 22. **जायते जीर्यते चैव बध्यते म्रियते च यत्।**
**तद्व्यक्तमिति विज्ञेयमव्यक्तं च विपर्ययात्॥**

There is here no room for such a word as **बध्यते**. The different phases of individual existence are here enumerated, and "being bound" is not one of them, but the very essence of any such existence at all. It is not *badhyate* that is here required, but *bādhyate*. Birth (*jāyate*) and its triad of undesirable yet unavoidable consequences—old age (*jīryate*), pain (*bādhyate*), and death (*mriyate*)—are styled *vyaktam*, "the material world," the same idea in Buddhist terminology being also denoted by the term *dṛṣṭa-dharma*, Pali *diṭṭhadhammo*, cf. Childers, s.v. For this reason I confidently read **बाध्यते**. Aśvaghoṣa uses the same word also in another passage: XIV, 27.

XIII, 29*c*. **तमश्च भूयो वितता रात्रेः** "a deeper darkness of night spread around" (Cowell). This must of course be meant. It is, however, scarcely admissible to assume for *vitarati* the acceptation "to spread about". Kern corrected **वितताम**. To this may be objected the improbability of the parasmaipada having here an intransitive sense. I should therefore, while keeping **वितताम**, prefer to read **तमश्च भूयो वितताम रात्री**, "Night intensified her spreading out (her veil of) darkness." Note that the visarga after **रात्रे** is not found in C.

XIII, 33. Both Cowell and Formichi are at a loss to extract a good sense from the first and second pāda of this stanza: **उपस्तुतं धर्मविदस्तु तस्य दृष्ट्वा स्थितं मारबलं महर्षेः। न चुक्षुभे**, etc. How can the genitives *dharmavidas tasya* denote the Bodhisattva signified by the subject *maharṣiḥ*? If the reading is right, they cannot but designate another than that subject. This conclusion is so imperative that Formichi even sought to demonstrate that *sa dharmavit* should be Māra himself! But the reading is not right. Several emendations have been proposed, see Formichi, p. 397 f. Here is one more which, if probable, would

heal the wound in a very simple manner. I would, then, propose:

**उपस्रुतं** (if not **उपस्रुतो**, with Böhtlingk) **धर्मविद्स्तृतस्तु दृष्ट्वा**, etc.

"But the Great Ṛṣi, knowing the Dharma and invincible (as he was), when he perceived the host of Māra overflowing. . . ." *Astṛta*, "invincible," is a Vaidik word, indeed; but this is no reason why Aśvaghoṣa should not have made use of it. There are other instances of such words found in his poems, which in the Petropolitan Dictionary are only exemplified by passages taken from Vaidik texts; for instance, Buddhacarita, II, 54, **निपात** (observed); II, 36, **क्षण्ण** (gold); VIII, 82, **अवधृत** (fixed); the archaic meaning of "resting" of **रेमे**, V, 46. Cf. also my note on III, 14.[1]

J. S. SPEYER.

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## THE BRAHMANIC AND KSHATRIYA TRADITION

Mr. Pargiter in the last number of this Journal (pp. 885–904) has discovered in a Pauranic tradition materials for the reconstruction of a most interesting chapter in ancient Indian traditional history, the relation of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. As his reconstruction ends with a criticism of the distrust of the epic tradition evinced by Professor Macdonell and myself, it is of interest to me to examine the arguments by which the reconstruction and rehabilitation of tradition are carried out.

At the outset of this examination we are confronted by two propositions which are stated by Mr. Pargiter in absolute terms: (1) "The course of all tradition is from the simple and natural to the extravagant and marvellous"; (2) "It is impossible to treat brahmanic tradition as a critical standard, when notoriously the brahmans had

[1] [Tibetan *chos-kyi-cho-ga* seems to imply a reading *dharmavidhes*.—F. W. T.]

little or no notion of history". Neither of these propositions is self-evident, and neither, in my opinion, can be regarded as true. In the first place the course of tradition may be from the simple and natural to the extravagant and marvellous, but there is the other side of the question, the fact that since and before Euhemerus man has been prone to employ his intellect to render simple and natural what appears irrational, extravagant, and marvellous. If a version is simpler than another, it may be more primitive; it may equally be an attempt to render simple what was more confused, or merely a brief allusion to what was well known otherwise; and to apply as of universal validity the test of simplicity as a test of age is to beg the question. The same fallacy, in the second place, affects the attack on the brahmanic notion of history. For whence does Mr. Pargiter derive the evidence for this theory? What conceivable right have we for the period, say to 500 B.C., to make any assertion regarding the brahmanic notions of history in contrast with those of the Kṣatriyas? We could only set up a canon if we could contrast the Kṣatriya tradition of the Vedic period, say to 500 B.C., with the Brāhmaṇa tradition and see that the former by its coherence and consistency claimed superiority over that of the brahmins. This, however, we cannot do; all that Mr. Pargiter can attempt is (1) to reconstruct a tradition which is to be carried back to the Vedic period, and then (2) to prove that the tradition is superior by contrast with the Brāhmaṇa standard. To assert that the Brāhmaṇa tradition is not a critical standard because the brahmins had little or no knowledge of history is a mere *petitio principii*.

A third objection to Mr. Pargiter's views suggests itself; he distinguishes between a Kṣatriya and a brahmanic tradition, but does not explain the grounds on which this distinction is based. There is a plain and obvious distinction, which has been universally recognized,

between the sacred Vedic texts, the *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* (including the earlier *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*), and the epic tradition, embodied first and foremost in the two great epics and then in the *Purāṇas*. But "the Purāṇas, as we have them now, are brahmanic compilations",[1] and equally so are the epics, and I am wholly at a loss to see what right we have to select one part as brahmanic, one as Kṣatriya tradition.

A further difficulty must be frankly mentioned. "This ballad," we are told,[2] "may well have been handed down by Court bards and then put into writing six or seven centuries B.C." This suggestion is wholly conjectural, and it is well to realize that the story which we are invited to believe existed at the time of the great *Brāhmaṇas* is found only in a series of *Purāṇas*. The date of these works (*Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma, Śiva, Liṅga*, and the *Harivaṃśa*) cannot by any reasonable possibility be placed before the Christian era—it is unnecessary for my purpose to argue more than that, though their dates may well be a good deal later[3]—and this gives ample room for later manipulation of Vedic tradition.

This, then, is the real problem: we have a Vedic tradition, which is incidentally handed down in a series of sacred texts, dating from before Buddha; it is a tradition of priests, but as priests were the learned men, the bards, at any rate in some cases, of the community, there is no *a priori* probability that another divergent tradition existed among the Kṣatriyas. We do find in texts over 500 years later in date than the Vedic period certain other traditions. We cannot solve questions of priority by the dismissal of brahminical accuracy, but must resort to an examination of the two legends without prejudice other than the natural preference for the older. The *onus probandi* lies on those who seek to show that the later contains a purer tradition.

[1] p. 889. [2] p. 902. [3] See JRAS. 1907, p. 681.

Now the later tradition exists in varied forms, and there are therefore two questions, first to decide the older of the forms, and then to compare that with the Vedic tradition. The traditional version of the dispute between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra is familiar from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and it centres in the efforts of Viśvāmitra to obtain the status of a brahmin. In the version described by Mr. Pargiter we hear of Satyavrata, son of Trayyāruṇa, king of Kosala, who for an offence is banished by his father; Vasiṣṭha deliberately does not intervene to prevent his banishment, and assumes the government of the realm, the father retiring in vexation to the forest. The banished prince in exile rescued the son, Gālava, of Viśvāmitra, who, engaged in the penance which won him brahminhood, had left his wife and children without adequate means of support. Satyavrata also killed Vasiṣṭha's cow (*sarvakāmadughā*), and was thence named by the latter the man of three *śaṅkus* or sins (Triśaṅku). On his return from his penance, as a seer, Viśvāmitra restored Satyavrata Triśaṅku to his kingdom, and raised him in his corporeal body to the sky.

This tale seems to Mr. Pargiter probable and natural as compared with the *Rāmāyaṇa* version, and this simplicity in his view makes it undoubtedly older than the latter. More specifically he argues that the version could not have been composed when the version in the epics existed, and if composed could not have been admitted into the *Purāṇas*. Neither argument has any value; it is a pure assumption that no new version of a legend could be created after the epic legends had come into existence, and, in view of the plain testimony borne by the comparison of epic and *Purāṇa* tales in other cases[1] of the many variant versions of ancient legends current, an

[1] See e.g. the various versions of the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga episode analysed by Lüders, and those of the Purūravas and other legends examined by Geldner and Sieg. Cf. also JRAS. 1911, p. 1105.

assumption wholly unjustified. More importance attaches to the argument that the version of a conflict of Viśvāmitra and Indra in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is due to a misunderstanding of the name of Vasiṣṭha, Devarāj, which he finds in this narrative. That is the kind of point which is really of importance, if valid. Unhappily in this case it is not valid; it rests on a comparison of two epic verses where *devarāṭ* in one corresponds to *bhūtakṛt* in the other, and which record that Vasiṣṭha caused all creatures to live in a period of drought; they do not, as Mr. Pargiter says, refer to administration of the kingdom at all, and therefore they in no way illustrate the *Purāṇa* legends. Nor in the second place is *bhūtakṛt* synonymous with *devarāj*; the meaning of it, "the creator," is abundantly explained by the verse which ends *Prajāpatir iva prajāḥ*: Prajāpati is *bhūtapati* as early as the *Brāhmaṇas*, and so the theory that *bhūtakṛt* = Indra = *devarāj* at once is invalidated. The idea that Devarāj was Vasiṣṭha's personal name and was mistaken for Indra rests accordingly on the weakest foundation.[1]

On the other hand, for the theory that the Purāṇa version is in no wise primitive, a good deal may be said. It clearly knows the contest regarding Vasiṣṭha's cow (vv. 52–7), and it is guilty of the absurdity in the context in which the episode is placed of treating the ruler of a kingdom as possessing only one cow, as Mr. Pargiter himself points out. But in the *Rāmāyaṇa* version the cow is that of Vasiṣṭha's hermitage and the only cow necessary to a hermit, a clear sign that the epic is more primitive in this regard. Mr. Pargiter himself again admits that the episode of Gālava is suspiciously

[1] Mr. Pargiter's further identification of *devarāj* and *divaukas* (they are "nearly equivalent", p. 897, n. 2) leads him into the unhappy conjecture of *divaukasam* = Vasiṣṭha in the place of the picturesque touch by which Satyavrata's interference with the marriage is called an assault on the gods, a touch in full harmony with the religious ceremony of marriage and far from absurd or impossible (p. 894, n. 1).

like an ætiological explanation of the name; but he does not note that the selling of the boy for a hundred cows and the binding are obviously derived from the Śunaḥśepa story familiar from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Finally, the episode of Triśaṅku is equally far from primitive; Mr. Pargiter[1] himself admits that the etymology is doubtful, but he rationalizes the story by the view that on the death of Triśaṅku, probably soon after his restoration, in consequence of the hardships he had undergone, Viśvāmitra honoured him by naming a constellation after him. This is Euhemerism with a vengeance, but for our purpose all we need note is that there is absolutely nothing to show that this version is older than the epic; it merely says that Viśvāmitra raised the king to heaven with his body, quoting a pair of old stanzas to the effect that Triśaṅku shines in the sky through Viśvāmitra's favour; this may presuppose the elaborate epic version or it may not. But, taken on the whole, there is no reason to rate as early this piece of bald patchwork, with its wholly unintelligible tale of Vasiṣṭha's motive, which Mr. Pargiter[2] interprets as a priestly seizure of power.

The next question is the relation of this version to the Vedic tradition. Is it the real explanation of the Vedic opposition of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra? Here we find that the Vedic tradition has no trace of Satyavrata Triśaṅku, and that on the contrary the figure of Sudās appears as the king with whom the priests Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha stood in connexion; equally the Vedic tradition ignores Gālava—though it contains, as we have seen, the real source of that legend, just as the "wish cow"[3] of Vasiṣṭha has an historical connexion with Vedic tradition. How can we reject the Vedic evidence of assured date in favour of this legend, late in its proved

[1] p. 903. [2] pp. 895, 900, n. 1.
[3] See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 150.

existence, and on all sides full of signs of secondary origin? It is a minor matter that Trayyāruṇa figures as a Kosala king, and that Tryaruṇa of the Vedic texts is a prince of what was later the Kuru country.

All the epic versions, however, agree with this account in regarding Viśvāmitra as undergoing penance, and he is in the epics treated as a king who became a brahmin. Mr. Pargiter[1] defends this view, and holds that the silence of the *Rigveda* is natural, since he had abandoned his kingly status and resolutely turned his back on the past. But it is equally natural and less imaginative to assume that his kingship is not mentioned in the *Rigveda* because it did not exist. What is important to note is that the mere fact of the kingship of Viśvāmitra, even if admitted, leaves us without any explanation of the importance attached in the epic to his becoming a brahmin. Mr. Pargiter, who recognizes this, finds in the episode of Satyavrata the reason of the struggle, but there is an equally good and much more ancient explanation, the facts connected with the Purohitaship of Sudās.

To sum up, the Vedic tradition shows two priests disputing over the favour and Purohitaship of a prince, Sudās, whose reality is beyond doubt. This tradition cannot reasonably be placed later than 800 B.C., the lowest date for the texts which record it. There are two non-Vedic traditions: one, the epic, deals in great detail with the alleged efforts which Viśvāmitra had to make to become a brahmin; the other traces the enmity of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha to a quarrel in connexion with a prince, Triśaṅku. Now the first legend in its attitude towards the position of a brahmin as compared with a king is not early Vedic, but it does represent a strain of thought which appears in a simpler form in the Upaniṣad period of Vedic literature, in which we are

[1] p. 887.

told, e.g., that Janaka of Videha became a brahmin in the sense at least that he attained the learning of one. The legitimate view is that this story is a later development of sub-Vedic times, and this accords with its late appearance in literature. The other story in its kernel is totally different from the Vedic account of the feud of the two priests; it evidently presupposes that Viśvāmitra was not originally a priest; it operates with a prince, unknown to Vedic fame, whom it identifies with Triśaṅku, of whom we only know that the old tradition (reported by this version) made him a constellation; it invents a most absurd explanation of his name, and reproduces an old Vedic tale of Śunaḥśepa in a mutilated form regarding a certain Gālava. It is in my opinion wholly impossible to see in all this any possible gain to the Vedic tradition; in this case, as in others, it seems to me that the effort to exploit the later texts adds nothing to our knowledge of Vedic times. We can, of course, heap conjecture on conjecture, and erect plausible edifices, but the substructions of our buildings seem to me to be wholly untrustworthy.

Of minor points may be noticed that the argument[1] that the interpretation of Vidarbha in the version of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as "prince of Vidarbha" must be wrong because the kingdom of Vidarbha did not come into being until later, rests on the assumption that the narrative is one of strict truth and that the date of the founding of the kingdom of Vidarbha can be fixed as later than this epoch, and that neither assumption need be correct. It might plausibly be argued that the severe punishment was due to the enormity of the offence, nor can it be doubted that the *Purāṇas* meant "prince of Vidarbha", even if their account is the less primitive. But of this there is no evidence; the explanation of vv. 39–40 may be mere special pleading, and the crime have been

[1] p. 893, n. 10.

committed after the ceremony was completed. Vidarbha as a citizen's name is surely wholly impossible.

In conclusion, I may add that Mr. Pargiter's criticism [1] of Professor Macdonell's and my view of Triśaṅku is again based on a *petitio principii*. Triśaṅku, the religious teacher of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, is "manifestly different from and later than the king Triśaṅku". But why? The teacher of the Upaniṣad was presumably a reality to judge from the way he is referred to, and the king Triśaṅku is a mythical person who ascends the sky in his own person and moves as a constellation, as the legends which are the sole authority for his personality agree in telling us. To compare these two with Saul the king and Saul the religious teacher is merely to prejudice the issue. Both of these men were real, but it is a mere assumption that a real Triśaṅku other than the teacher ever existed.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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## THE PHONETICS OF THE WARDAK VASE

It is well known that consonants are never written doubled in the Kharoṣṭhī script, and the question arises whether, when reading inscriptions in that script, a single consonant may be regarded at times as meaning that consonant doubled. In a note published in this Journal for 1913, p. 141, Sir G. Grierson has put forward the view—"I would suggest that a consideration of the modern vernaculars of the north-west will show that the assumption that this restoration [i.e. reading a single consonant as doubled] is required is probably wrong, and that the dialect in which these Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are written pronounced these consonants as single, not as double, letters." He has supported his suggestion with the fact that the languages of the north-west, which he

[1] p. 904.

has named the modern Paiśāca languages, have generally substituted a single consonant in the place of the old doubled consonant.

This involves the question, whether the modern avoidance of double consonants prevailed also some seventeen to nineteen centuries ago in the north-west—a view which may well be doubted, considering what radical and continual changes have taken place there during those centuries: but I will confine myself simply to the consideration of the Kharoṣṭhī script.

It is well known that the Kharoṣṭhī script does not distinguish between *a* and *ā*, *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, that is, since a long vowel is equivalent to a short one doubled, (one may say) it did not distinguish between the single and the doubled vowel. We cannot suppose the language had no such long vowels, and Sir G. Grierson, in putting forward his suggestion regarding the consonants, does not (and would not, I imagine) apply it to the vowels nor contend that we must never read those vowels long. There would be nothing strange, therefore, if Kharoṣṭhī treated consonants in the same way. The question then comes to this: do the vowel-signs mean sometimes short vowels and sometimes long, and do the consonants mean sometimes single and sometimes doubled consonants? This question can probably be only decided by discovering verses written in Kharoṣṭhī. I am not aware whether verses have been discovered elsewhere, but have pointed out in my article on this inscription (EI. xi, 218) that the passage in line 3—

aviya-nabag*r*a paryata-śava-bhavag*r*a yo adra-aṁtara-aṁḍa-jo jalayuga śaphatiga arupyata

appears to consist of ślokas and probably ran thus originally—

. . . ariya-napako paryatta-śāva-bhāvako
yo addra-jo antara-jo aṇḍa-jo [ca] jalāyuko
śapphattiko arūpyattā.

If this view be tenable, the metre shows that the first *a* in *bhavagra* must be read long and the second *a* in *jalayuga*, and that the third syllable in *arupyata* must be long. As *arupyata* can hardly be anything else than the Prakrit *arūpyattā*, it follows that the single *t* must have been read as doubled.

This seems fair evidence that vowels were to be read long and single consonants as doubled where they would have been written so if the script had provided such distinctions. The language therefore had doubled consonants, and had not reduced its doubled consonants to single consonants as in the modern languages referred to by Sir G. Grierson; but the script did not provide characters for doubled consonants.

F. E. PARGITER.

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INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE: TWO CORRECTIONS

Two corrections should be made in my reading of the inscription on the Wardak vase (EI. xi, 202; JRAS. 1912, p. 1060).

Professor Konow has pointed out to me that the sentence in line 2, which I read as *śoca me bhuya*, should be *yo ca me bhuya*, which was an ordinary expression. It is the relative clause to the following words: *natigra-midra-sambhatigrana*. All my remarks on my erroneous reading must therefore be modified, and this correction removes the grammatical irregularity which marked the word *śoca*.

The other correction concerns the word that I read as *asaṁśrana* or *asaṁryana* in line 4. The third letter, if regarded as containing *ś*, should be *rś*, and not *śr* as I took it by oversight. The reading *asaṁśrana* is therefore erroneous and must be cancelled. The word must be read as *asaṁrśana* or *asaṁryana*, and as both are plainly impossible, Dr. Thomas' suggestion, *ācāryāṇa*, is the only probable emendation.

F. E. PARGITER.

## NASA = LINTEL

The meaning of the Sanskrit word *nāsā* has been misunderstood in dictionaries published in Europe. The following are the authorities which I have consulted :—

Petersburg Dictionary, and smaller ditto: "Ein nasenartig hervorstehendes Holz über einer Thür."

Monier-Williams: "A piece of wood projecting like a nose over a door."

Apte: "The upper timber of a door."

Amarakōśa, II, ii, 13: "*nāsā dārûparisthitam.*"

Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 1008: "*nāsórdhvadāruṇi.*"

Mēdinī: "*dvārôrdhvadāruṇi.*"

A translation of the Amarakōśa into seven modern Indian languages, made by paṇḍits for Colebrooke, of which I have a copy, gives the following translations of *nāsā* :—

"Kāshmīrī: चौकठ्यठक न्य चिक्रञ्, the meaning of which I cannot certainly restore. The copyist has probably blundered. It looks like *caukaṭha pĕṭhakanic$^{u}$ küñ$^{u}$*, the stone over a door-frame, but in Kashmīr it would certainly be of wood. It is probably a literal translation of the Panjābī.

"Panjābī: *astambh-kē* (? *dē*) *upar-dā patthar*, the stone of the top of the (side)-posts.

"Hindī: *caukaṭh-kē upar kā patthar*, the stone of the top of the door-frame.

"Pārvatī Bhāṣā: *saghān* (? Naipali *saṅār*, a lintel).

"Maithilī: *dēhar$_{i}$ upar-kā kāṭh*, the wood of the top of a doorway.

"Bengali: *jhamkāṭ, kapāli*, both meaning 'lintel'.

"Oṛiyā: *dvāra upara kāṭha*, the wood over a doorway."

The Śabdakalpadruma gives "*dvārôparisthitadāru: jhānkāṭh iti kapāli iti ca bhāṣā*".

The Vācaspatya gives "*dvārôparisthitakāṣṭhe, 'jhankāṭh, 'kapāli' khyātē*".

I have quoted these Indian works at length in order to show that the connexion with *nāsā*, a nose, asserted by Böhtlingk and Roth and, following them, by Monier Williams, has, so far as I can ascertain, no native authority. In fact, the alleged resemblance to a nose is founded on a mistaken etymology on the part of these eminent scholars. Apte gives the correct meaning. The word means "lintel" and nothing more.

If the word has nothing to do with *nāsā*, a nose, it is necessary to attempt to ascertain its real derivation.

In Kāshmīrī there is a tendency to retain an original *ny* even in tadbhave words, as in *nyāyukh*, quarrelsome (from *nyāyaka-*); *nyāsuth*, depositing (from *nyāsatva*). There is also the Kāshmīrī *nyāy*, a quarrel; *nyās*, a deposit. In Paiśācī Prakrit these two words would be written *ñāya-* and *ñāsa-*, and in Kāshmīrī the pronunciation of *ny* is the same as that of *ñ*. When medial the same sound is written *ñ*, as in *dāñĕ* (*dhānya-*), paddy.

In Kāshmīrī, the Sanskrit *nāsā*, a lintel, appears under the form *nyās*. In the slips for the Kāshmīrī dictionary on which I am at present engaged, this word is explained as follows by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Mukunda Rāma of Śrīnagar—*nyās: nāsā-dāru: gṛhabhittiṣu dvārōpari yad dīrgham dāru tiryag upanyasya yōjyatē tad-vācakō 'yaṁ śabdō vijñēyaḥ*. Here, again, the meaning is "lintel", and it is explained as a beam fixed (*upanyasya yōjyatē*) across (*tiryak*) the top of a door. It appears probable, therefore, that the Sanskrit *nāsā*, a lintel, is derived from *ni* + √ *as*, and means the beam "deposited" over the door. *Nāsā* is therefore a Prakritism, being borrowed by Sanskrit from Prakrit when its original meaning had been forgotten.

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CAMBERLEY.
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## The Bengali Passive

As I have inflicted some tentative speculations on the nature of the Bengali passive on readers of this Journal, may I be allowed to supplement them by what seems to me a complete analysis of the construction, kindly supplied to me by my friend Mr. Vīreśvar Sen, whose writings on Bengali grammar are well known to those who have studied the admirable Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat and other such publications?

The difficulty is briefly this. Some Bengali grammars by Englishmen say that the true construction of the passive is *āmāke mārā yāy*; others give it as *āmi mārā yāï*. These may be roughly translated respectively as (1) "to me a beating goes" and (2) "I go beaten". With this brief explanation, I transcribe Mr. Sen's account of the matter:—

"*Āmāke mārā yāy* is a rather unusual expression. It is, however, possible to construct a sentence in which this expression can rightly be used. Thus, *tumi yekhāne dāṛāïyā ācha, se khān haïte guli karile āmāke mārā yāy*, i.e. 'if you fire a bullet from where you are standing, I may be hit'. Or again, if a child is given a stick, and asks 'what persons can be beaten with this?' you may reply *tomār chōṭa bhāïke mārā yāy, āmāke mārā yay, ār yata lok āche sakal-ke-i mārā yāy*, i.e. 'your little brother can be beaten with it, and I can be beaten with it, and anyone present can be beaten with it'. But note that the verb, though translated by the passive, is not morphologically in the passive voice. *Mārā* is here the gerundial infinitive governing *āmāke*, and is the nominative of the active verb *yāy*. The literal meaning in English is 'a beating me may be effected'. The true passive is *āmi mārā yāï*. Grammarians have been misled by the fact that in Bengali the form *mārā* is both past participle and gerundial infinitive. In Bengali,

as in English, when an active verb is turned into a passive one, the accusative becomes the subject, and the subject becomes instrumental. Thus, *se āmāke dekhibe*, 'he will see me,' becomes in the passive *āmi tāhā dvārā dṛṣṭa haïba*, 'I shall be seen by him.' Whenever and wherever the verb *yāy* has the gerundial infinitive of any verb for its nominative (e.g. *mārā yāy, khāwā yāy, dekhā yāy*, etc.), *yāy* has always the force of *yāïte pāre*, i.e. a conditional force. *Āmāke mārā yāy*, therefore, would more commonly be expressed as *āmi mārā yāïte pāri*. That the word *mārā* in the phrase *āmāke mārā yāy* is a verbal noun can also be demonstrated by the following test: All purely Bengali past participles, such as *dekhā, khāwā, karā*, etc., can be replaced by the equivalent Sanskrit past participles *dṛṣṭa, bhakṣita, kṛta*, etc. If *mārā* in the expression *āmāke mārā yāy* were a past participle, i.e. if the expression were truly passive in form, we ought to be able to substitute the corresponding Sanskrit past participle for *mārā*. *Māraṇ* means 'to kill', 'to beat', 'to hit', or in Sanskrit, *ni-han, prahṛ*, or *ā-han*. But the expressions *āmāke nihata hay, āmāke prahṛta hay, āmāke āhata hay* are meaningless in Bengali. Whereas the expressions *āmi nihata haï, āmi prahṛta haï, āmi āhata haï* are quite good Bengali.

"I may say, in passing, that though *mārā yāwā* means literally 'to be slain', in Western Bengal (including Calcutta) it has come to mean simply 'to die'. Thus, *tini jvare mārā giyāchen*, 'he has died of fever.'"

As a matter of fact, the passive is rarely used in Bengali, and owing to the fact that the nominative and accusative have the same form in the names of inanimate objects, it is impossible in most cases to tell which construction is intended. But the last sentence cited by Mr. Sen adds a third example to the two I had previously come across in reading, namely, *ei śakti nā thākile anek granthakār mārā yāïten*, and *tāhār pitā*

*yuddhe mārā yān.* It remains, therefore, for those who hold that *āmāke mārā yāy* is the correct construction to give examples from their reading. It is not a matter of much practical importance, except for people who have to answer grammar papers, but it may serve as another instance of the fact that foreign students may sometimes call attention to a construction whose nature may have escaped the notice of natives from sheer familiarity of use.

J. D. A.

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## Accent in Indian Languages

At the risk of seeming importunate and presumptuous, may I add a brief postscript to some recent notes on Bengali accentuation? My thesis was that Bengali, possessing an Indo-European vocabulary similar to that of other languages of Northern India, has nevertheless a characteristic phrasal *accent tonique* which so dominates over word-stress as to make it almost inaudible. I suggested that this vocal peculiarity might be an inheritance from the language spoken by the bulk of the people in Bengal in pre-Hindu days. It differs from the French tonic accent in being initial and not final, in following and not preceding a pause or cæsura. It might therefore be a survival of the anacrusis accent necessary for the enunciation of the long agglutinative verbs in the Boḍo languages still used in North-Eastern Bengal. It might, on the other hand, be descended from some Dravidian habit of speech, and might thus give some support to the ethnologists in their conclusion, based on physical characteristics, that the Bengalis are a "Mongolo-Dravidian" type of humanity. Anthropologists rightly attach little importance to language (meaning vocabulary) as a test of race. But a foreign tone of voice is less easily borrowed than foreign words.

Among English-speaking peoples, for instance, we can trace a speaker's habitat by what we call his "accent", and a "brogue" will show that a man is either an Irishman by descent or has spent his life among Irishmen. Put thus, the case seems too obvious to be worth detailed examination. But the aboriginal elements in Bengali are so few and faint that the Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian features of the language have not been commonly recognized, even by indigenous scholars (I resist a temptation to say "more especially by indigenous scholars").

This being so, I may be pardoned for saying, with a sense of some relief and satisfaction, that Mr. R. W. Frazer has been so good as to tell me that his friend Rao Sāhib Rāma Mūrti has been working at the accentuation of Dravidian languages, and has come to the interesting conclusion that these languages possess what seems to be an initial, or anacrusis accent. The Rao Sāhib does not say that this accent is a phrasal accent, perhaps because he has been studying the pronunciation of separate words, which of course carry a phrasal accent when said alone.

The following quotations from Mr. Frazer's letter will, I hope, interest students of accentuation: —

"In his *Memorandum on Modern Telugu*, published at Madras in January, 1913, Rao Sāhib Rāma Mūrti refers to the well-known law of vocalic harmony in Telugu, and gives examples of how a final vowel has assimilated to itself every vowel in the word *except the first, which remains unaltered because it has the stress.*" In the Rao Sāhib's own words, "the shifting of the stress towards the beginning of a word has affected not only the pronunciation of a word but the forms of words."

Further, Mr. Frazer quotes from Pope's standard Tamil Grammar (p. 18): "Tamil scarcely admits of accent [stress?] upon individual syllables. . . . The root syllable will,

however, be distinguished by something akin to accent."[1] May I suggest that this last sentence may show that Dr. Pope felt that the initial accent he heard was not a stress-accent, but an accent of pitch, or rather that rise of pitch was more predominantly audible than the (possibly) accompanying stress. One difficulty of discussing accentuation is that we are apt to assume that the dominant audible quality of a syllable is its sole quality. In Bengali, for instance, we are tempted to say that the word-stress is faint or non-existent, and hence those who can hear the word-stress in spite of the dominant initial rise of pitch are tempted to assert (and have, indeed, asserted) that stress is as marked a feature of pronunciation in Bengali as in any other language. Exactly the same thing has been said of French accentuation by authorities so distinguished as M. Paul Passy. Perhaps the point to bear in mind is the fact (if it be a fact, as I suppose) that in every language the three qualities of length, pitch, and stress are existent and audible, but that in any given language one (or even two) of these qualities may be *dominantly* audible. Perhaps metre may be a good test to show which is the dominant quality. Where stress is dominant, you seem to get a prosody of recurrent stresses without any (necessarily) fixed number of syllables. English verse is a good example of this. Where pitch is dominant you find a cæsura marked by a high-pitched syllable preceding or following the cæsura, the remaining syllables (fixed in number) being more or less atonic. As for quantitative verse in the modern languages of India, I can only say that I have consulted friends who know languages in which quantitative verse is used, but am not yet sure how quantity is made audible in *spoken* or recited verse. In verse that is chanted (and most verse

[1] I think most Bengali students will admit that Dr. Pope's statement is equally true of Bengali.

is chanted in India) the feat is obviously easy. But I have not yet been able to discover whether the quantity audible in quantitative verse is a quality audible in prose. In stress-verse and pitch-verse (if I may be allowed to coin these convenient terms) the poet uses, and perhaps exaggerates, what is quite audible in current prose. I have not yet learned whether, in languages which still have a quantitative versification, quantity is a dominant audible quality in spoken prose, or whether it is an added quality imposed on verse by chanting it or otherwise altering the pronunciation from that of everyday speech.

I hope readers of this note will believe that I make these rather crude suggestions very diffidently, not as statements of fact, but merely with the wish of drawing attention to what in more competent hands may prove a fruitful subject of study.

J. D. A.

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## EARLY USE OF PAPER IN INDIA

The use of paper in India was introduced by the Muhammadans after the twelfth century A.D.; according to Bühler (*Indian Paleography*, § 37 ff.). In two copies, however, of an ancient Sanskrit text, the MSS. of which are ascribed to not later than the eighth or ninth century A.D., in the Stein Collection from Central Asia and in a Nepalese version of the same in the Hodgson Collection in the Society's library (No. 75), there occurs in the enumeration of materials upon which the text should be written the word *kāyagate*, which Dr. Hoernle translated as "paper", in the belief that "it is clearly identical with the Arabic word *kāghadh*, or, as it is pronounced in India, *kāghaz* (Ūrdu) or *kāgad* (Hindī)" (JRAS. 1911, 476). Moreover, in an Uigur version of the same text (the *Sitātapatra Dhāraṇī*), Dr. F. W. K. Müller came

independently to the same conclusion (*Uigurica*, ii, 1911, p. 70). On referring to the version of this Dhāraṇī in the Tibetan (into which the translations from the Sanskrit are habitually made with scrupulous fidelity) I find that the word for "paper" does not occur at all, and that the Sanskrit *kāyagate* has clearly another meaning, namely, to attach the spell "to the body". Dr. Hoernle, to whom I communicated my observation, has admitted that the reading of "paper" is a mistake, and he has suggested that I should send this note. The word *kalka* also, translated as "paste", is shown by the Tibetan to be *valkā*, a tree-bark, as indeed Dr. Hoernle suggested in his article that *valka* might be the proper form; whilst "committed it to memory" should be "hangs it on his neck (or throat)". The Sanskrit lines in question in the "gigantic roll", as given by Dr. Hoernle, are:

*bhūja-patre vā vastra vā.*
*kalke vā kāyagate vā kaṇṭhagate vā likhitvā dhārāyeṣyate.*

The Tibetan translation is:

*gro-ga am, ras sam, śiṅ-śun la*
i.e. birch-bark or cloth or tree-"valkam" (or bark) upon

*bris-te*
having written

*lus sam mgul-du btags sam klog-par-byed na*
body or neck on fixes or causes to be read if.

which reads:

"having written [the spell] on birch-bark or cloth or tree-*valkaṁ*-bark, if one fixes (or hangs) [it] on the body or on the neck, or causes it to be read," etc.

This is another instance of the value of the Tibetan for interpreting and correcting ambiguous points in the Sanskrit (as well as the Pāli) texts.

L. A. WADDELL.

## Date of the Bharaut Stupa Sculptures

As the magnificent gallery of ancient sculptures upon the Bharaut Stūpa railings and pillars fortunately possesses the unique feature of bearing descriptive labels incised on the stones, it affords an invaluable criterion for determining the chronology of early Indian art, the growth of religious legends, Buddhist and Brahminical, and the important historical questions associated therewith. It is therefore desirable to fix the date of these authentic ancient documents as precisely as possible.

The generally accepted date amongst historiographers, namely "the second or first century B.C.",[1] is based upon the inscription on the eastern gateway. This inscription states that "During the reign of the Śuṅgas . . . Vātsī-putra Dhanabhutī caused [this] gateway to be made and the stonework arose".[2] As the Śuṅga dynasty is usually assigned to about 184–72 B.C.[3] the above-noted date is thus arrived at.

But, as I have shown, the eastern gateway was certainly not the main entrance, and indeed, from the location elsewhere of the inscribed images of the four guardian gods of the Quarters, this eastern gateway was probably not a part of the original investing structure at all.[4] The main gateway was the southern, at which I found were collected three out of the four great guardians, namely, those of the south, east, and west; and over the southern was carved a miniature replica of the stūpa. This position for the main entrance is explained by the topography of the site with reference to the old road and the adjoining stream-bed. The

[1] Dr. Fleet, *Imp. Gaz. India*, ii, 46, 1908; Dr. Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.*, x, pp. 118 ff.; Dr. Hultzsch, IA., 1892, 225.

[2] Dr. Hultzsch, loc. cit., 227.

[3] V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. Ind.*, 1908, 186–92; Hoernle & Stark, *Hist. India*, 1909, 41.

[4] My article on "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult" in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1912, reprint, pp. 34–5.

second gate was on the north with the northern guardian "Kupiro", i.e. Kubera, in charge. Such an allocation of these four guardians into two groups is the invariable rule in Buddhist buildings only where two gateways exist. It is thus almost certain that the eastern (also western) gateway was a later addition to the stūpa-enclosure.

In the light of this important new structural evidence it seems to me desirable that the presumed date for the Bharaut sculptures be revised, and the Śuṅgan inscription on the eastern gateway kept distinct from the inscriptions on the rest of the railing, which apparently preceded it. All the more so is this desirable as expert palæographic opinion is clearly against the later date (see below).

The chronological evidence of the "Four Great Guardian Kings" alone would, I find, presume a date within the Mauryan period; for the very archaic form of their titles and attributes at Bharaut disclose, as I have shown, a stage of evolution long anterior to that in which we find them in the Pāli redactions, not only of the Jātakas but of the canonical Pāli books.[1]

Palæographic experts are practically unanimous in ascribing the majority of the Bharaut inscriptions to the older Mauryan era of Asoka's own period, that is the third century B.C., and thus support the original opinion of the discoverer of the stūpa, General (Sir A.) Cunningham. The latter wrote in his classic *Stūpa of Bharhut* (p. 15), "the absolute identity of the form of the Bharhut characters with those of the Asoka period is proof sufficient that they belong to the same age."[2] Professor Bühler records that "the majority of the inscriptions on the Bharaut Stūpa" belong to "*the older Maurya* alphabet

[1] See my article above cited, pp. 36 ff.

[2] Later in 1883 General Cunningham authorized Dr. J. Anderson in his *Catalogue of Antiquities in the India Museum* (p. 6) to state the date as 150 B.C.; but in this he was manifestly influenced by the inscription on the eastern gateway.

of the Asoka edicts".[1] M. Senart writes: "The ancient inscriptions of the Bharhut Stūpa are perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, of a surety not much later."[2]

No doubt the complete decoration of the entire railing of such a huge monument, by the piety of wealthy devotees, must have extended over several generations; and some of the rails probably were contributed within the Śuṅga period. This circumstance, however, does not lower the age of the great bulk of the rest.

The more trustworthy evidence thus, in the absence of dated inscriptions, points to the bulk of the Bharaut inscribed sculptures dating to the early Mauryan period of about Asoka's own time, and so takes us back to General Cunningham's original estimate[3] that they "are certainly not later than B.C. 200", or, as we may put it more positively, that they belong to the third century B.C.

Of the chronological inferences based upon these sculptures which now require readjustment accordingly, an important one is the initial date for the Gandhara school of Buddhist art. The date for this, as inferred from the evidence of the Bharaut sculptures, depends, as I have set forth in the Journal (1913, pp. 945 ff.), mainly on the revolutionary change that was effected in representing Buddha's personality between the date of the Bharaut sculptures and the rise of the Gandharan series. Such a radical change, accompanied also by an extensive development of the theory of divine Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, postulated at the very least one century.

This antedating now of the estimated age of the Bharaut sculptures, by one or one and a half centuries, admits of the initial date of the "Greco-Buddhist" sculptures being possibly put back from the first

[1] *Indian Paleography*, § 15. 2. Cf. English translation by Dr. Fleet in IA., p. 32.

[2] "Inscriptions of Piyadasi," translated by Sir G. A. Grierson, IA., 1892, 173.

[3] *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 15.

century A.D. to the first century B.C., and with it the probable epoch of Kaniṣka, whose art I have suggested is related to the early or, what I would call, proto-Gandharan. Otherwise, the evidence I have there adduced and the conclusions thereon remain undisturbed. The only point perhaps requiring emendation is that the expression "Gandhara art" in the references on pp. 947 and 948 to the style and motive as being "incompatible with a date before the Christian era" should be read as "*mature* Gandhara art".

L. A. WADDELL.

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## A DICTIONARY OF CENTRAL PAHARI

The late Pandit Ganga Dat Upreti, deputy collector in Kumaun, was an enthusiastic worker in the study of the local language and ethnography. At the time of his death he was engaged on the compilation of a dictionary of words and expressions of the Pahārī language used in the Kumaun division. The preliminary work was not completed. Words beginning with the vowels and five consonants have been faired, but it is clear that the rest of the work would require revision before fairing out for publication. The bundles of slips for the other letters are incomplete, and the papers include a number of lists of words not included in the slips. No scholar is available for the comparison of these lists with the words in the booklets and for the final revision which is required. The Government of the United Provinces, which has been subsidizing Pandit Ganga Dat, has therefore decided that the whole collection shall be deposited in the University Library at Allahabad, where the work will be available for future students, and it may be hoped that some residents of Kumaun may in time be forthcoming who will take up the work and complete it.

R. BURN.

## The Coinage of Husain Baikara

Mr. Longworth Dames, in his note on the "Coinage of Ḥusain Baikara", p. 1048 of our Journal for October last, relies upon what he supposes to be the translation of a certain passage in Bābur's Memoirs by William Erskine. The probability is that it is the work of a less careful scholar, for it falls within the limit of Leyden's share in the translation of the Memoirs, as defined in a note to p. 195 of the volume. But whether Erskine's or Leyden's, it does not give the exact import of Bābur's words, either in the original Turkī or in the Persian rendering. The phrase "band of young soldiers" is in the Turkī *chuhara jīrgā* and in the Persian *jirgā-i-chuharhā*. This means "the troupe of pages" and is translated by Pavet de Courteille by "le corps des pages". Nor is it quite correct to translate "He did good service in the Mīrzā's expeditions". The Persian, from which Leyden was translating, has not the adjective "good". It merely says Bihbūd had served (*khidmat karda*) in Ḥusain Baiqara's forays (*qazzāqīha*), and that Ḥusain noticing this rewarded him by making him a Beg, etc. Bābur is here referring to Ḥusain Baiqara's early days, when he was, like the young Bābur, a wanderer and a freebooter, and was leading a life of Bohemianism and rapine. Nor, as far as I can make out, does the Turkī describe the service as good. It says that there was *khidmat*, and the Haidarabadī seems to say that the service was pleasing to Ḥusain.

Whether Bābur's story or insinuation was true or not I cannot say, but I think there can be no doubt that, in Dr. Codrington's phrase, Bābur made it by way of writing something nasty about Ḥusain. Bābur did not like Ḥusain, though he married a connexion of his, and he was jealous of the Mīrzā's renown. He endeavours to show, and perhaps succeeds in showing, that his own

exploit in taking Samarkand was much more glorious than Ḥusain's capture of Herat. But still Bābur was a contemporary, and his story may be true. Ḥusain Baiqara, though a great warrior, and as great a patron of literature and art as Lorenzo de Medici, was a dissolute man and in no way morally superior to his contemporaries. He divorced his first and chief wife, though she was of high rank and the mother of his eldest son, for no other reason, apparently, than that she objected to his infidelities. If he showed extravagant admiration for youth and beauty he did no more than did Hadrian and other distinguished Roman emperors, and he might be countenanced by the great example of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

H. BEVERIDGE.

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## NOTE ON THE WORD FOR "WATER" IN TIBETO-BURMAN DIALECTS

Some years ago when classifying the monosyllabic bases of the Meithei vocabulary I found a group of words which had *i* as their common base. *I-chau* = water big = deluge, *i-chel* = water run = current, *i-nil* = water cloud = steam, *i-ram* = watercourse, *i-rong* = waters meet, *i-ru* = water dip = to bathe, and so on. From these forms I concluded that *i* = water, and that in the word *i-sing* = water, the same base was present. *Sing* I took to be identical with the plural suffix *sing*, as meaning "mass". The base *i* in Meithei has other meanings. It means "thatch". In cognate dialects, e.g. Thado, the word for "thatch" is *bi*. It means "to write", and beyond doubt is derived from the root *likh*, cf. Meithei *lai-rik* = document, Thado *lai-li* = document. It also means "blood", and in that sense is *thi* in Thado. It occurs in the Royal vocabulary as meaning "to be ill". Were *i* used as meaning "water", without the suffix *sing*, confusion might well arise. Whether purposive in origin or not—and it is not easy

to imagine how it could be purposive of set orderly deliberation—the suffix *sing* certainly serves, perhaps it survives because it serves, a useful end in distinguishing the base for "water" from other common bases of similar sound. "Thread" in Meithei is *lang*; cotton in general, a mass of threads, is *la-sing*, which may be taken as *lang-sing*, softened to *la-sing*. Having thus to my satisfaction settled the value of each of the two syllables in this word *i-sing*, I proceeded to derive the base *i* immediately from the form *ti*, which appeared to be related to the form *tui*, which occurs in many of the dialects spoken in and near Manipur. So far the path of my inquiries had run smoothly enough. I was confronted with the view that all this was beside the mark, that the Meithei word *i-sing* was closely connected with the Kachin word *n'sin*. In Kachin, according to Hertz, *n'sin* is water for household use or consumption, *kha* is all water, river or stream, and there is a word *hpun* synonymous with the *kha*, but used only in couplets as *hpun-lun* = hot water. *Lum* is used in Meithei in the sense "to boil water" and *hpōn* means "rain" in Shan, so that we have a couplet each element of which comes from a different origin unless *lum* in Meithei is annexed from Shan. These specialized words are in accord with a well-known tendency in Tibeto-Burman languages. In vol. iii, pt. i, p. 429, of the Report of the Linguistic Survey I find the statement that "According to Jaeschke this word (*ti* = water) also occurs as a loan-word in Tibetan. If it is not originally an Indo-Chinese word it might perhaps be compared with Munda *dak'*, Khmer *dik*, etc., water". *Ti* as a form intermediate between *tui* and *i* seemed essential to the pedigree I proposed. I have therefore endeavoured to ascertain from the vocabularies given in the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India and from such other sources as are immediately available to me what forms the word for "water" assumes in different

groups. The words for "rain", "river", etc., where available, have also been compared. In Chinese, so I am informed, the word for "water" is *sui*. The change from *s* to *t* is of frequent occurrence in these groups.[1]

To the group which uses the form *tui* belong Khongzai, Thado (*ti* is also used, a notable fact), Sairang, Kuki of Cachar, Siyin, Tipura, Lushei, Banjogi (also *ti*), Pankhu, Hallam, Langrong, Aimol, Chiru, Kolren, Kom, Purum, Taungtha, Chinbok, Yawdwin, Sho, Khami, and Mru. Maram has *athui*. Empeo, Kabui, and Khoirao have *doui* or *dui*. Phadang has *tundui*, Bodo and Rangkhol have *dui*. Liyang has *tadwi*. Mech and Arung have *doi*. Yintale has *tai*. Allowance, often considerable allowance, must be made for the idiosyncrasies of those who have recorded these forms of speech, but all these forms must be classed together as identical. From the change of *t* to *s* to *ch* or *z* or *j* we get *achui* in Miklai. The Maring form *yui* comes into this group. Gurung and Murmi use *kui*, where the hardening of the initial consonant is notable and is paralleled by cases below.

Between *sui* in Chinese and *tui* are intermediate forms *atsu* in Khari and Ao Mongsen, *atso* in Mahe, *ahsu* in Ako, *dzu* in Angami and Rengma. From these forms we pass to *etchhu* in Lhota. *Kantsū* means "rain" in Yintale. Akha or Kaw has a form *isu*, which I discuss later under the *i* group. *Chhu* is found in Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Central Tibetan, Spiti, Kagate, Sharpa, Danjongka, and Lhoke. Yakha has *mangchuwa*. In Limbu this becomes *chua* or in Lambichhong and Chhingtang *chuwa*. In Meithei we get the root *chu* in *nong chuba*, to rain. In Thado and Siyin *yu* means "to rain". Lushei has *ru* in this sense. Lakher has *shu*. Mano has *chu*. Maru has *ku*. The hardening of the initial consonant is conspicuous in a group of Himalayan dialects. *Ku* is the form in Thulung, Chourasya, Khaling, and Dumi. Kulung has

[1] See JRAS., April, 1913, p. 322.

*kau*, which may be due to an individual recorder's idiosyncrasy. In Pwun or Hpon we get *hko*,[1] and in Menghwa Lolo *gho*, which may both come into this group. In Aka the initial seems to be aspirated, but I have noticed the weakness of initial aspirates elsewhere when recording Thado, so that one recorder may observe an aspirate which passes unnoticed by another. As will be seen later, there is a group which uses *wa* as its form. Is it, *wa*, a couplet, does it mean "water" independently, or is it a suffix which by loss of the base to which it was originally fastened, has acquired the significance of the whole compound? The base *ku* appears in the Thami word *pangku*, in Bahing *pwaku*, in Rai *kanku*, in Pahri *lukhu*, and in Newari *lukhu*. Lihsaw has a word *lo-ku-la*[2] = a stream, which may contain the same base. To the *chhu* group belong forms such as Kezhama *eju*, Namsang *jo*, Lohorong *yowa*, where *wa* reappears, Ao *tza*, and Sopvoma *uza*. Anal has *du*, Maram *adu*, Tengsa and Dopdor *tu*, and Karen, ni *to*. In all these forms we have bases related to *dui* or *tui*, while Meithei has *turen* = river or great water, cf. Thado *tuilen* = river.

In two of the Kuki dialects, Thado and Banjogi, which use *tui* for water, the form *ti* is also found. *Ti* is in use in Toto, Chepang, Vayu, Kanawri, Kanashi, Manchati, Chamba Lahuli, Byangsi, Janggali, Miju Mishmi, Ruga Garo, Konch, Banpara, Chang, Mutonia, Lai, and Shonshe. It is found in two Karen dialects, Sinhmaw Mepauk and Taungthu. "Rain" in Karen, ni is *ketsi*. Bunan has *soti*. Magar, Lalung, Dimasa, Rengma (where one authority gives *dzu*). Chairel and Hiroi Lamgang have *di*. Atong Garo has *tai*. In Mulung and Sima we have *si*. Deuri Chutiya has *ji*. Chulikata Mishmi has *maji*. In the Kehena dialect of Angami we find *dji*, while Angami has

[1] As well as *chi*.

[2] Meithei has *lok* = a ravine with water in it. Lolo has *lu-ke* = river. Morso has *loke*.

*dzu*. The form *chi* is found in Dhimal, Garo Abeng, and in Standard Garo, in Garo of Jalpaiguri, in Koch, and in Hpon. Digaru Mishmi has it in the guise of *machi*, which in Hati-gurya becomes *achi*. To Mano belongs the distinction of a word *chi-ku-tso*, a triplet, each element of which, as I believe, in some other Indo-Chinese dialect has independently the meaning of "water".

The elision of the initial consonant in the *ti* form gives *i*, which does not occur so far as I know as an independent form anywhere. I have exhibited it in compounds in Meithei, where it has the meaning "water". I may add another remarkable example. Colonel Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., Political Agent in Manipur, whose diligent and accurate investigations into the religion and folklore, the institutions and customs of the tribes inhabiting Manipur and the Lushei Hills, have made such important additions to our knowledge of a singularly interesting region, states that the Deity—I cannot quite assent to the term Goddess—of water is designated *Lai-i-bi*. *Lai* is a well-known base meaning "deity". *Bi* is not only the common magnitive and honorific suffix in Kuki dialects, but in Meithei, perhaps as a result of Indo-Aryan influence, is now used as a feminine suffix, while *ba* is the masculine suffix. The remaining syllable *i* means "water". We have *isu* in Akha, which I regard as a couplet of the order where each element has the same meaning (see L.S.R., vol. ii, p. 70 sq., for an interesting and clear discussion of couplets and compounds). Lisu has *ima* = river. Muhsö has a form *ika*, where again I think we have a couplet.[1] *Ka* or *kha* is the Kachin for water in general. E. Dafla has *isshi*, recorded as *esi* in Dafla, while Miri has *isi*. I regard these forms as related to the *i* base.

*Kha* is the general word in Kachin for "water". Kwi or Lahu Hsi has *aka*. Mu-Hsö or Lahu have *yika*. *Yi* or *ye*, as will be seen later, forms a group by itself.

[1] For "water" it has *i-gura* and *a-di-a*.

Intermediate forms are found in Thaksya, which has *kya*, in Musu, which has *gye*, in Lashi and Yachumi, which have *kye*. Thukumi has *kih*. We get *ye* in Taungyo, *yigya* in Lisaw, *nyi-ya* in Libsaw, and *yeang* in Tahleng, while it has coalesced with the suffix in Tamlu, which has *yong*. *Kyung* = rain in Riang, while in Banyang Zayein *kyon* = rain. In Lahu the word for "rain" is *moye*, in Akha *ye*, in Muhsö[1] *maye*, and in Kwi or Lahu Hsi it is *mawye*. Burmese write the word *re*, but pronounce it *ye*. The Mikir for "rain" is *arve*. Sangpang and Khambu have *ka-wa* = water. Nachhereng has *kaawa*. In Waling and Rungchhenbung we have *cha-wa*, while Dungmali has *chah'wa*. In Bhramu we find *awa*. Rodong shortens the form to *wa*. Lambichhong has *wet*. Kadu has *we*, while Asi has *wetcham*. Danaw has *wet* and also *ri*.

In discussing the linguistic affinities of Mikir Sir Charles Lyall observes that "The words in which Tibeto-Burman languages agree most widely with one another are perhaps those for 'water' and 'village': for the former *di*, *ti*, *tui*, *dzu*, *zu*, *ji*, *chi*, and other similar forms all apparently identical with the Tibetan *chhu* and the Turki *su*, run through the whole family . . . It is somewhat surprising to find in Mikir an exception to the general rule. 'Water' is *lang* . . . Searching through the tribal vocabularies, Tangkhul Naga (a Naga Kuki form of speech) appears to have in *tara* the corresponding word to *lang* (*r* = *l* and *ta* a prefix). Nowhere else in the neighbourhood is there a trace of a similar word until we come to Burmese, where 'water' is *re* (now pronounced *ye*). At the same time it is to be observed that Mikir appears once to have had, like the Kuki Chin languages generally, the word *ti* for 'water'. This survives in the word for 'egg'—*vo-ti*—which must mean 'fowl's water'". In a footnote Sir Charles suggests that "This seems to make it improbable as suggested on page 109 *chui* in *var-chui*

[1] Of Kangtung.

and *nim-chui* (to throw into water and to drown) is connected with the Tibetan *chhu*". For my part I think the earlier view is the correct one. In Pyen, a language spoken in Kengtung, Southern Shan States, *lāng* = water. The word in Khangoi, spoken in a Tangkhul Naga village, is *deru*, and McCulloch also gives *ka-jung-ru-ye* as = rain in that dialect. In Mulung and Sima the word for "water" is *riang*. To this group belong such forms as *ser* in Sawntung Zayein Karen, Padeng Zayein, and Banyang Zayein. In the speech of the Kawnsawng Karens of Loi Long the word is given as *ther*. At the time when the Burmese script was first introduced, doubtless the word for "water" was spoken *re* as it is now written. In obedience to internal causes and in part to the assimilation of new elements *re* came to be spoken *ye*, and we may regard the *ye* group as homogeneous with *re*. Examples of a nasalized off-glide have been given above, so that the Mikir form is paralleled by other cases.

The following curious forms may be noted: In Kusunda we have *tang*; in Rong *ung*, which looks rather like a nasalized form of *um*, the word for "water" in Khasi-Wa-Palaung dialects, which belong to the Munda-Mon-Khmer family of languages. Andro, a Loi dialect of Manipur, is recorded by McCulloch as having a form *me*, while in Sunwar we find *mak*. Maru has a form *glokke*, which may have to go into the *kye* or *ye* group.

It is now possible to find answers to the questions: (1) is *ti* a loan-word to be compared with the Munda *da'k*, the Mon *daik*, and the Khmer *dik*? (2) is *ising* to be compared with Kachin *n'sin*? The cases collected above show that *ti* is not a loan-word, that it is derived by methods which are exemplified all through this area. What the original form was, I cannot guess. Possibly it was *sui*, but all these languages are under the sway of karma, as Sir George Grierson has remarked of them. The Meithei word *ising* is surely connected with the *ti*

group. The suffix *sing* means "mass". All this is no doubt much ado about nothing, but it may help us to ascertain the lines on which the classification of these far-flung dialects may be attempted. It may even help us to disentangle the modifications which are due to constitutional inherited tendencies from those which have been brought about by contact with other groups. Some of these instances may show how "specialized" words acquire a more general significance and how, conversely, a word of general meaning may be used in a specialized sense. See Meillet, "Comment les mots changent de sens": L'Année Sociologique, vol. ix, pp. 1–38.

T. C. HODSON.

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE AHOMS[1]

In the Journal of the RAS. for April, 1913, there is an article by Colonel Gurdon on "The Origin of the Āhoms". It tells of a "metal plaque". On one face were the words "Letters patent . . . A.D. 1408", on one side "Be faithful", and the place is given as "Timāsa" (which you say is identified as Chieng-Mai). There are two things in particular which are puzzling: the place and the date. In passing, I may say that a similar "plaque" was sent by the Emperor to a king of "Nanchao" marked "Nanchao, 705–805". So while the place is the place to which the plaque was sent, the date was not necessarily the date of issue.

Now, coming to your "Timāsa". Nan-chao, even while still practically independent in local affairs, certainly acknowledged the Emperor as over-lord. He also received a plaque of this kind. Now, during the time mentioned above there was a sub-kingdom down on the Cambodia River, northward including at least the

[1] This correspondence between Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Taw Sein Ko has been sent to us for publication.

Hsiphsawng-Panna, and southward extending probably to Ving-Chang. Ving-Chang or Kieng Tsen may have been its capital. Westward, it included at times what was at other times a part of the "Province of Chieng-Mai". During the same time, as mentioned above, a Nan-chao king sent down to the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia two of his nephews to take over charge in his name. They took with them, among other things, a *somdeo* (*sum-loo*), as mentioned in the article. The *sum-loo* was kept in a box and taken out once a year in order that "respects" might be paid to it. In the same connexion there are, in the record, a few Shan words that I cannot make out, as they are now obsolete here. Possibly they tell of one of these "plaques". The two things seem to go together. As Nan-chao was at least nominally under China at that time, the sub-kingdom also was. What could be more natural than that the nephews should be provided with a similar "plaque"—a Mongol–Chinese recognition of their kingship?

Now, as to the *somdeo* (*sum-loo*): I can hardly think that it was a "god" or image at all, unless it was an image of the Emperor. (Were images of the Emperor ever handed round in that way?) As *sum* may be the Shan word meaning "seal" or "stamp" (to make an impression), and as *loo* (*deo*) may mean "the only", I am inclined to think that the name refers to a seal or stamp for stamping official letters. Whether it was in the form of a "cylinder" or not is not significant, neither the "diamond or some other precious stone" that may have been set in one end of it.

Again, as to the date: the Mongol dynasty of China apparently did control Chieng-Mai during the reign of Kublai Khan, but Mr. E. H. Parker states that the "Comforters" (Conciliators or Pacificators) were "withdrawn" in 1342. The date you give (1408) is sixty-six years later. If "Timāsa" meant the sub-kingdom on

the Cambodia, this date would give no trouble, but it does if Timāsa meant Chieng-Mai. What is the evidence that Timāsa was Chieng-Mai? Moreover, the date on the "plaque" given to the Nan-chao king does not indicate the date of issue. The century (705–805) included two whole reigns and part of another. But the "plaque" (Plate A) gives manifestly the date of issue (1408). This is curious, but there is something here more curious still: Could there have been a "Comforter" in Chieng-Mai after they were withdrawn, or were they withdrawn from Burma only and given "privilege leave" in Chieng-Mai for another cycle? There is something even more curious than that. Why did the prince of Chieng-Mai send the "plaque" to his kinsman a thousand miles to the northward? Did he think that his northern friend had more need of the good advice, "Be faithful," than he had himself, or did Chieng-Mai actually control the Mao kingdom (with its nominal apanage, Assam) at this time?

In Shan writings, in so far as I have been able to gather, there is no indication either of Mongol–Chinese in Chieng-Mai, or of Chieng-Mai in the Mao kingdom, at the time referred to. The whole thing is a "Chinese puzzle". Now it may be that you can solve the puzzle.

W. W. COCHRANE.

*Reply*

It will be convenient if I proceed to discuss your letter paragraph by paragraph.

*Paragraph* 1. I possess evidence to show that both the place (Timāsa) and date (A.D. 1408) are correct. As regards the Nan-chao plaque, I may remark that the date given, 705–805, i.e. covering a century, is quite unusual in Chinese official documents. As a rule, such records are dated from the particular year in which they are issued.

In the year A.D. 1406, during the reign of Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1403–25), Tonquin had become once more a dependency of the Chinese Empire, and the Shan Chief of Timāsa, which was contiguous to Tonquin, would naturally hasten to submit to Chinese suzerainty and to accept his appointment of Conciliator or Pacificator from the Chinese emperor. The date mentioned on the plaque is the "fifth year of the reign of Emperor Yung Lo", corresponding to 1403 + 5 = A.D. 1408.

*Paragraph* 2. Geographical names are somewhat loosely applied in Chinese records. States may have boundaries varying from decade to decade or from century to century, and the best-known localities are fixed upon for purposes of identification. For instance, Ving-chang or Kieng Tsen, which the Burmans call Kyaingthingyi, has been a wilderness for several decades past, while its neighbours, Kengtung and Chieng-Mai, are better known to the outside world. In the circumstances mentioned by you, I am rather inclined to identify Timāsa with your "sub-kingdom on the Cambodia River", but I suppose the Chinese annalists fixed upon Chieng-Mai as being the most convenient geographical expression and the best-known designation.

The *somdeo* (*sum-loo*), entrusted by the Nan-chao king to his two nephews on their mission to the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia River, cannot be identified with the plaque of A.D. 1408. The date is so carefully and correctly inscribed that there can be no possible mistake about its identity. I am afraid that we must look elsewhere for the missing Nan-chao plaque.

*Paragraph* 3. The word *somdeo* is an Assamese corruption of the Shan word *sum-lu*, which is again a Shan corruption of the Chinese word (as pronounced in the Cantonese dialect) *sum-lok*. In Yunnanese the word is pronounced as *sin-lu*. In Chinese *sum* means "confidence", and *lok* "a record", so *sum-lok* signifies "a record inspiring

confidence", or, in other words, a credential or letters patent. In the Assamese form the second syllable *deo*, which is derived from the Sanskrit word *deva*, means "a god". Images of the Emperor were never handed round to be adored by the officials of the empire; but, at the time of each Chinese New Year, it was customary for all Chinese mandarins to kneel and bow down before the seals of their office, which were the token and credential of their authority and influence. Chinese official seals were kept in cylindrical cases or boxes called *Pao-ya*, which might be decorated with gems on the outside, and such boxes were wrapped up in a piece of yellow silk, yellow being the Imperial colour. According to the description given in the JRAS., p. 285, April, 1913, the *somdeo* evidently refers to the official seal which, in accordance with Chinese custom, was raised to the dignity of a fetish. It would be well if further efforts were made to trace this *somdeo* in Calcutta, where it is reported to have been sold.

*Paragraph* 4. The withdrawal of "Comforters" in A.D. 1342, as stated by Mr. Parker, refers to Burma only. "Comforters" were invariably indigenous chiefs or princes; and a Comforter, Conciliator, or Pacificator simply meant a "Premier Chief or Prince", who was charged with the duty of upholding Chinese suzerainty.

As stated above, I am inclined to think that Timāsa meant the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia.

Do you think that the date on the plaque given to the Nan-chao king, namely 705–805, is quite correct? According to the Chinese Annals, I-mou-sün, king of Nan-chao, defeated the Tibetans with great slaughter in A.D. 794, and for this service he received from the Emperor of China a gold seal, duly dated, as king of Nan-chao. I-mou-sün died in A.D. 808. It would be in keeping with Chinese history if your dates could be read as A.D. 795–805, which covers the single reign of I-mou-sün.

You wish to know why the prince of Chieng-Mai sent the Chinese plaque to his kinsman a thousand miles to the northward. The explanation is simple. It is stated (JRAS., p. 287, April, 1913) that the Āhoms invaded Assam in A.D. 1228, that they kept up communication with their Shan relations in Chieng-Mai after they had settled in Assam, and that they obtained the metal plaque from them. During the two centuries following the occupation of Assam the Āhoms found their position insecure, as they were menaced by the Muslim conquest of Northern India. If there was any evidence or credential to show that the Āhom Chief of Assam was under the protection of the Chinese Emperor, he would secure immunity from attack on the side of Bengal. So the plaque of A.D. 1408 must have played the part of a veritable talisman in nursing the young Āhom kingdom into maturity and strength. The historical circumstances would appear to show that, at that period, Chieng-Mai exercised control over the Mao kingdom as well as Assam. My own experience of the Burmese and Talaing Annals indicates that native historians are loath to admit the subjection of their country to foreigners, and the Shan writers do not form an exception to the rule. They will never admit that Chieng-Mai was subject to China, or that the Mao kingdom was subordinate to Chieng-Mai.

There is sufficient evidence to support the identification of Timāsa with Chieng-Mai. It is stated, in the *Huang Ch'ao Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao*, that Pa-pai-hsi-fu-kuo (or the kingdom of 800 women, one woman being in charge of each village) is situated to the south-west of the Shan state of Meng-ken, and that its ancient name is Ching-mai (Chieng-Mai). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (A.D. 1280–1368) it was frequently attacked by the Chinese. Communications were, however, difficult. Subsequently the state rendered its submission, and a "Comforter" was appointed. In the 24th year

of the reign of Hung Wu, an emperor of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1392), two "Comforters" were appointed to the state of Pa-pai-hsi-fu-kuo, namely, one to Che-na and the other to Ta-tien. In the 5th year of the reign of Yung Lo, an emperor of the same dynasty (A.D. 1408), the state remained neutral. A military contingent was demanded from it, and it sent tribute to China.

It is further stated, in *Kang-chien-ho-p'ien, Yü-p'i-li-tai-t'ung-chien*, and *Kang-chien-i-chih-lu*, that in the 3rd regnal year of Emperor Yung Lo (A.D. 1406) a Chinese general named Mu Ch'eng demanded the submission of Pa-pai-ta-tien, which is also called Pa-pai-hsi-fu-kuo. During the early days of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368–1644) two "Comforters" were appointed to that state. It is mentioned in the *Yünnan T'ung Chih*, or Gazetteer of Yünnan, that in A.D. 1408 a Hsin-fu or metal plaque was granted by the Emperor to the "Comforter" of Pa-pai-ta-tien, or Timāsa.

TAW SEIN KO.

*Further Letter from Mr. Cochrane*

Your letter of the 28th instant gives the information I required.

There may have been a mistake in the date of the Nan-chao plaque. I am not a Chinese scholar, and had to rely entirely on the date given by Professor Parker. If such documents are customarily dated from the exact year of issue, a mistake is presumable.

That Chieng-Mai was at least nominally under the Chinese during the Mongol–Chinese dynasty there is no sufficient reason to doubt, and that state may still have recognized such overlordship at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though the Shan records here say nothing about it. That the Chinese had at least nominal control of the sub-kingdom on the Cambodia at that time there can be no doubt whatever. If the so-called

"province of Chieng-Mai" extended eastward to the Cambodia at that date, identifying Timāsa with Chieng-Mai would have been quite natural, though the Cambodia River region in particular may have been meant. Line fences were often set over, and set back again or torn down altogether, according to the power and ambition of the various squabbling Shan princes.

I did not intend to identify the Nan-chao plaque, or the one given to the nephews, with the one found in Assam; I meant merely to say that I regarded it as one of the same kind, i.e. as a "letters patent" and not as a "god". This you show clearly to have been the case from your history of the word *somdeo*, from the Chinese *sum-lok*, corrupted in Shan into *sum-loo*, and further corrupted by the Āhoms into *som-deo*. Several words spelt here with an *l* are spelt with a *d* in Āhom (as *dao* for *liao*, a sword). The *deo* is not, therefore, to be confounded with the Sanskrit *deva*. In the Āhom and Kham-ti Shan writings of Assam a "god" is uniformly represented by the word *hpi* (or *pi*, according to taste in transcription), as it is here. If the "Comforters" were always indigenous chiefs (and Shans, over this way), it helps to account for the frisky intermeddling of Shans in Burman affairs during the Mongol-Chinese dynasty. It also helps to explain the meaning of Mr. Parker's statement that they were "withdrawn" in 1342.

The statement (JRAS., p. 287, April, 1913) is itself a Chinese puzzle. What is meant by "The Āhoms invaded Assam in A.D. 1228", that they "kept up communication with their Shan relations in Chieng-Mai after they had settled in Assam", and that they "obtained the metal plaque from them"? At that time the general-in-chief (Hsö-ka-pha) of the Mao Shan king (Hsö-hkan-hpa) conquered Assam, and the same king had already conquered Chieng-Mai. He held both under tribute till he died, after a long and eventful reign. This seems to

be as certain as anything in the Shan records. If communication was kept up, it was, in the first instance, through the Mao (or Pawng) kingdom of what is now Eastern Burma. Hsö-hkan-hpa was followed on the Mao throne by weaklings. That Chieng-Mai between 1270 and 1408 may have retaliated and conquered the Northern Shans, including the Mao apanage (the Āhoms of Assam), is possible, but the Shan records here make no mention of such a pleasant social visit.

The Āhoms were menaced by the Muslim conquest of Northern India, and had several armed conflicts with the Muslims, but during that period they seem never to have received any aid from China; if they received such aid they were ungrateful, for they make no mention of it in their records. Still, I am inclined to think that the relation between the Chinese and all of the Shans from Chieng-Mai to the valley of the Brahmaputra was much closer than the latter acknowledge or than has ever been conceded. While practically independent of China, there still seems to have been a certain recognition of Chinese suzerainty. That Chinese "letters patent" was not fooling-round up there in Assam for nothing.

I happen to know a scholarly missionary (the Rev. W. Clifton Dodd, D.D.) of the American Presbyterian Mission of Northern Siam, working among the Laos. I may do well to write to him to see what light he may be able and willing to give on the whole matter. I hear that he, or one of his associates, has collected a large number of historical manuscripts.

W. W. COCHRANE.

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## THE MEANING OF THE WORDS *'ALÀ ḤUBBIHI* IN QUR. II, 172

In the well-known verse (172) of the second chapter of the Qur'ān which enumerates the elements of piety or righteousness (البِرّ), there is an expression which has

given rise to much difference of interpretation. The words are—

وَآتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَى وَالْيَتَامَى وَالْمَسَاكِينَ وَابْنَ السَّبِيلِ وَالسَّائِلِينَ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ

This part of the verse is rendered by Sale—

"Who giveth money *for God's sake* unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for redemption of captives."

Rodwell translates—

"Who *for the love of God* disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming."

E. W. Lane (*Selections from the Kur'án*, 1879, p. 35)—

"Who giveth money, *notwithstanding his love of it*, to relations and orphans, and to the needy and the son of the road, and to the askers and for the freeing of slaves."

Sir W. Muir (*Selections from the Corán*, 1880, p. 4)—

"Whoso, *for the sake of God*, giveth of his wealth unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, and to those who crave an alms, and for the release of the captives."

E. H. Palmer (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi, 1880)—

"Who gives wealth *for His love* to kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the son of the road, and beggars, and those in captivity."

Professor Goldziher (*Vorlesungen über den Islām*, 1910, p. 17)—

"[Der an Allah und den letzten Tag glaubt . . . ] und seine Habe gibt *in Liebe zu ihm* den (armen) Angehörigen, den Waisen und Dürftigen, dem Reisigen und den Bettstellern und für die Gefangenen."

There is only one other place in the Qur'ān where the phrase occurs, viz. Sūrah lxxvi, 8 (Mecca)—

وَيُطْعِمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا

Sale renders—

"And give food to the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, *for his* [*i.e. God's*] *sake.*"

Rodwell—

"Who, *though longing for it themselves,* bestowed their food on the poor and the orphan and the bondsman."

Palmer—

"Who give food *for His love* to the poor and the orphan and the captive."

Muir, Lane, and Goldziher have not translated this passage.

Turning now to the indigenous commentaries, we find that Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, vol. ii, p. 54) takes the words وآتى المالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ in Sūr. ii, 172, as equivalent to وأَعْطَى مالَهُ حينَ مَحَبَّتِهِ إيّاهُ وضِنِّهِ به وشُحِّهِ عليه, i.e. "who gives his property at a time when he clings strongly to it and desires to keep it". This interpretation is supported by several traditions, all going back to Ibn Mas'ūd, the general form of which is that على حُبِّهِ means وأَنْتَ صَحِيحٌ شَحِيحٌ تَأْمُلُ الْعَيْشَ وتَخشَى الفَقْرَ.[1]

Ṭabarī gives no alternative explanation.

[1] These words are taken from a tradition transmitted by Abū Hurairah, who says that the Prophet uttered them when consulted by a man who asked what kind of alms brought the greatest reward. The answer was: "The best alms is that which is given when thou art in sound health, desirous of holding fast thy property, fearing poverty and hoping for riches; and that thou put not off the giving until the time when thy soul has come up into thy throat, and thou sayest, 'To such a one so much, to such another so much, and as for such a one, he has already had his share'" (i.e. the time of impending death, when the dying man makes his will): قال أنْ تَصَّدَّقَ وانت صحيح شحيح تَخْشَى الفَقْرَ وتـأمُلُ الغِنَى ولا تُمْهِلَ حتّى اذا بَلَغَتِ الحُلْقومَ قُلْتَ لِفلانٍ كـذا ولفلان كـذا وقد كان لفلان—Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb az-Zakāt*, Bāb 11 (Krehl, i, p. 359; Qasṭallānī, iii, 21).

Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf*, i, 121)—

على حُبِّهِ مع حُبّ المال والشُّحّ به : كما قال ابن مسعود (words above cited quoted) . وقيل على حُبّ اللهِ . وقيل على حبّ الإيتاء يريد أن يُعْطِيَهُ وهو طَيِّبُ النَفْسِ بإعْطائِهِ

Jalālain : على حُبِّهِ مَعَ حُبِّهِ لَهُ.

Baiḍāwī—

على حبّه اى على حب المال كما قال عمّ لمّا سُئِلَ أَيُّ الصَدَقَة افضل قال (words as above cited) . وقيل الضمير للّه او المصدر.

In the second place (Sūr. lxxvi, 8) Ṭabarī (vol. xxix, 113) explains : قوله ويطعمون الطعام على حبّه مسكينًا يقول تعالى ذكره : كان هؤلاء الأبرارُ يطعمون الطعام على حُبِّهِم إيّاهُ وشَهْوَتِهِم له, i.e. "they distribute food in spite of their desire for it for themselves". This explanation is supported by traditions from Mujāhid and Sulaimān b. Qais, father of Muqātil.

Zamakhsharī (ii, 1559)—

على حبّه الضمير للطعام اى مع اشتهائه والحاجة اليه : ونحوه (Sūr. ii, 172, cited) . وعن الفُضَيْل بن عِياض على حُبّ الله.

Jalālain : على حبّه اى طعام وشَهْوَتِهِم له.

Baiḍāwī : على حبّه حب الله او الطعام او الاطعام.

Thus, while the majority of the European interpreters understand the two passages to mean that the almsgiver bestows his gifts "for the love of God", the preponderance among Islamic expounders is in favour of the explanation that the words *'alà ḥubbihi* mean "in spite of his reluctance to part with his wealth". The one exception among Europeans in Sūr. ii, 172, Lane, follows here as throughout the Commentary of the Jalālain ; all the others appear to think the interpretation of the native scholars derogatory to the dignity of the text or the spirituality of the religion. As regards Sūr. lxxvi, 8, the one translator,

Rodwell, who follows the commentaries explains that he does so because in the next verse the words "for the sake of God", إِنَّما نُطْعِمُكُم لِوَجْهِ الله, actually occur, and it is improbable that the same sense should be conveyed by a different expression immediately before. Of the Arabic commentaries, Baiḍāwī alone, against his view in Sūr. ii, 172, puts first in this place the rendering على حبّ الله, and second على حبّ الطعام. Yet it seems certain that in both places the expression must be interpreted in the same way.

My object in calling attention to the matter here is to adduce a passage from a pre-Islamic poet which seems to me to decide the question which of the two interpretations should be preferred. In the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (p. 571 of my forthcoming edition) is a poem (No. lxxv) by Abū Qais b. al-Aslat, the Chief of the Aus at Yathrib vv. 16 and 17 of which run thus:—

هَلَّا سَأَلْتِ الْخَيْلَ[1] إِذْ قَلَّصَتْ ... مَا كَانَ إِبْطَائِى وَإِسْرَاعِى

هَلْ أَبْذُلُ الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ... فِيهِمْ وَآتِى دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِى

The second verse clearly means: "Why dost thou not ask . . . whether or no I lavish my wealth, in spite of my desire to retain it, among my kin, and respond at once to the cry of him that calls for help?" Here we have the exact phrase of the Qur'ān: the speaker praises himself for his liberality to his people in time of distress and famine, when the possessor of wealth would most desire to hold it fast. The commentary of al-Anbārī makes the meaning quite plain—

اى أَبْذُلُ المال على حُبّى إيّاهُ وحاجَتِى اليه: وانما يريد ذلك فى صُعوبَةِ الزّمان لأنّ الناس فى ذلك الوقت يَشُحّون اكثر ممّا يشحّون فى غير ذلك الوقت. وقال الله تعالى: وَآتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ: وقال جَلّ ذِكْرُه: حَتَّى تُنْفِقُوا مِمّا تُحِبُّونَ.

[1] *v.l.* القَوْمَ

The commentator, it will be seen, cites Sūr. ii, 172 ; and he also cites another verse in the Qur'ān, iii, 86, the full text of which is—

لَنْ تَنَالُوا الْبِرَّ حَتَّى تُنْفِقُوا مِمَّا تُحِبُّونَ

which can only be rendered in one way : "Ye cannot attain to righteousness until ye expend of that which ye love."

The author of the poem, who is said to have been a *Ḥanīf*, but never embraced Islam, was the Captain of the Aus in the long fratricidal wars which scourged Yathrib in the years preceding the Prophet's Flight, and led the citizens of that town to welcome Muḥammad as the only authority able to bring them to an end. There is no sound reason for doubting its genuineness, unless it be held that wherever an expression used in the Qur'ān is found in profane literature, it is a sign that the latter is interpolated or fabricated—a doctrine which does not appeal to me as reasonable. Even if this argument is allowed weight, the citation from Sūr. iii, 86 really seems to settle the matter finally in favour of the native commentators.

C. J. LYALL.

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## SUR L'ARIDITÉ ET LA SÉCHERESSE DU TURKESTAN

On explique, en partie, l'étonnante conservation des documents bouddhiques et manichéens découverts à Khotcho et à Touenn-houang, c'est-à-dire dans la partie occidentale de l'ancien royaume des Ouïghours, par l'extrême sécheresse du Turkestan chinois[1] et de la Mongolie,[2] dont le sol, complètement et absolument aride, n'est jamais mouillé par les eaux du ciel.

[1] Cf. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, vii ; *l'Asie Orientale*, pp. 119, 182. Le Révérend Père Wieger parle également, dans ses *Textes historiques chinois*, de ce climat d'une sécheresse absolue, qui conserve indéfiniment intactes les inscriptions sur pierre, pour la grande joie des épigraphistes.

[2] Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie*, ibid., p. 182.

En l'année 1420 de l'ère chrétienne, au mois de Juillet, les ambassadeurs que Shah Rokh Béhadour, roi de Perse, avait envoyés à l'empereur de la Chine se trouvèrent engagés dans le désert qui précède Tourfan. Ils durent faire la plus grande diligence pour éviter les attaques du fils de Mohammed Beg, qui s'était mis à leur poursuite, et "bien qu'il tombât presque tous les jours de la grêle et de la pluie, ils franchirent avec une extrême promptitude les vallées et les montagnes : وایلچیان مستوهم شده با آنکه اکثر ایام ژاله بود و باران از درها وکوهها بسرعت گذشتند".[1] Cette marche hâtive des ambassadeurs, sous la pluie et sous la grêle, dura trois semaines, après lesquelles ils arrivèrent à Tourfan, d'où ils gagnèrent, en trois étapes, la ville de Kara-Khotcho قرا خواجه[2], la Ho-tchéou 火州 des Chinois, où M. von Lecocq a découvert les fresques qui ornent aujourd'hui le musée de Berlin.

M. C. E. Bonin, parlant du vihara de Touenn-houang, qu'il a décrites le premier, après la mention trop rapide qu'en avaient donné Prjewalski, Kreitner, et les autres explorateurs du Turkestan chinois,[3] dit que leur étage inférieur est à moitié ensablé par les alluvions du torrent sur lesquelles elles sont situées, et qu'il le sera bientôt complètement, si l'on ne prend quelques précautions.[4]

[1] Quatremère, "Notice du Matla al-saadeïn," dans les *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tome xiv, pp. 309–10. Le passage où il est parlé de ces pluies dans le désert est emprunté à la relation officielle des ambassadeurs persans, et il est par conséquent impossible d'elever des doutes contre leur affirmation. L'identité de la Kara-Khotcho des ambassadeurs de Shah Rokh avec la ville où furent découvertes les fresques du musée de Berlin est absolument certaine.

[2] Faute habituelle des copistes persans pour قرا خوچه par confusion de خوچه avec le mot arabe خواجه.

[3] "Les grottes des mille Bouddhas": Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1901, pp. 209 et seq.

[4] Il est assez évident que les ascètes qui habitaient ce monastère de troglodytes avaient besoin d'eau pour les usages courants de la vie, et qu'ils n'auraient pu y demeurer, s'il n'avait été situé près d'une rivière.

L'apport annuel des sables et des alluvions par le ruisseau ne peut malheureusement servir de base à un calcul qui établirait l'âge du vihara, car l'on sait, d'une façon certaine, que la région du Gobi était jadis beaucoup plus riche en eau qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui, et que, par suite, les pluies y étaient bien plus fréquentes qu'elles ne le sont devenues ; et il est impossible de déterminer quelle fut la variation du débit de la rivière de Touenn-houang à travers les siècles.

Il est inutile d'insister sur le nombre fantastique de mètres cubes d'eau qui, pendant des centaines d'années, ont passé dans cet étage inférieur du vihara de Touenn-houang, dont M. Stein a rapporté les trésors au British Museum ; les personnes qui, à Paris, durant la crue de la Seine, en 1910, ont eu le rez-de-chaussée de leur maison à moitié rempli d'eau durant une semaine, celles qui, plus simplement, ont habité sur les bords d'un canal dans une ville de Hollande, seront édifiées sur les conditions hygrométriques des étages supérieurs des grottes des Mille Bouddhas.

La description des antiquités trouvées dans les " grottes de pierre de Touenn-houang " consacre un chapitre spécial aux " eaux de Sha-tchéou 沙州水 ", et parle longuement des cours d'eau, des étangs, des salines, des digues qui se trouvaient sur le territoire de Sha-tchéou, dont dépendait le poste de Touenn-houang, près duquel s'élève le vihara des Mille Bouddhas.[1] Le Gobi, dit de Humboldt,[2] est

[1] *Touenn-houang-sheu-sheu-yi-shou*, 2e mémoire. Contrairement à tous les usages littéraires du Céleste Empire, cet ouvrage, dans lequel il est question de découvertes archéologiques faites par des chinois, indépendamment des découvertes européennes, n'a point de préface. Il y est parlé de canaux larges de trois toises chinoises, c'est-à-dire de trente pieds, ou dix mètres, et de digues qui ont une hauteur égale à la largeur de ces canaux. Le *Touenn-houang-sheu-sheu-yi-shou* cite de même un ouvrage qui a été spécialement écrit sur les cours d'eaux du Hsi-yu, autrement dit de l'Asie Centrale. Le sel des salines de Sha-tchéou était l'objet d'un commerce important.

[2] *Tableaux de la Nature*, tome i, p. 95, Paris, 1851.

improprement appelé désert, car il contient, en différents endroits, de beaux pâturages; dans le pays d'Aksou, on trouve "des raisins, des grenades, et un grand nombre de fruits d'une saveur exquise". Les champs sont également couverts de coton jaune, qui fait l'effet de nuages.[1] Il est difficile, pour ne point dire impossible, d'admettre que ces pâturages puissent être florissants, que ces fruits se développent, dans un pays que l'on nous représente comme anhydre.[2]

"Les vents," dit Timkhovski,[3] "sont très fréquents dans le Turkestan oriental, au printemps et en été; lorsque les vents cessent, des brouillards les remplacent, et arrosent la terre comme une rosée bienfaisante. La pluie cause dans ces contrées des effets très nuisibles; elle y est rare, mais si elle tombe, même en petite quantité, pendant le temps que les arbres sont en fleurs, elle les fane; si elle tombe abondamment, les arbres paraissent comme couverts d'huile, et ils ne portent point de bons fruits." Près de

[1] D'après un auteur chinois, dont la traduction est citée par de Humboldt, ibid., p. 100.

[2] Dans les *observations de physique et d'histoire naturelle*, l'empereur Khang-hi dit qu'il ne pleut presque jamais dans le royaume de Khamil, et que les petites pluies qui y tombent quelquefois mouillent à peine la surface de la terre. Outre cela, il n'y a ni rosée, ni brouillard, qui puissent l'humecter. Cependant les campagnes sont arrosées et fertiles, quoiqu'il y ait peu de rivières et que les ruisseaux et les fontaines y soient très rares. Tant il est vrai que l'industrie et le travail suppléent à tout. Comme il tombe beaucoup de neige en hiver sur les montagnes, les habitants ont imaginé de conduire l'eau dans de grands réservoirs à mesure qu'elle se fond. Quand les chaleurs sont venues, ils la font couler dans leurs champs et la distribuent avec tant d'économie qu'elle suffit à fertiliser leurs campagnes. "Comme les chaleurs de ce pays sont extrêmes, je craignis, dit l'empereur, que quelques Musulmans que j'y avais envoyés n'en fussent incommodés; ils revinrent tous à Pé-king sans avoir été malades. Je leur demandai si les chaleurs de Khamil et de Tourfan étaient plus insoutenables que celles de Hang-tchéou; ils me répondirent qu'on les supportait plus aisément parce que, quoique le pays soit élevé et la terre brulante, on a de l'eau fraîche pour se désaltérer, au lieu qu'à Hang-tchéou, l'eau des puits même est comme tiède pendant la canicule et ne peut ni rafraîchir ni désaltérer."

[3] *Voyage à Pékin*, tome i, p. 410.

Kutché,[1] en hiver, la neige tombe en telle abondance qu'elle peut abaisser la température du sol d'une montagne ardente, d'une façon suffisante pour que les habitants du pays puissent fouiller la terre pour en tirer du sel ammoniac.

L'histoire du Céleste Empire rapporte qu'en 657, Sha-pouo-lo Khaghan ayant attaqué la Chine, Kao Tsoung envoya une armée pour repousser ses bandes. Le khaghan des Turks occidentaux fut battu près de la rivière Yé-hi; sur ces entrefaites, il tomba une telle quantité de neige que la terre en fut couverte à la hauteur de deux pieds. Sha-pouo-lo se figura naïvement que les Chinois se laisseraient arrêter par l'inclémence de la température, mais son attente fut vaine, car il fut pourchassé par le général Sou Ting-fang, et il dut se réfugier dans le pays de Samarkand.[2]

Les contrées orientales de l'ancien royaume des Ouïghours, et celles qui en étaient voisines, n'étaient pas mieux partagées que Khotcho ou Touenn-houang. "In

[1] De Humboldt, *Fragmens de géologie et de climatologie asiatiques*, p. 107. Je maintiens pour le nom de cette ville la forme Kutché; la forme ancienne 龜茲 ne s'est *jamais* prononcée autrement que Kvi-tcha aux époques anciennes, Koueï-tzeu, aujourd'hui, sans dentale à la fin du second monosyllabe; Djouveïni, au xiii^e^ siècle, écrit *toujours* كوجا, soit Kutché, et jamais autre chose; c'est également cette forme كوچا, avec l'addition d'un *medda* sur l'élif pour indiquer la prolongation de la voyelle, qui se trouve dans le *Khing-ting-Hsi-yu-thoung-wen-tchi* (ch. ii, pp. 16-17), dans lequel on trouve une description de l'Asie Centrale au milieu du xviii^e^ siècle, avec les formes onomastiques de cette époque récente. Le nom chinois de cette localité est aujourd'hui 庫車, Khou-tchhé, soit Kutché, que le *Hsi-yu-thoung-wen-tchi* (ibid.) transcrit Kütché, en mongol et en Kalmouk, Khou-Khré en tibétain, avec une faute dans le dernier groupe consonnantique, la voyelle *é* étant sûre. La forme Koutchar est née d'une audition défectueuse de Koutchâ, *l—â* long final d'un mot, prolongé, pouvant dans certains cas être entendu sous la consonnance—*ar*, surtout par les Anglais et les Français qui prononcent à peine les—*r*; c'est par un procéde inverse que les créoles transforment le groupe *ar* en *â* . . . *â* dans *Gâ—ârnié* pour *Garnier*, *er* en *ê—ê*, dans *chê-ê* pour *cher*.

[2] *Kang-mou, tching-pian*, ch. xl, p. 113.

media enim æstate," dit Jean de Plan Carpin,[1] "quando in aliis partibus solet calor maximus abundare, ibi sunt tonitrua magna et fulgura, ex quibus homines plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ nives.[2] . . . In ea etiam in hyeme nunquam pluit, sed in æstate sæpe : et tam modicum, quod vix potest aliquando pulverem et radices graminum modidare. Grando etiam ibi sæpe maxima cadit : unde eo tempore quando fuit electus et in sede regia poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione, sicut plenius intelleximus, plus quam centum et sexaginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi, res autem et habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. . . . In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ nives, in alia autem parvæ." [3] La pluie, la neige, et la grêle ne pouvaient être rares dans une contrée, aussi bien dans l'ouest du Turkestan, sur les frontières de l'Islam, qu'en Mongolie, où les sorciers se vantaient, d'après ce que racontent les historiens et les voyageurs anciens, de les faire tomber à leur gré, même en plein été, par des incantations qu'ils opéraient à l'aide d'une pierre de jade.

Ces conditions climatériques sont essentiellement différentes de celles du désert d'Egypte et de Libye, avec lesquelles on a voulu les confondre. Les géographes, les historiens, les voyageurs, s'accordent pour dire qu'il ne pleut jamais dans le désert d'Egypte,[4] et que le sable, d'une

[1] Edition de la Société de Géographie, p. 609.

[2] Lesquelles neiges se résolvaient naturellement en eau ; on comparera la fonte subite de la grêle, qui noie plus de 160 personnes dans le camp de l'empereur des Mongols, et les tentes emportées par ce torrent.

[3] Ibid., p. 610.

[4] "La sécheresse y est tellement grande qu'il n'y pleut qu'en douze ou vingt ans une fois, dit Carlier de Pinon, qui visita l'Egypte en 1579 ; encores est icelle pluye de fort peu de durée. Bien est vray que quelquefoix en hyver il tombe deça de la des gouttes d'eau, lesquelles touttes foix sont en si petit nombre, et dure leur cheute si peu de temps, que la terre n'en est aucunement mouillée. Les habitans du Caire nous ont asseuré, que lors que nous y estions, il n'y avait pleu depuis vingt ans" (man. français, 6092, fol. 60 r°).

sécheresse absolue, conserve indéfiniment les objets déposés dans les sarcophages qui y sont enfouis. Mais cela, comme on le voit, ne ressemble en rien à ce qui se passe dans le Turkestan, où il pleut et où il neige : si épaisse que soit la couche de sable qui recouvre le sol de cette contrée, l'eau qui tombe à sa surface n'en est pas moins obligée de la traverser tout entière, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit complètement absorbée, ou jusqu'à ce qu'elle atteigne la roche et les couches imperméables de l'argile.

E. BLOCHET.

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## LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le conseil de la fondation, n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de novembre 1912, est composé comme suit : MM. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. de Boer, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même également, le montant nominal est de 21,500 florins hollandais (43,000 francs) ; en outre, au mois de novembre 1913 les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 2,300 florins (4,600 francs).

3. On se permet d'attirer l'attention sur ce qu'il est encore disponible un certain nombre d'exemplaires de la reproduction de la Ḥamāsah d'al-Buḥturī. En 1909 la fondation a fait paraître chez l'éditeur Brill à Leyde cette reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde réputé unique. C'est au profit de la fondation que ces exemplaires sont vendus ; le prix en est de 200 francs. Ainsi les acheteurs contribueront à atteindre le but que se propose la fondation : de favoriser l'étude des langues orientales et de leur littérature.

*Novembre, 1913.*

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIA: An Account of the History and Culture of Ancient Hindustan. By LIONEL D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D., Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum. 8vo; pp. ix, 306, with numerous illustrations and a map. London: Philip Lee Warner: 1913.

This book, a volume of the Handbooks to Ancient Civilization Series, has for its object, as the Preface tells us, "to present within a moderate compass a general survey of the history and culture of Ancient India." The subject could not have been placed in more competent and sympathetic hands than those of Dr. Barnett; and we congratulate both him and his readers on the manner in which he has handled it.

The book gives in the first two chapters "an outline of the historical changes through which India has passed from the earliest days down to the beginning of the thirteenth century." Here, chapter 1, Outlines of the Early History and Civilisation, deals, in two divisions, with the Age of the Vēda and the Expansion of the Āryas, and is supplemented by two Appendices, one giving a List of the Chief Hindu Deities, and the other a brief account of the Ethnographic and Linguistic Divisions of Modern India. And chapter 2 presents a Chronology beginning with B.C. 600, in or about which year Śiśunāga founded the Śaiśunāga dynasty of Magadha, and running down to A.D. 1200, which is practically the end of the pre-Musalmān period.

The rest of the book is devoted to a sketch of "the conditions of society as revealed by literature and the monuments, the constitution and administration of the

State, the chief religious rituals, the nature of the scientific knowledge possessed by the ancient Hindus, their systems of weights, measures, and coinage, and their achievements in architecture, sculpture, and painting."

Here, in the first place, chapter 3, on Law and Government, deals with the State and the Organisation of Society, the Family, Civic Life, the Four Stages, and Caste; and one of the bases used for it to much advantage is that interesting work the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, which supplements so practically the inscriptions and the epics and other literary sources. In this department, of course, a very important feature was the king, with everything connected with him. A perusal of p. 98 will show that ancient Indian kings had no easy time; their movements and duties were too carefully regulated for the whole round of the twenty-four hours to permit of that: from one sunrise to the next the king's time was mapped out in sixteen periods, each of an hour and a half; and the only interval that he had entirely to himself seems to have been three hours, including midnight, which he spent in well-earned sleep, and the next hour and a half, which he passed in meditation, preparing himself for the renewal of his round of labours. It is no great matter for surprise that so many kings in ancient India ended their careers by abdicating, to find rest and quiet at last in religious retirement! On the other hand, they were allowed their occasional amusements, which were equally well provided for. One among these was the chase; and a special regulation about the royal hunting-park ordained (p. 107) that "it was to be surrounded by a ditch, to have one entrance, and to be stocked with tigers and other wild animals deprived of their claws —[but what about their teeth?]— so that the king could indulge in sport without danger to his royal person." In the matter of stocking the preserves, this ancient provision, we think, is still remembered in some of the shikār arrangements which

are made in the present day for the benefit of distinguished visitors.

Chapter 4 deals with the Vēdic Ritual in two divisions, Gṛihya and Śrauta; and chapter 5 sketches the Non-Vēdic Rituals, with Yōga and Magic. In chapter 6 we have an outline of the Astronomy, Geography, and Cosmography. Chapter 7 deals with Coinage and the Measures of Weight, Length, and Time. The next three chapters are given to Medicine, Writing, and Architecture. Finally, Sculpture and Painting are treated in chapter 11.

The chapter on astronomy contains one of the very few statements in the book which seem open to question. We are told on p. 196 that it is quite uncertain when the solar zodiac was introduced into India. But it is a well-established fact that the Hindūs received the signs of the zodiac, and all that went with them, from the Greeks. In the early period they were satisfied with their own primitive astronomy, which divided the celestial circle into twenty-seven equal parts called *nakshatras*, and each of them into quarters, and gave them thus all that was then wanted: their aim was confined in those days to calculating the courses of the sun and the moon; and such astrology as they had was limited to those two orbs, and even so was of a very rudimentary kind. It was eventually, not the Greek astronomy that attracted them, but the fully-developed Greek planetary astrology, which opened out a quite new field. They took that up with avidity; and they had to take over with it the Greek astronomy as a necessary adjunct, giving the only means of determining the astrological details with the required accuracy. And every indication points to the period A.D. 350 to 400, or closely thereabouts, as the time when that happened: see, further, my remarks in JRAS., 1912, p. 1039 f.

In the same chapter, something might perhaps have been said about the use of the gnomon in ancient

India for orientating the sacrificial altar and telling (approximately) the time of day. The Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra describes its use for the former purpose, and specifies the stars whose rising and setting were observed by three different schools for laying out the east-and-west line. In the other matter, the Kauṭilīya, using the gnomon of twelve ordinary *aṅgulas* or fingers, teaches (2. 20) that, when the length of the shadow is 96 *aṅgulas*, then 1/18th of the daytime has elapsed since sunrise, or remains to run before sunset; when the shadow measures 72 *aṅgulas*, then the fraction of the daytime, elapsed or remaining, is 1/14th; and so on.[1] The other appliance for telling the time was the clepsydra, in the form of a floating water-jar (*ghaṭī*), made of metal, which marked the successive *nāḍīs* or periods of twenty-four minutes by the trickling of water into it through a hole in the bottom, and was of course available at night as well as by day: this is described in the Kauṭilīya and the Jyōtisha-Vēdāṅga.

The book has a very full Index. And its value and interest are further enhanced by a coloured frontispiece showing an Ajaṇṭā painting of Buddha, and twenty-four plates in half-tone illustrating the coinage and architecture. We have also a Map of Ancient India, a Jain Cosmographic Diagram, and a table of Specimens of Alphabets which, though necessarily limited, is well-chosen and useful.

[1] This carries back to the time of the Kauṭilīya a rule which is found in various forms in the astronomical books of the later period, and resolves itself into the formula "fraction of daytime = gnomon divided by twice gnomon-plus-shadow." The rule postulates (1) that there is no shadow at noon, and (2) that, when the sun is half-way up or down, the length of the shadow is equal to the height of the gnomon: it really applies only for places along the equator and at the time of an equinox, and, even so, is exactly correct only for sunrise and sunset, 9.0 a.m. and 3.0 p.m., and noon; but the Kauṭilīya, in accordance with the system of mean or uniform time, which alone was known in those days, applies it for the latitude and time of the summer solstice and for any part of the daytime.

The design on the cover shows an interesting sandstone figure of Brahma, of about the eleventh century, from the British Museum, which seems to be illustrated here for the first time. The illustrations, indeed, are a special feature of the book; and the following ones seem particularly noteworthy in addition to the cover-design and frontispiece. Plate 12 reproduces a very good photographic view of the wonderful Kailāsa temple at Ēlūrā, which was cut out of the solid rock under the orders of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I at some time about A.D. 765–70. Plate 22 shows, from a new photograph, a British Museum sculpture of the Gandhāra school illustrating a scene from the Śibi Jātaka, in which king Śibi sacrifices his own flesh to save a dove from a hawk. Plate 24 presents a fine statue of Buddha, of the Gupta period, now in the British Museum, which appears to be illustrated here for the first time. Plates 25 to 27 reproduce from Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan* three very typical and interesting Buddhist wall and panel paintings, from Dandan Uiliq, which illustrate a variety of the Gandhāra art adapted to local circumstances. Plate 28 exhibits, apparently for the first time, a particularly fine Bōdhisattva statuette, of the Gandhāra school, which also is in the British Museum.

This notice of Dr. Barnett's book does it but scanty justice. The difficulty in the way of an attempt to exhibit its merits better is that it is devoted, not to propounding views which would have to be weighed and perhaps criticized, but to presenting facts which are to be studied and used. But it is not to be thought that the book is in any way dull because it deals with facts: on the contrary, it is attractive reading all through. It is a very practical addition to our bases for the study of everything relating to ancient India, and will be found eminently useful by scholars, engaged in particular lines of research, who, in order to succeed in their aims, must

have also a general knowledge of the latest results attained in branches which lie outside their own special spheres of work.

J. F. FLEET.

THE CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE HISSAR DISTRICT, PUNJAB. By E. C. H. TOWNSEND, I.C.S. Punjab Government Press. Price 1*s*.

This is a valuable little work of seventy-three pages. It is well up to the level of the recent *fasciculi* of the Punjab Customary Law Series, of which it forms vol. xxv. This series is not as well known as it ought to be to students of custom and sociology, and the present volume is especially to be commended to the notice of practical administrators for several reasons.

The district of Hissar has been long under British rule. No manual of its customary law has ever been drawn up before, but in 1840 a kind of memorandum (*wâjib-ul-arz*) for each village was compiled, dealing, however, only with the rights of Government and the landowners. Practically nothing was then recorded as to succession, alienation, or women's rights. It was doubtless assumed that in all such matters the peasantry followed Hindu Law, in one of its schools, though which school was favoured no one could say. However this may be, "all the available evidence," writes Mr. Townsend, "shows that the rights of women were very much wider then than they are now. Nor is the reason for this far to seek. The country was in a very unsettled condition then, and devastated by periodical famines. There was much demand for cultivators, and, as life and property were by no means so secure then as they are now, the people were generally only too glad to get outsiders into their village. A careful examination of the history of most of the Jâṭ and Râjpût villages of the tract, but more especially of the latter, shows that a considerable number of the present landowners are descendants of

sisters and daughters. There were then very little, if any, restrictions on the powers of a sonless proprietor to give his land to the sons of his sisters or daughters, so long as they came and settled in the village." This is no doubt more or less the accepted official view. In a time of disorder and destitution women's rights get recognition. When civilized administration is established they get lost sight of. By 1863 times had begun to change. Inheritance and alienation were then dealt with in a new edition of the *wâjib-ul-arz*, but "even so", says Mr. Townsend, "though some limitations of those rights [i.e. women's rights] were then declared as existing, they were by no means so restricted as they are now stated to be." After 1863 the "agnatic theory" took shape, and at the recent settlement of 1910, effected by Mr. Townsend, he found the Customary Law on these points much "developed". "Women's rights generally, as regards land at any rate, have become much more restricted, and the same [statement] applies to rights of alienation and inheritance generally, particularly of ancestral land. The tract has become more prosperous (owing mainly to the extension of canal irrigation). The price of land has risen: and the people are keenly adverse to strangers coming into the village and acquiring their ancestral land." Mr. Townsend thinks, and he is unquestionably right, that the peasantry have to some extent stated what they wish to be the law for the future rather than the existing customs. As he points out, "the sonless are always in a minority, and it is they who want to alienate their lands to daughters or sisters." (It will be observed that Mr. Townsend accepts the assumption tacitly made by adherents of the agnatic theory that women have somehow lost all the rights of *inheritance* bestowed on them by Hindu Law.) He concludes by writing: "It was therefore to the interest of the majority of those who gave the replies in question to maintain that greater

restrictions exist in rights to alienate, whether generally or to daughters or sisters in particular, than is, perhaps, really the case."

Now whatever view may be taken of our duty in India, whether it be held that we ought to govern according to our notions of what is right or wrong, or thought that we should govern according to local *plebiscita*, one thing at least is abundantly clear, and that is that in no legal sense does any customary law whatsoever exist in the Hissar District. Custom must not be variable, uncertain, or changeable, and the so-called customs in Hissar are all three. The memory of man runneth not to a time when women had no rights of inheritance. On the contrary, it runs to a time, as recent as 1840, when they passed on those rights to their children. Under these circumstances to talk of custom, in the legal sense, as existing in Hissar is to talk of what does not exist. With the results of the so-called custom this is not the place to deal. A veritable famine of women exists in the Punjab generally. Hissar is no exception. There is only too much reason to believe, with von Mayr and Kirchhoff, that the sex-ratios in India are profoundly affected by the treatment which women receive.

H. A. ROSE.

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THE IRSHĀD AL-ARĪB ILÁ MA'RIFAT AL-ADĪB, or DICTIONARY OF LEARNED MEN OF YĀQŪT. Edited by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Vol. VI, containing the last part of the letter ع to the first part of the letter ف. pp. 531. Leyden, Brill; London, Luzac & Co.; 1913.

This further volume of Professor Margoliouth's work, which reaches us through the Trustees of the Gibb

Memorial, is a truly valuable acquisition. It covers the names between عمارة بن حمزة and محمد من الحسن البرجي, and will be found to largely exceed in interest the preceding volumes owing to the importance of the biographies which fall within its compass. To mention only those of the highest order, among the 181 notices in the volume are ample biographical memoirs of some of the greatest names in the literature of Islam, such as Jāḥiẓ, Sībūyah, Ḥarīrī, Bīrūnī, Shāfi'ī, Ṭabarī, and Muḥassin b. 'Ali al-Tanūkhī, author of *al-Faraj ba'd al-Shidda*. And as the materials utilized by the author for his work were more comprehensive than those used by his predecessors, it inevitably follows that in the case of all the above-named persons he provides us with a mass of biographical detail which supplements in a highly instructive fashion our hitherto available information. Not that this by any means exhausts the interest of the volume if one takes into account the valuable notices devoted to the Andalusian al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, the Rāwī and pedigree writer 'Īsā b. Yezīd ibn Da'b, the grammarian Keisān al-Hujeymī, Abū Khalīfa al-Jumāḥī, the Shī'a poet al-Mufajja' (cf. ZDMG., vol. lx, p. 225, here p. 139, ll. 6 ff.), and the poet Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī, known for his contest with Mutanabbī (pp. 504–18).

Yāqūt has much to say on the *Udabā* of his own day, and much of that from his own personal knowledge. Of these the most prominent is Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-'Adīm, the judge at Aleppo, who by reason also of his literary efforts deserved a place in a work on *Udabā*. By way of introduction to his full notice of him (pp. 18–46) Yāqūt gives, from a document communicated to him by Kamāl al-Dīn, particulars of his ancestors through whom, from father to son, the judicial office at Aleppo had descended. In contrast with the many honourable traits attributed to him by Yākūt comes, as a jarring note, the harsh censure passed on this same

Kamāl al-Dīn, in his judicial capacity, by Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 296), by reason of the loose view as to abrogating the destination of ancient Waqf property which he enunciated, and to which he gave the sanction of his authority.

The volume tells us also much of Yāqūt's own doings. In the grammarian Mubārak b. Mubārak al-Wajih (d. A.H. 612) he presents a teacher of his own (p. 232), a man distinguished by wide linguistic attainments (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Ethiopic, Armenian, and *Zanjīya*) and able to boast as his pupil 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādi. It is from personal intercourse in Khwārizm that he depicts (pp. 155 ff.) the accomplished historian Qāsim b. Ḥusein, who was on his guard against being taken to be a Mu'tazilite by reason of his *nisba*, al-Khwārizmi—a not unimportant addition to the facts stated in *Der Islam*, iii, 222. We are given also an incident in his career as a dealer in books—told, indeed, very cursorily with a view to sparing the memory of the Aleppo ruler, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, Saladin's son—how he happened to become possessed of a superb copy of Balkhi's geographical work, which he sold to this sovereign at cost price (pp. 147 ff.).

I have pointed out the distinguishing features of Yāqūt's work and aims when reviewing the former volumes, and it is needless to revert thereto in dealing with this further portion of the work, in which they are equally discernible. But this is to be noted, the author's devotion to calligraphy. He never omits to indicate the presence of this accomplishment in the subjects of his biographies, some of whom attain their place in his list of *Udabā* by this qualification alone, and without having done anything of mark in the field of belles-lettres. This alone it was that entitled the lady Fāṭima bint al-Aqra' (d. A.H. 480), who was entrusted with the writing out of an agreement for a truce between the Caliph and the

Byzantine emperor, to admission to Yāqūt's gallery of portraits.

It is not our intention to consider here what additions this volume makes to Yāqūt's sources of information. To do this would be to encroach on the province of Dr. Bergsträsser, who has already treated this question so thoroughly, and who will, we hope, extend his examination to vols. v and vi. It is, however, noteworthy that the author (p. 197, l. 9, and 467, l. 4 a.f.) makes use of additions to the *Fihrist* by Abu-l-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Maghribi, to whom two literary epistles were addressed by Abu-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. For al-Maghribi, in spite of his chequered career (cf. Margoliouth, *Letters of Abu-l-'Alā*, p. 1), found leisure for literary work: Abu-l-'Alā's imitation of the Koran appears as نقض القرآن (p. 235, l. 7 a.f.). Very noteworthy, too, are details on the origin and value of the Kitāb al-'Ayn on p. 197 (from the additions of al-Wazīr al-Maghribi) and pp. 200, 222.

A quotation on p. 74, l. 5 a.f., discloses a member of the learned Najīramī family (cf. JRAS. 1912, p. 813), who is unascertained on existing sources of information. Of his own works Yāqūt cites, besides his اخبار الشعراء, in reference to an occurrence in Andalusia (p. 244, l. 3) his historical work التاريخ الذى سمّيتهُ المبدأ.

Yāqūt subjects his sources to some criticism of his own (p. 102): Ibn al-Jauzī he distrusts (p. 204, l. 4); of fabulous stories he is somewhat sceptical (p. 338); but he is himself guilty of a literary-historic *lapsus* in making the Baghdad Qāḍī Abu-l-Ḥusain 'Omar b. Muḥammad (d. A.H. 328) to be the *first* to compose a *Faraj ba'd al-shidda* work—a statement faithfully copied by Suyūṭī in the *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 364 (cf. on the history of this branch of literature the article by Dr. Alfred Wiener in *Der Islam*, vol. iv, pp. 270, 387, 1913).

Professor Margoliouth's editorial task has been performed in the case of this volume also with the care and discernment which we are accustomed to detect in the work of the conscientious Oxford professor. The regret expressed at the close of our review of vol. v must be repeated in the case of this volume. Necessary vowel marks and signs should have been added to, at any rate, the often uncertain proper names and *nisbas*, but the omission is doubtless to be put down to the methods of the Eastern press where the work was printed. It is apparent from n. 1, p. 416, that, obviously from regard for taste and decency, certain passages in the poems of Baḥḥāṭī have been suppressed; these were presumably more gross than those which occur p. 315, ll. 10 ff., and p. 412, ll. 13 ff.

Following our practice in the reviews of previous volumes, we again add some trifling observations on the text of this one:—

page line

7 5 a.f. دواج (perhaps = دواجن, incorrect), read داجن.

17 3. قعود, read قصور.

18 ult. ff. Cited in *Fuwāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ, 1299, ii, 101, with slight variants:

لم يكن فى آبائى القدماء من يُعرَف به.

42 13. ووحدانا, read ووجدانا.

56 3. النسا should not be emended as in n. 1 to النسّابين, but be read النُسّاء, i.e. those who announced the intercalation in the Calendar (نسيئ); cf. فَنَمّس in *Abhandlungen zur Arab. Phil.*, ii, 68.

57 7. خلاف الاسلام has no meaning here; as Jāḥiẓ was noted for his نصرة الدين (l. 4), probably read أخلاق (cf. l. 5).

page line

71 7. الهول, read الهوى.

71 14. لموفر, read المتوفّر; by so reading it the editor's suggestion of a gap (n. 1) is displaced: "and he (الطاعن عليه) is angry when he has such characteristics attributed to him by one who praises him to excess" (*Lisān*, vii, 151, l. 13, توفّر فلان على فلان ببرّه . . . اى أسبغهُ, and cf. infra, 253, l. penult.).

73 11. حجب instead of the proposed emendation حجبت, preferably تحجّب, with عنّى.

74 5. Delete قال.

78 10. القولية is unintelligible.

82 7. Cf. *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beyrouth, 1912, p. 31, ll. 5 ff.

82 15. العروية, read عروبة, as p. 111, ll. 8, 11.

94 7. اخوة, inadmissible in this context: the more probable روايات differs too widely from the text.

97 6. امر المؤمنين. The original must have read الامير alone, for the person addressed is not Caliph.

109 6. محيت المصحف, read بحياة المصحف. Among other peculiarities of the ignorant populace they say *sittī* (for سيّدتى), they pray from a book, reckon the *tasbīḥ* with the aid of pebbles, and use the vulgar and incorrect form of oath "by the life of the Koran".

122 3. الغى, read إلفى, "my intimate friend."

158 12. اعزب . . . عوزًا, read أغرب . . . غَوْرًا.

185 5. فسأهلك read فسأُهلِكك.

221 3 a.f., n. 2. The impossible باخمرا of the text should be expunged and the reading of the *Fihrist* inserted. يا حُمَيْرَاء is a form of

page line

address used by Muhammad to ʿĀjisha (*Ibn Saʿd*, viii, 55, l. 18), also يا شُقَيْراء (ib. 50, l. 8).

234 5 a.f. For الخلفاء should be substituted الخُلَعاء rather than the الحرفاء suggested by the editor in n. 2. See a similar substitution in Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, i, 116, n. 2.

258 11. منه, read منها.

258 ult. and 259, l. 1. أخرج, delete hamza.

285 12 and n. 3. The text is connected and intelligible provided you read فسَوَّف.

299 7. النحبائى, read النجتابى (cf. de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 111).

321 11–12. The order of these two lines should be reversed; the sense requires first كاعتزال الخ and then وجفا الخ.

322 3 a.f. Instead of the proposed emendation (n. 1) it is simpler to read ر. زناماتها.

367 4 and n. 1. The text bears a clear meaning, and the editor's assumption of some omission is needless.

371 ult. لا يغلبنك, read لَيغلبتك.

383 12. ليس الا, read ليس الى.

402 ult. الزرو, read الزرّ or الزرور.

409 5 a.f. النسخ, doubted by the editor, should be retained. It refers to the activity displayed by al-Baḥḥātī in copying several books (see p. 410, ll. 4 ff.).

415 2. حلك, read هلك.

435 3 a.f. and n. 1. The text is not defective provided the قال (within parenthesis) be transferred to the text and the words be transposed, thus قال ابن حمدان وكان فيما الخ.

page line

440 5 a.f. ومبتغى, read ومُتّبعى.

444 1. لا يحدر بوجود. What the author obviously means to convey is that no one besides him (Ṭabarī) was as well acquainted with the various systems of chronology as he was; I should be disposed, therefore, to read the doubtful words, somewhat freely indeed, thus: وهذا باب لا يحضر بوجوهه الّا له, "and this is a subject which, as to its various aspects, is present to no one as it is to him."

466 penult. ونحل, read وبخّل, "he held it miserly."

482 penult. بجدودًا, read بحدودًا. The reading in the text expresses the reverse of what is intended.

489 4 a.f. and n. 2. It should be observed that a division of the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Quteyba bears the special title كتاب تقويم اللسان (ed. Cairo, 1300, p. 109, ed. M. Grünert, p. 333), and cf. in this connexion my reference ZDMG. 1881, vol. xxxv, p. 148. And in the text before us a distinction is implied between ادب الكتب and تقويم اللسان; the words على مثال ابن قتيبة refer, consequently, to *both* titles.

This sixth volume exhausts the supply at present available of the material for Yāqūt's work, the *Irshād*, although we refuse to give up the hope that luck may yet bring to light its lost portions. It is with regret that one parts from this work which has brought us a wealth of varied information, and we do so with hearty thanks to its untiring editor, and to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial who have brought about its prompt publication. We trust that the contemplated indices may follow shortly, whereby the utility of the five volumes of text now accessible to us will be both increased and facilitated.

I. GOLDZIHER.

## Islamic Philosophy

Die spekulative und positive Theologie des Islam nach Razi († 1209) und ihre Kritik durch Ṭusi († 1273): nach Originalquellen übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. M. Horten. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1912.

Die Hauptlehren des Averroes nach seiner Schrift. Die Widerlegung des Gazali. Von Dr. M. Horten. Bonn, 1913.

Das philosophische System von Schirazi († 1640). Von Dr. M. Horten. Strassburg, 1913.

Islamic philosophy is a subject which European scholars rarely find attractive; still, some more or less successful attempts have been made at popularizing it, especially by Dieterici, Renan, and C. de Vaux. A writer thereon has now arisen in Dr. Horten, to whom we owe a long series of volumes wherein Islamic treatises are excerpted or translated. During the short space of one year, as will be seen from the above titles, he has issued no fewer than three volumes of the kind. The treatise of Averroes in answer to Ghazālī is translated with omissions; the theological part of the *Compendium* of Rāzī is abridged on a fairly liberal scale; and a volume of modest size summarizes the portentous work of Shīrāzī.

In all these cases the textual difficulties are considerable. In the Cairene text of the *Compendium* little confidence can be placed; in parts it seems to be a commentary on an omitted text. In the edition of Averroes which is before the reviewer the reader has the chance of verifying the quotations from Ghazālī, since the treatise by the latter immediately precedes; the differences between the two texts are apt to be of moment. Finally, the care with which the Teheran lithograph of Shīrāzī has been executed may be gauged by the fact that the printer after numbering the first 100 pages grew tired of the process and left the remaining 900 or so unnumbered.

Now, the Arabic philosophers ordinarily follow a rule, to which Diogenes Laertius alludes, forbidding the wasting of a word. Hence corruption of the text in the case of these books leads to disastrous results.

Probably the process employed by Dr. Horten in excerpting and abridging has some merits ; indeed, a translation of the vast work of Shīrāzī could scarcely be contemplated. Human patience has its limits. Still, in the cases of Rāzī and Averroes we have to do with discussions of the greatest subtlety, wherein the translator who omits and abridges takes upon himself an unnecessary responsibility. He would have facilitated his task by adhering strictly to the texts before him.

Now, it should be acknowledged that the translation of the difficult treatise of Averroes has considerable merit. There are many places wherein Dr. Horten has clearly taken no little trouble to enucleate the argument, and he has added not a few valuable elucidations. Indeed, the work is so well done that it is rather surprising that it is not done better. A thoroughly satisfactory piece of work would have required collation of MSS., whence it is likely that many a textual error could be corrected. Supposing, however, that this was impossible, there are some ways in which the translation could have been made more useful. Since it is the refutation of a refutation, it is highly important that the dramatis personæ should be carefully distinguished ; and this could easily have been effected by the use of different types or inverted commas. Now, not only has nothing of the sort been done, but the translator does not seem to have made up his mind as to the meaning of *mujīban 'an*, " replying on behalf of," and *mujīban li*, " replying to." On pp. 74, 75, and 81, 82 the first of these expressions is given both meanings. And on p. 93 what is really part of a quotation from Ghazālī is made the commencement of the reply by Averroes.

The plan of translating here and there instead of continuously appears also to have obscured many arguments and to have ruined some entirely. It has the further disadvantage that the translator gets out of sympathy with the author, and makes him say things which it is quite clear that he did not mean. Could any one have really written as follows (p. 87)?—"Das Jetzt kann aber nur mit der vergangenen (vergehenden) nicht aber mit der künftigen Zeit existieren. Notwendigerweise besteht es erst *nach* der Vergangenheit und *vor* der Zukunft." No one contradicts himself as flatly as this; of course, the original when consulted has in place of the first sentence "the *now* can exist neither with the past nor with the future". On p. 74 (32) we read: "Dass irgend ein Zeitliches aus einem Ewigen hervorgehe halten wir nicht für unmöglich, sondern nur dass das erste Zeitliche so erschaffen wurde; denn dieses steht den früheren zeitlichen Dingen durchaus gleich in seinem Determiniertwerden zum Dasein." We are dealing with the first temporal thing; how can there be *earlier* temporal things? The texts of Ghazālī and Averroes vary somewhat in this case; but the meaning is clearly "for the first temporal thing will not at the time of its coming into existence differ from its previous state" or "differ from what was before it in respect of preponderance of the alternative of existence [over non-existence]".

On p. 82 there is an argument depending on the use of *different* grammatical forms for past and future, *kāna* for "was", *yakūnu* for "will be"; the rendering is "ein Begriff der in dem Worte *es war* angedeutet wird; denn dieses hat, auf die Vergangenheit angewandt, einen anderen Inhalt als auf die Zukunft bezogen". The next argument on the same page seems to be blurred by the rendering "bedeutet das Wort *es war* nur die Verbindung des Subjektes mit dem Prädikate, wie wir

z. B. sagen: Gott *war* nachsichtig und erbarmend". This is not true of *es war* (unless I am mistaken), but it is true of *kāna*, which according to one view in such passages as that quoted here from the Koran (iv, 100, etc.) signifies "is" (the copula).

On p. 92 Ghazālī is quoted as answering on behalf of the philosophers; Ghazālī's discussion begins "if it be said", and his reply commences "then we say". Clearly either both these phrases should be rendered by the translator or neither. The German translator omits the first; but he translates the second (p. 92, 28) "wir haben behauptet"—whereas if rendered at all it should be "then we say".

On p. 10 an illustration is drawn in the text of Ghazālī from "conditional divorce", i.e. the use of the formula "Thou art divorced if thou enter the house", etc. Averroes observes that in the opinion of those among the *Ahl al-Ẓāhir* who compare the factitious to the intelligible such a divorce does not count, nor does it become valid when the condition is fulfilled, because it becomes a divorce wherewith the action of the divorcer is not associated.[1] The explanation of this is partly given in the law-book of Averroes (*Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*, ii, 83), where we are told that "God has ascribed the divorce to the action of the husband, and [where it is made conditional on something else] it does not come about by the action of the husband save metaphorically; and the literal sense of the Koran should not without evidence be abandoned for the metaphorical". In the same place he tells us that this view was held by Dāwūd, the founder of the Ẓāhirites. If we turn to Dr. Horten's rendering, we find that he interprets the *ahl al-Zāhir* as "people who only see the surface of things", and endeavours to explain why their objection is superficial. And indeed

[1] من غير ان يفترق به فعل المطلق. Read يقترن.

his rendering "Jene Ehescheidung ergibt sich nicht mit innerer Notwendigkeit" is far from intelligible; the word *lazima* is technical in the sense "is binding". Further references to the Ẓāhirites are found later in the treatise.

In the dispute between Averroes and Ghazālī the present writer's sympathy is entirely with Ghazālī; the long list of Ghazālī's works appears to contain no such specimen of incompetence and presumption as Averroes's Summary of Aristotle's Poetics. And indeed Averroes's replies to Ghazālī have a tendency to be unconvincing. We may take one example. An argument of Avicenna's is quoted by Ghazālī, proving the unity of God. "If God is necessarily existing, then he must be necessarily existing essentially or for some reason. If the former be the case, then there can be only one God; if the latter, then he ceases to be necessarily existing."

Ghazālī replies that this is sophistry. First because for an absolute negation (e.g. causelessness) no reason is required. Secondly, because the word "essentially" does not imply unity; because "black" is essentially a colour, it does not follow that there is no other colour, e.g. "red".

Averroes in answer to this endeavours to show that "essentially" and "for a reason" are used equivocally by Ghazālī, but he fails to do so. And although he boasts of his Aristotelian knowledge as compared with Ghazālī, there is no doubt that here Ghazālī would have Aristotle on his side. If "black" is a colour essentially, then "colour" is "the perpetual consequent" of "black"; but that is a wholly different thing from being synonymous with "black". If, on the other hand, "black" is a colour accidentally, this means that it might conceivably not be a colour; just as a horse is black accidentally, i.e. it might be white without ceasing to be a horse. Bad as is the reply of Averroes, the German translation makes it worse than it need be; "denn das Genus ist eine Bestimmung, die zur Differenz und Genus hinzutreten" does not seem

to construe as German, and even if we emend "*hinzu-tritt*" the words contain a philosophical error which is not found in the Arabic—الجنس معنى زائد على الفصل والنوع "the genus is a concept which is over and above differentia and species"; but even so the sentence is indefensible.

Still, the translation of Averroes is an agreeable surprise after that of Rāzī. The glossary appended to the latter ought not to pass without some remark, though the present writer regrets that it has fallen to his lot to judge it. Its most trivial offence is that it places among philosophical expressions some which belong to elementary Arabic, e.g. اهـ for انتهى, which is a somewhat more common abbreviation than *etc.* for "and the rest". Similarly, صحابي "belonging to the Companions of the Prophet" is put down as a philosophical technicality. However, these at least have the merit of being correct; where we approach philosophy more nearly, this merit is not conspicuous in the glosses. ابرقلس is glossed "Empedocles"; it stands for *Proclus*, and, indeed, Shīrāzī, who is quoted for this, is copying Shahrastānī. انيقورس is identified with Leucippus; it stands of course for *Epicurus*, and here, too, Shahrastānī is being quoted. كناية الطلاق is rendered "Formel deren Aussprechen die Ehescheidung bewirkt"; it means "euphemism for 'Divorce'"; in the Law-books, e.g. the *Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, 214, 2–5), lists of such euphemisms are given. كوز is rendered "gegen Geld predigen und religiöse Funktionen ausüben", for which Goldziher is quoted. What Goldziher says is that the *mukawwiz* was the person who "took the bag round" for a *kāṣṣ* or story-teller. جذعاً is given the sense "direkt und unweigerlich"; what it means is "afresh", "as it was at the start". Under ثقل we have the gloss المكلفون هم اثقلان "die Geschöpfe denen göttliche Gebote auferlegt werden sind zwei am meisten (mit Materie) belasteten Wesen".

The author suggests that اثقلان may be a corruption of الثقلان "das denselben Sinn hat"; but surely الثقلان is one of the commonest phrases in the Arabic language for "men and jinn", and اثقلان is very doubtful grammar. Under ايثم there is the gloss شجرة الزقوم لها طعام الايثم "der Höllenbaum schmeckt wie Aitam"; had the author read on a few pages he would have found the whole passage of the Koran cited طعام الاثيم الخ "the food of the guilty"; لها is his own insertion. Indeed, the author's acquaintance with the Koran appears to be imperfect. A mystic station is repeatedly called by him اوارنى, which he thinks a transcription and corruption of the Sanskrit *nirvāṇa*! It is of course the اوادنى of Surah liii, 9, as the whole context shows.

This list must be sufficient; it is clear that the author was not well advised in publishing this glossary, which can only be regarded as a positive danger. Happily the production of immature work does not interfere with the accomplishment of better things; and Arabic scholars will be glad that some one has definitely taken up the study of this branch of literature. But it is clear that in this matter, as in most others, the more haste the worse speed. The world would have had more reason to be grateful for one scholarly work than for a whole series which does not earn that adjective.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

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HISTOIRE DES ARABES. Par CL. HUART. Tome I. pp. iv + 387. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1912.

In spite of the many works extant dealing with the history of the Arabs, there is still room for a brief *résumé* based on the ample material now at the disposal of students. There is no doubt that so ripe a scholar as M. Cl. Huart is the right man to undertake the task.

The first volume, now published, extends from the early dawn of the history of the peninsula to the end of the Caliphs of the house of Abbās, interspersed with chapters on the rule of the various dynasties of Sultans (who wielded the real power in the name of the Caliph), as well as on the Fatimide Caliphs of Egypt. Appended is a chapter on the political and economic conditions of the empire.

The book opens with a brief description of the physical geography of Arabia and a sketch of the manners and customs of the pagan Arabs. Naturally the author touches upon the much discussed question of totemism, which in the case of the Arabs is particularly alluring. One can only agree with him that this theory lacks any historical basis and cannot, therefore, be seriously entertained. Several chapters are devoted to the pre-Islamic history of Arabia, and here again the author shows sagacious reluctance not to be carried away by startling theories insufficiently supported by historical and linguistic evidence. It is interesting to see that he finds the famous Musri-theory of the late Dr. H. Winckler unacceptable.

About half of the volume is devoted to the early history of Islām. The years of Mohammed's youth and development as the prophet of his people will probably always remain shrouded in a mist, which has been intensified by the numerous legends that fill the void of facts, and stories fabricated by zealous writers. To discover the landmarks of history is a task wellnigh impossible. M. Huart steers through the difficulties with the skill of an experienced pilot. He seems to share the opinion of the "critiques autorisés" (names not given) who suggested that those verses of the Qorān in which the name Mohammed occurs are interpolated. Of course, the use of this name in the treaty of Hodeibiya is of no historical value, as the wording of this treaty in

the form in which we know it is of much later date. The author also rejects the traditions which make the monk Baḥīra a living person, but here again he merely hints at their being based on the homiletic application of certain Old Testament verses to the person of the Prophet, without revealing whence he derived this information. A possible meeting of Mohammed with a Nestorian divine (in one version of the legend the name of the monk is given as Nestūr) has also been suggested elsewhere. M. Huart upholds the tradition of the hallucinations to which Mohammed was subjected prior to his mission, a tradition which deserves as little credence as those mentioned before. The *taḥannōth* (of which *taḥannuf* is not a "forme dialectale", but a mere corruption) are nothing but the Hebrew *t'ḥinnōth* or prayers, and have nothing to do with *ḥanīf*, which, as M. Huart rightly says, means a worshipper of the true God in contra-distinction to idols. The translation of *iqra'* (Sūra xcvi, 1) by "lis" is obsolete, and should be replaced by "proclaim", It further seems that the first revelations were far from being the expressions of terror with which the majesty of God inspired the budding prophet, but rather the impression of the terror with which he endeavoured to inspire his audience. Neither is it strictly correct to translate *hijra* by "emigration", since the word implies the cutting onself adrift from existing relations and environments. There is nothing to show that the Jews in North Arabia spoke Aramaic at that time. Their language was most probably Arabic, for which there exists some historical evidence. Their writing was similar to that found in Nabatæan inscriptions, such as we find e.g. in the inscription of Petra, and it was probably this alphabet which Mohammed charged his secretary to acquire and not the Hebrew or Aramaic language.

Of great interest and really instructive is the chapter on the organization of Moslim society. The author

gives, in a small compass, a vivid picture of the vast change wrought by Islām amongst a people which shortly before had been little better than a horde of savages. This is followed by an exposition of Moslim theology, brief but sufficient to give the general reader a notion of the tenets of the Moslim creed. The further development of political and economic conditions are treated in a concluding chapter. It discusses the administration of justice, property laws, state revenues, imposts, and current coinage of the realm. Altogether the book, without giving startling results or much that is new, forms an attractive guide for readers who are unable to draw from the sources. Footnotes and index are entirely absent, and the bibliography at the end of the chapters, evidently meant for those who may desire to enter more deeply in one or the other of topics, is not as complete as it might be. Yet these are small defects and scarcely count in view of the general usefulness of the work.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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AL-HIDĀJA 'ILĀ FARĀ'IḌ AL-QULŪB des Bachja ibn Jōsēf ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien. Edited by Dr. A. S. YAHUDA. Leiden, 1912.

Concerning Bachya, who flourished in the eleventh century of our era, almost nothing is definitely known. The details of his life, the date of his death, and even the correct pronunciation of his name (Bachya or Bechayyē ?) are matters of conjecture. He is remembered only as the author of one of the most famous and popular works on ethics which the Jews of Moslem Spain contributed to Arabic literature—the *Hidáya ilá farâ'iḍ al-qulúb*, or "Guide to Spiritual Devotion"—a work which owes its celebrity to the Hebrew translation made about 1160 A.D. by Jehuda ibn Tibbon. While this translation was, and

is, widely read by Jews in every part of the world, the Arabic original has hitherto been completely neglected. It is now edited for the first time from manuscripts at Oxford, Paris, and St. Petersburg by Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

In one important respect the *editio princeps* departs from the form of the original. Whereas Bachya himself, and the copyists after him, wrote the Arabic text in Hebrew characters, Dr. Yahuda has used Arabic type throughout, except in quotations from the Old Testament and other Hebrew books. The substitution may be criticized on purely historical and, to some extent, on purely philological grounds, but its practical advantages are undeniable. Besides the inconvenience of reading one language in the alphabet of another, it is obvious that the style and diction of a literary work can be best appreciated, and its relation to other works in the same language most easily understood, when it presents itself to the reader's eye and mind as an integral part of the literature to which it belongs. There is a further consideration which Dr. Yahuda—quite rightly, in my opinion—feels to be decisive. An edition of the *Hidáya* printed in Hebrew would be a sealed book, not only to many Oriental Jews who read and write Arabic, but also to the whole body of educated Moslems, some of whom, at any rate, will not be deterred by religious prejudice from welcoming its publication in a form that enables them to study it and to perceive, as they cannot fail to do, how closely the monotheistic and ethical ideals of Judaism coincide with their own.

What seems to me most interesting and valuable in Dr. Yahuda's elaborate Introduction is the section (pp. 53–113) in which he discusses the general influence of Islam on Jewish-Arabian culture, and more particularly the question how far the author of the *Hidáya* derived his materials from Mohammedan sources. Bachya, according to the custom of the period, borrowed freely without

acknowledging his debts, and these are often difficult to trace, because instead of quoting verbatim he commonly recasts and adapts to his purpose the passages which he appropriates. In the preface to his work he declares that he has availed himself of the sayings of wise and holy men of every class, and though he never mentions any Moslem by name, one need only glance at the titles of his ten chapters in order to see what branch of Arabic literature provided him with the requisite material. The unity of God (*tawḥíd*), trust in God (*tawakkul*), self-examination (*muḥásabat*), asceticism (*zuhd*), love (*maḥabbat*)—they are the stock subjects of any ancient treatise on Ṣúfism. Bachya, indeed, makes his own position perfectly clear. Notwithstanding occasional phrases such as "union with the Supreme Light", he is not to be ranked among the mystics. Reason and Authority are his watchwords. He knows nothing of the ecstasy, the inward vision, the revelation of God to the individual soul by an act of divine grace, which are the first principles even of orthodox Mohammedan mysticism. No doubt he preaches a religion of the heart—this is the meaning of *farà'iḍ al-qulúb*—as opposed to a religion of external rites. So far he is altogether in harmony with the Ṣúfís, but though much of the *Hidáya* is eloquent and impressive, we are conscious in reading it of a certain intellectual aridity from which the genuine *Ahl al-qulúb* are a long way removed. Bachya found in Ṣúfism just what he wished to find; as the editor remarks, he usually selected only those ideas that could be supported by Biblical or Talmudic parallels.

In the course of his learned survey of the ascetic and ethical literature of which extracts occur in the *Hidáya*—including traditions of the Prophet, λόγια of Jesus, moral sentences ascribed to the early Caliphs, the writings of the Ikhwán al-Ṣafá, etc.—Dr. Yahuda has identified a considerable number of sayings and anecdotes of the ancient ascetics and Ṣúfís; for example, Ḥasan of Baṣra,

Rábi'a, 'Abdallah b. al-Jallá,[1] Sufyán al-Thawrí, 'Abdallah b. al-Mubárak, Shaqíq al-Balkhí, and Abú Sulaymán al-Dárání. Add to these p. ٨٢, l. 1, اعرفُ الناس بالله اشدُّهم تحيّرًا فيه, a saying of Dhu 'l-Nún al-Miṣrí (Qushayrí, Cairo, 1318 A.H., 168, 1), and p. ٢٢٢, l. 4, وقد كان بعض الصالحين يقول للناس الخ, an anecdote of Shaqíq al-Balkhí which is very briefly related in the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyá* (Cod. Leid. 311*b*, f. 210*a*). Shaqíq said to those who were present in his *majlis*: ارأيتم إن اماتكم الله اليوم يطالبكم بصلاة غد قالوا لا يومٌ لم نعش فيه كيف يطالبنا بصلاته قال شقيق كما لا يطالبكم بصلاة غد انتم لا تطلبوا منه رزق غد عسى ان لا تصيرون (تصيروا) الى غد. The passage (p. ١٧٨, l. 3) describing how the *mutawakkil* receives his daily bread from God is also of Mohammedan origin, but at this moment I cannot give specific references. It is certain that Bachya utilized the writings of Ḥárith al-Muḥásibí probably through Ghazálí. Dr. Yahuda has printed several extracts from the latter's *al-Ḥikmat fí makhlúqát Allah* side by side with the corresponding passages in the *Hidáya*, and he points out that if Bachya's dependence on Ghazálí were established we should have to place the composition of the *Hidáya* considerably after the date which has generally been assigned to it.

As regards the text, Dr. Yahuda has, on the whole, successfully overcome the difficulties of transliteration, while in many instances he has shown skill and judgment in dealing with the numerous corruptions introduced by the copyists. Much, however, remains to be done before the text can be pronounced satisfactory. The following list is by no means exhaustive. It covers about two-thirds of the book and includes only those corrections which I have noted in the course of a first and somewhat hurried reading.

[1] Not al-Galá'. The name of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Surri (Introd. p. 88) is correctly written Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sarí b. al-Mughallis al-Saqatí.

| page | line | |
|---|---|---|
| ١٨ | 4 | تنبيهى على البحث عن العلم الباطن. Read البحث. |
| ٢٣ | 8 | العُجْز. Read العَجْز. |
| ٣١ | 7 | ولاحَقَ. Read ولاحِقٌ. |
| ٣١ | 10 | تعذر. Read تعذُّر. |
| ٣٢ | 5 | حُجُبِ. Read حُجُبَ. |
| ٣٢ | 6 | واظهارِ. Read واظهارَ. |
| ٣٤ | 12 | اذ كان الاصغر يَعُدُّ الاعظم. Perhaps بَعْضَ الاعظم. |
| ٤٥ | 1 | خَلْف. Read خِلاف. |
| ٥٣ | 15, and p. ٥٤, l. 7. | المشاهدة به. Read المشاهدة له. |
| ٥٤ | 5 | فَلمَّا هو غير مرئىّ. Read فَلِما. |
| ٧١ | 3 | اقول ان صفة القدم توجب لمن وجبت له صفة الواحد الحقّ. Read توجِبُ and صفةَ الواحد. |
| ٧٥ | 11 | يُكْرم عليه. Read يَكْرم. |
| ١٠٢ | 9 | حصّله. Probably حصده. |
| ١١٤ | 1 | الى اقاربهم الذى ربما كان فى تاديبها اليتم حياتهم الخ. Read الذين. |
| ١١٤ | 8 | واثر الحكمة . . . ظاهرة. Perhaps وآثار. |
| ١١٦ | 5 | لم تكن شريعةٌ مُضْمَنَةٌ. Read مُضَمَّنَةٌ. |
| ١١٧ | 6 | فتفقّدْ, which the syntax requires, should probably be restored in the place of تفقَّدْ. |
| ١٢٧ | 3 | يُودِعَه is a misprint for يُودِعُه. |
| ١٣٢ | 12 | وهى الشريعة التى باستعمال العقل فيها يقوى ويصفو ويستنير ويُنفى (read يَنْفى) عن الانسان الجهلُ المستولى على نفسه الخ (corr. by the editor to الجهلَ). What is the subject of يقوى and the following verbs? If it is الانسان, the words عن الانسان in the next clause are very awkward. We should rather expect تقوى وتصفو وتستنير وتنفى. |

| page | line | |
|---|---|---|
| ١٣٥ | 18 | يدعيه. Read يدعوه. |
| ١٣٧ | 17 | اوعدنا. Read وعدنا. |
| ١٤٤ | 2 | فلما كانت الشريعة الفاظ ومعانى. Read الفاظًا. The editor's correction ومعانٍ is unnecessary. |
| ١٤٤ | 10 | والسالم والمعتلّ واللين والمِثْلَين والظاهر والخفىّ. Read اللين والمتين. |
| ١٤٧ | 9 | واجب. Read واجبًا. |
| ١٤٧ | 13 | معجز. Read معجزة. |
| ١٥١ | 20 | ما زال حرصى فاتر وشوقى كاذب. Read فاترًا and كاذبًا. |
| ١٥٣ | 16 | حَمَد. Read حَمِد. |
| ١٦٣ | 8 | فيدلّ ذلك كونها على زمام الخالق له. Perhaps فيدلّ كونها كذلك. |
| ١٦٨ | 2 | ومخازنها ومساكنها هى المرّتين. Read المرّتان, or فى instead of هى. |
| ١٦٨ | 15 | يَدىْ. Read يَدَىِ. |
| ١٦٩ | 8 | مِحلّ. A misprint for مَحَلّ. |
| ١٧٣ | 9 | عند لقائك ذا فضل وبرّ وتقىّ الله وعالم بكتابه وعامل بطاعته. Read وتقيًّا لله وعالمًا بكتابه وعاملًا بطاعته. |
| ١٧٤ | 2 | الشهوات البهيمية التى تذهب لذّاتها عن الانسان ويبقى عليه فى الدنيا عارها. Read تُذهب عِزّ الانسان. |
| ١٧٦ | 17 | التوكل. Read المتوكل. |
| ١٧٦ | 18 | فيشبه فى سكون نفسه . . . اكثر من صاحب الكيمياء الخ. Evidently فيشبه is corrupt. Read فتَصيبُهُ or فعَيْشُهُ. |
| ١٧٨ | 10 | يخافوه الملوك. Read يخافه or يخافونه. Other cases occur where a noun in the plural is preceded by a verb in the plural. |

| page | line | |
|---|---|---|
| ١٨١ | 9 | ولم تتعثّى. Read ولم تتعنّ. |
| ١٨٤ | 15 | ليس الى حكم احد غير الى الخالق. Read غير الخالق. |
| ١٨٦ | 2 | مُردّ. Read مَرَدّ. |
| ١٨٧ | 11 | سبب. Read سببًا. |
| ١٩٧ | 14 | مزمومان. Read مزمومَيْن. |
| ٢٠٢ | 16 | يخاب. Read يخيب with the MSS. |
| ٢٠٦ | 16 | Read وليسعى and وليُصف for وليسعى and وليُصفى. |
| ٢٠٧ | 14 | Read فليكون for فليكن. |
| ٢١١ | 16 | فإن يكون. Read فلأن. |
| ٢١٦ | 20 | فمن آثر . . . الفقر على الغنى. The reading of P. على الوجود gives quite a good sense, if instead of الفقر the copyist read الفَقْد. |
| ٢٢٤ | 14 | نفاذ is the better reading. Cf. ٢٢٥, 3. |
| ٢٣٠ | 9 | الامور. Read الامر. |
| ٢٣١ | 22 | ثلج. Read بلج. |
| ٢٣٢ | 2 | وإن قلّدته امرك وجعلت مقادك الى حكمه. Read وجعلت مَعادَك. |
| ٢٣٤ | 6 | فاذا ورد عليك مثل هذا ارجع الى عقلك فاورجع and فسيُوَرّيك فساد هذا المذهب. Read فسيُريك = فسيُوريك. At least one example of أَوْرَى as the fourth conjugation of رأى occurs in a MS. dated A.H. 548 of the *Kitáb al-Luma'* by Abú Naṣr al-Sarráj. |
| ٢٣٦ | 19 | عسى تَصلُ. Read تصلُ. |
| ٢٣٨ | 7 | فال. Read فالا. |
| ٢٣٨ | 16 | فعَلَه. Read بفعْله. |
| ٢٤٠ | 1 | فيصحّ لك الحقّ ويتّلج لك اليقين. Read فيضح and ويبلج (or ويبتلج). |

page line

٢٥١ 4 المكارة. The best MSS. have אלאכדה, which seems to stand for الآبدة in the sense of "an abominable sin".

٢٥٧ 1 انصاف. Read انصافًا.

٣٥١ 8 زهّاد مكمَّلون منقطعون الخ. The manuscript readings show that متبتّلون should be substituted for مكمَّلون.

٣٥٦ 12 Read الناطقون for الناطقين.

Many of these mistakes are merely of grammatical importance, but I am bound to say that in other places, which have not been indicated above, emendation is needed in order to make the meaning of the text intelligible. Of course, the difficulties arising from the use of Hebrew script by copyists whose knowledge of Arabic was imperfect are extremely great. This must be taken into account in estimating the value of the editor's work. If it sometimes falls short of the highest standard, he has cleared the ground effectively and his labours are worthy of cordial recognition. The Introduction can be praised unreservedly as an original dissertation throwing new light on the spiritual and literary affinities of medieval Judaism and Islam.

R. A. N.

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BILDERMAPPE MIT 273 ABBILDUNGEN SAMT ERKLÄRUNGEN ZUR RELIGION BABYLONIENS UND ASSYRIENS, besonders in Anschluss und als Ergänzung zu Jastrow's Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens zusammengestellt und erklärt von MORRIS JASTROW, jr. 24 Textblätter und 56 Tafeln. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1912.

His great work upon the religion having come to an end, the pictures bearing upon the subject, which did not appear in the course of the publication, now follow in the

form of an album. As we learn from the descriptive text (114 columns), these fall into twelve divisions—Sumerian and Babylonian racial types; gods and goddesses; their symbols; demons; ritual; mythological representations; etc. Unfortunately, the reproductions are far from being as good as the original pictures from which they were taken, largely owing, probably, to their being printed in red, and that of a tint which few will find pleasing. It may be following the usual rut, but adherence to every-day black and white produces the most satisfactory results.

Among the best pictures are the little seated figure of Gudea and the Elamite stele of Naram-Sin. It is doubtful whether the bas-relief of the same king in the Museum of Constantinople (No. 3), with its damaged face, fulfils the object of showing the type. The Bismaya head (old Semitic type), though faint and wanting in detail, is good. Among the deities the most noteworthy are the figure of Ištar with a remarkable coiffure (No. 25); the bronze bell with demons and other figures in relief, probably used in a temple to charm away evil spirits likely to torment the sick (Nos. 70, 70*a*); the liver for augurial purposes, with the diagram identifying the various parts (Nos. 102–3); and the figure grasping a "boomerang" and holding a struggling lion—one of the glories of the Louvre—identified, probably wrongly, with Gilgameš (No. 121). Nos. 125–226 are copies of cylinder-seals which, notwithstanding their sketchiness, are exceedingly valuable. The descriptions of these are by Dr. William Hayes Ward, who refers specially to that in which the sun-god, seated, rides in a boat of which each end is a human figure (No. 130). Speaking of the cylinders depicting men struggling with animals, Dr. Hayes Ward notes that all the animals of the forests of Elam—bisons, lions, leopards, antelopes, ibexes, and stags—are to be seen, but in the time of Sargon of Agadé

only the wild ox and the lion appear. No. 149, which Dr. Ward refers to, shows these animals captive in the hands of the so-called Gilgameš and Êabani (two words engraved on the seal, however, seem to give their names as *Ši-ti-me* and *Ḫu-du-du*), who hold them up in triumph by their hind legs. The cylinder-seal of Urzana of Muṣaṣir, described in the Journal of this Society for July last (p. 602) as showing a winged genius holding by the necks two ostriches, receives illustration in No. 197 of this selection, where a royal personage in Assyrian costume seizes one of these birds by the tail, and what is apparently a smaller one is hopping forward in front. One of the finest cylinder-seals is that showing Gudea, viceroy of Lagaš, led into the presence of the deity (Nin-Girsu), whom he worshipped. The corpus of mythological scenes in this part is good and thoroughly representative.

It would be difficult to improve either upon the selection of pictures or the descriptions, which will appeal to those to whom the volumes dealing with the Babylonian religion would be too extensive and detailed.

T. G. PINCHES.

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BABYLONIAN RECORDS IN THE LIBRARY OF J. PIERPONT MORGAN, edited by ALBERT T. CLAY. Part II: Legal Documents from Erech dated in the Seleucid Era (312–65 B.C.), by ALBERT T. CLAY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Yale University. New York: privately printed, 1913.

From the introduction we learn that the fifty-six inscriptions published in this work have been selected from a group of more than a hundred, mostly of large size, and that they bear dates from the 8th to the 173rd years of the era. They were doubtless found by Arabs in the ruins of Erech, at which city they are dated. The photographs at the end of the volume show that

they are magnificent products of the scribes of the time, and, like those in the British Museum, they are impressed, generally on the edges, with a number of pointed and oval seals, photolithographed in the book, to the number of 228.

The introduction contains some valuable notes upon the chronological material these texts contain, and which make corrections of the received data possible. On p. 13 the author quotes the equivalent date, "109th year of Arisak' the king, which is the 173rd year" (of the Seleucid era). Elsewhere the name of Arsaces is written *Aršakaa,* which is probably more correct than the above. The pronunciation at Erech would, therefore, seem to have been Arisak'a, or (as in other texts) Arsak'a. Interesting are the Babylonian renderings of about two dozen Greek names, in which Alexippos appears as *Aleksēuppusu,* Athēnadēs as *Atanēdusu* (*Athanēdos*), Dēmētrios as *Dēmidirēsu* and *Dimetiria,*[1] etc. In *Niqqūlamūsu* = Nikoleos, Professor Oertel does not think that the *m* (= *w*) represents the digamma, but that it is rather a glide-vowel. Compare *Ištumegu* (*Ištuwegu*) = Astyages.

The "Translations of selected texts" include an assignment of the interests which an individual enjoyed in connexion with temple-income; a warranty-deed, in which a man sells property to the wife of another; a deed of partition; a deed of exchange; a deed of release, guaranteeing that no claim will be made with reference to property transferred; and a deed in which Nikanur (Nicanor) dedicates his five-year-old slave-girl as an offering to the "house of gods" (*bît ilāni*) of Erech, for Anu and Anatu$^{m}$, the god and goddess of the city. No. 25 is described as a bill of sale of a slave, recording that his right hand had been branded for a second time. In the translation, however, the word used by the author is "stamped", which renders the Babylonian *šaṭrat*, "written."

[1] Other tablets give the name as *Dimitri* (= *Dēmētri*).

The indices include "Personal Names" and the "Names of Deities" therein. Anu, the principal god of Erech, was the great favourite, Ištar and Nanaa, the goddesses of the city, coming next. There is a catalogue of the inscriptions, and a list of the names of the owners of the 228 seals.

But it is impossible to notice all the interesting points in these inscriptions, which, being less exclusively Babylonian, possess, perhaps, a greater general interest than most Babylonian texts. Assyriologists will not only appreciate the enterprise of the heirs of Mr. Pierpont Morgan in publishing them, but will recognize the thoroughness of Professor Clay's work and the excellence of his copies.

T. G. PINCHES.

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EPIGRAPHES ARAMÉENS. Etude des Textes Araméens gravés ou écrits sur des tablettes cunéiformes, par LOUIS DELAPORTE. Paris: Geuthner, 1912.

The importance of these short inscriptions may be estimated from the fact that they now number nearly 120. Unfortunately they are short, and do not give us by any means the vocabulary which we should like to have. Whether this will ever be supplied by the discovery of more and longer inscriptions is impossible to say, but in the presence of the surprises which Assyriology from time to time affords, it is by no means improbable.

All who know M. L. Delaporte's work will naturally expect something systematic and thorough, and they will not be disappointed. He has gathered his material from all the available books, including even the three-letter dockets contained in my *Outline of Assyrian Grammar*. Apart from the dialect, these short inscriptions are chiefly interesting on account of the names they contain—transcriptions, and therefore confirmations, of the readings of the wedge-written forms, which are often expressed

by means of ideographs, either of ordinary words or of names of gods. In his Introduction of twelve pages all the important points of morphology, orthography, and grammar are given, and show what really is known at the present time concerning these unsatisfactorily short inscriptions. In the question of the sibilants he is practically at one with the writer of this notice, Assyrian *š* becoming ס and *s* becoming שׂ. In the matter of the transcription of the Assyrian 𒀭𒌋, *Ištar*, by עשׁ, he notes that this latter is probably not an abbreviation, and that Rawlinson and Oppert compared therewith the Greek name of the Babylonian Juno, given in Hesychius as Ἀδά, and in support of this he quotes the transcription of Aššur by the Syriac ܐܵܫܼܘܼܪ, concerning which something might be said (see the notes below). With regard to the transcription of $^{d}$*Nin-ip* by אנושת, M. Delaporte contents himself with simply quoting the readings of others for the vocalization: *Anwušt* or *Enwušt* (Jensen), *En-nammašti*, "lord of every animated being" (Halévy), *unaštu* (Dhorm), *En-ušati*, "lord of help," "physician" (Radau). My own and Professor Prince's comparison with *Ênu-rêštū*, as well as Pognon's *Anušat* (adopted by Thureau-Dangin), do not appear, and probably the former is worth ignoring completely.

Though of considerable value, these dockets at times mislead, for only one of these suggestions can be right. Moreover, they often present difficulties, as may be judged from No. 101 (*Corpus Ins. Sem.* 65). Here the first word of line 1 is not the Aramaic for "*Cautio*", but הוּתָא, "kettle," as in the Babylonian text, *išten* $^{ĕru}$ *dûdû*, "one (brazen) kettle"; Oppert, "*Unum vas œneum.*"

Referring to one of the tablets which I have quoted (*Outline*, p. 62), the author makes the note "Texte cunéiforme inédit", and the same might have been added to his No. 45. This omission I now fill up (see below), adding a text implying that my reading of 𒁹 as *taḫ*,

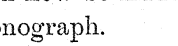
and not GAB, has some justification, though it cannot be regarded as conclusive.

Meagre as the material is, M. Delaporte has been able to give a list containing no less than 220 words and names. It is greatly to be wished that this number could be increased, and as it is just possible that other similar inscriptions are already known, additions to the vocabulary might even now be made.

A praiseworthy monograph.

T. G. PINCHES.

*Notes suggested by the above*

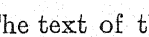
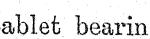
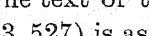
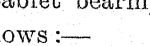
Bûr-Sin, son of Dungi, who reigned about 2,300 years B.C., had a son named  and a daughter ,[1] probably in honour of their grandfather, and I offer for criticism a rendering of the former name, which would have a bearing upon the comparison of  = Ištar with the Greek Ἀδά, probably pronounced *Adhá*, and the parallel of *Aššur* reproduced in Aramaic (and known in Arabic) as *Athur*.

Now the second of these two names has to be read *Šat-$^{d}$Dungi*, "She of Dungi," "Dungi's devotee," or the like, that king having been deified some time before his death. This seems to indicate that the first name, that of her brother, should be read *Šu-$^{d}$Dungi*, "He of Dungi," "Dungi's man," or "devotee". If this be the case, it is probable that all the names containing , *šu*, as their first element should be read thus, and not as *Gimil* (*Gimil-Dungi*), and in the same way *Šu-Sin* for *Gimil-Sin*, *Šu-Ištar* for *Gimil-Ištar*, etc.

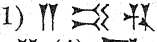
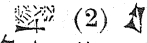
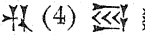
This might bear comparison with the Arabic ذُو, fem. ذَاتُ, "lord or possessor of," modified by a negligent pronunciation from an original ذُوْ, ذَاتُ ; cf. *mašālu* = مثل, etc.

[1] Data from tablets belonging to Mrs. T. G. Pinches.

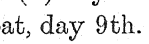
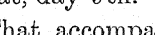
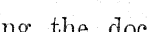
The text of the tablet bearing the Aramaic אשב (82–3–23, 527) is as follows :—

(1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  , (1) 2 "*gab*-birds", month . . . (2) day 8th, year 12th ; (3) 2 "*gab*-birds" (4) month Sebat, day 9th.

That accompanying the docket שבא (82–3–23, 268) runs thus :—

(1)  (2)  (3)  , (1) 5 "*gab*-birds", month Sivan(?), (2) day 3rd, year 12th ; (3) 2 "*gab*-birds", have been given.

The text suggesting the reading *taḫḫu* instead of "*gab*-bird" (82–7–14, 886, no docket) is as follows :—

(1)  (2) (3)  (4) 

(1) 43 *taḫḫu* (2) for Ârdîa (3) in the store-house. (4) Month Sivan, year 15th.

The large number of the *taḫḫu* also points to something different from the GAB *ḫu*.

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KAWI-BALINEESCH-NEDERLANDSCH WOORDENBOEK. Door Dr. H. N. VAN DER TUUK, † 17 Aug., 1894. Uitgegeven ingevolge Gouvernements-besluit van 14 Februari, 1893, No. 3. Deel iv. Batavia ; Landsdrukkerij, 1912.

The issue of part iv of the great Kawi Dictionary completes the work. To give an idea of the gigantic nature of the undertaking, I need only mention that this volume (which is, however, somewhat larger than any of its predecessors) runs to over 1,000 closely, though clearly, printed pages. We have now, therefore, a full lexicon to the Kawi language and literature, and in this respect the work will never be superseded. Its great drawback is that without a considerable previous knowledge of Kawi and Balinese it is a very difficult book to use. But that

difficulty is inherent in the scheme of the work, and the study of Kawi is not an easy one anyhow. It has to be approached through the Balinese glosses, which preserve the traditional meanings of the words of the old language, and this method has been embodied in Van der Tuuk's dictionary. For my own part, speaking as a mere amateur in Kawi study, I must confess to the regret that the learned author did not see fit to give the Dutch equivalents of all the words and phrases he quotes. That, however, though lightening the student's task, would have increased enormously the weight of an already ponderous work. It would also have doubled its cost and postponed still further the date of its completion, already long delayed (for the first volume appeared in 1897). So we must take it as it stands, and be thankful.

This *magnum opus* will always remain as a fitting memorial to the great scholar and indefatigable worker who planned it and collected the materials for it. It must not, however, be forgotten that he died before a single page of the work had been published in print: the first volume opened with his obituary. And honourable mention must be made of those who took up the task which death compelled him to leave unfinished: Dr. J. Brandes, himself a ripe scholar, now also removed by death, to the great and lasting regret of all Indonesian students, saw the first three volumes through the press; Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, Mr. D. van Hinloopen Labberton, and Dr. D. A. Rinkes between them have finally brought out this fourth and last volume. Great credit, too, is due to the Dutch Government in the East for its enlightened generosity in financing such a commercially unremunerative and purely scientific work as this is.

The book is admirably printed, which is more than can be said of all the products of printing presses in the East, even when they are conducted under the supervision of Governments.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE LANGUAGES OF BORNEO. By SIDNEY H. RAY, M.A. (=The Sarawak Museum Journal, Vol. I, No. 4.) Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1913.

This monograph is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Adolf Bernhard Meyer, who died on February 5, 1911, and is largely based on his manuscript materials. But Mr. Ray has added a great deal from other sources, mainly his own notes, and has put the matter into its present form. After a brief Introduction the geographical distribution of the Bornean languages is given in considerable detail. Then follow a most valuable bibliography, a few notes on grammar, with lists of prepositions and numerals, and finally three series of vocabularies, arranged in comparative form, preceded by a list of languages and authorities and an index to the English words. The latter number 211, and although they are not fully represented in all the dialects (of which there are about 100), the mass of lexicographical material is very considerable.

So far as I can gather from a somewhat cursory examination, the number of actually distinct languages here represented can hardly be stated with accuracy at present. Mr. Ray appears to reckon about thirty, and for the time being one cannot do better than accept his figure. But it seems not unlikely that when our knowledge becomes more extensive and intimate some of the isolated dialects may be found to group themselves together. On the other hand, a few hitherto unrecorded languages may possibly some day be discovered in the far interior of the island. This collection, at any rate, serves a useful purpose in bringing so much scattered material together and facilitating its classification. It should also stimulate local scholars to undertake a more thorough and complete examination of the linguistic material lying, as it were, at their very doors. For only very few of the Bornean languages have been at all adequately studied

as yet. In most cases we have nothing but more or less scrappy vocabularies, without anything of the nature of texts, not even short sentences. Of course most of these languages are unwritten (the Bornean tribes never adopted the use of writing as the nations of Sumatra and Java did); but popular stories, poems, and the like exist in plenty and should be put on record.

In that way only can we hope to learn the grammar of these dialects. Mr. Ray's grammatical notes are the weakest part of his book: that, however, is not his fault, but simply due to the lack of material. Some grammatical information can be, and has been, extracted from the vocabularies themselves. To Mr. Ray's notes I may add that the infix *-in-* is exemplified by some of his dialects. I would also observe that it is by no means safe to assume that the verbal prefix *ng-*, etc., is an abbreviation of *měng-*. In the matter of phonetics there are several points which he has not made quite clear. If by the "abrupt guttural stop" he means, as I assume he does, the glottal check (or what the Malays indicate by final *k*), then I fail to see its resemblance with the German *ch* in *sich*. The distinction he makes between *ā* and *a*, viz. that the former is pronounced as in *father* and the latter as in *cart*, seems rather ambiguous. Is it a question of relative length only, or of a modification of the vowel, such as is produced by our dwindled Southern English *r*, or both? I take it from him that *ă* really has the sound heard in *hat*, though this is not what one would expect in an Indonesian group of languages. But I am aware that the Bornean languages indulge in curious vowel modifications.

The bibliography is surprisingly full. It includes, however, a certain number of items available only in MS. Why No. 216, which deals with a language of the Sula Islands (to the eastward of Celebes), was included does not appear, except that it formed part of Dr. Meyer's collection. It does not seem to fall appropriately into

a bibliography of Bornean languages. The name Milano, as I have stated elsewhere, can be traced back certainly to the middle of the fourteenth century (Nāgarakrĕtāgama) and probably to the early part of the thirteenth (Chao Ju-kua).[1] If I may hazard a conjecture as to its etymology, I suggest that it is derived from the word *danau*, a very widespread Indonesian word, meaning "lake", "sea", or merely "water" in general. It is interesting to note that the national name Dayak seems to be explained by *daya*, meaning "land" or "up-country", as opposed to "sea" or "sea-coast". If that is right—and Mr. Ray seems to accept it—the name had better be written *Daya'*, as in that case the glottal check would not be the remnant of a dwindled final *k*.[2] The same explanation would cover the name Kadayan and its corruption Kayan. The suggestion is Mr. C. A. Bampfylde's. It may be remarked that *daya* still survives even in Malay in a sense opposed to *laut*, "sea," viz. in the expression *barat daya* (S.W.), as against *barat laut* (N.W.); the names of the points of the compass in Indonesia often embody this opposition, as Kern pointed out long ago.

Mr. Ray is to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work. I hope that he will have an opportunity some day of going on with it and dealing systematically with some of the questions which it raises, but does not answer. We should like to know, amongst other things, whether the languages of Borneo (apart from certain of the northern ones that appear to link up closely with the Philippine languages) constitute a linguistic unity within the Indonesian family, or merely a geographical one. So far as phonetic peculiarities are concerned, it would seem from

[1] There is no sound foundation for the date A.D. 1276 quoted from Crawfurd as that of the conversion of Malacca to Islam. I have been at some pains to show in various papers on Malay chronology that this date is a century or so too early.

[2] The glottal check does not seem to have been used universally in this word. I have come across the spelling *Dyer* (MS. in the India Office Library, by J. Burn, Pontianak, 1811) [= *Daya* or *Dayŏ*].

this comparative vocabulary that there is diversity rather than agreement among them. Such words as those for *blood, coconut, egg, lake, leaf, lip, live, maggot, new, nose, paddle, path, prawn,* and *rice,* show that the two principal laws of phonetic correspondence in the Indonesian family divide the Bornean dialects into sections agreeing, in this respect, some with Malay, others with Balinese, others again with Javanese, and so on. An analysis from the point of view of vocabulary, for which I cannot spare the time, might throw further light on this point. But, unfortunately, the real criterion, grammar, is not available, and until this gap is filled it will hardly be possible to deal satisfactorily and finally with the problem.

C. O. Blagden.

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The Romance of a Malayan Tin Field. By E. J. Vallentine. London: The Mining Journal, 1913.

This little book is concerned with the romantic memories that cluster round the tin-mines of Intan, which are situated in an outlying corner of Upper Perak, close to the sources of the Patani River and the Kĕdah border. The district, originally part of the State of Perak, was for many years a bone of contention between it and the neighbouring State of Rĕman, a part of Patani and as such under the suzerainty of Siam. By a recent rectification of boundaries the mines have once more returned to the Perak jurisdiction.

The author's story, though it does not claim to be history in the strictest sense, contains much that is of interest, and throws a lurid light on the somewhat savage and sanguinary conditions that prevailed in this part of the world under unrestricted native rule. In that respect there does not seem to have been much to choose between the Malays and the Siamese in their various quarrels and intrigues. Mr. Vallentine says of his subject-matter, and rightly, "Here is robust material for the

novelist." But it may be doubted whether, for instance, the life-history of the Perak princess who, like some female spider, was divorced twice and "widowed" eleven times, would not be considered somewhat too "tough" even for the most realistic of latter-day writers of fiction. In the many struggles for the possession of these mines women seem to have played a great part; and that is quite in keeping with what both history and legend tell us of their influence in the Northern States of the Peninsula, particularly in Patani. But, for the most part, their methods do not appear to have been such as would be likely to make many converts to the cause of feminism.

Tin-mining in the Malay Peninsula is far older than the author seems to suppose, being attested by Arab writers of the ninth century A.D. Its present importance is very considerable, seeing that half the tin supply of the world is derived from this source. It is interesting to note that part of the Intan tin-field is now being worked by European companies. In the past the industry has been almost entirely in the hands of Chinese, whose processes were often crude and wasteful. The Malays, as a rule, merely drew royalties and tolls out of the proceeds.

The book is adorned by a number of excellent illustrations, and a map showing the position of the mines and the adjoining portions of the neighbouring states will be of use to the general reader.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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ADMONITIONS OF THE INSTRUCTRESS IN THE PALACE. A painting by Ku K'ai-chih in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, reproduced in coloured woodcut. Text by LAURENCE BINYON.

It is somewhat over ten years ago since the British Museum acquired a rather battered, ancient-looking,

Chinese roll-picture, the great value of which was at first unsuspected. To the uncritical eye this painting on silk may not have appeared strikingly different from hundreds of others which are in circulation. Fortunately, the Museum possessed in Mr. Binyon a highly gifted connoisseur, who had devoted many years to the study of Chinese and Japanese art; so that, without knowing the name of the painter, and without any clue to the date of its production, he was able at once to recognize it as a masterpiece. Later on, when the picture was submitted to the examination of Chinese scholars, it was found to bear the signature of Ku K'ai-chih, who lived in the fourth century of our era, and is generally admitted to have been one of the supremely great artists of China. This discovery, though interesting, did not at first excite any great hopes. All who have had to deal with Chinese paintings know what extreme caution must be exercised in assigning them to any particular master, for, even if there be no intentional fraud, it is quite the usual thing for copies of an old painting to bear only the original signature. Professor Hirth, then, writing in 1905, was undoubtedly on the safe side in saying that it was "probably a copy", although he had not seen the painting in question. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he would have been right. But, since that time, the evidence in favour of its being not a copy but the original itself has accumulated so steadily as to be now almost overwhelming; very little doubt remains that the picture is actually from the brush of the great master who flourished 1,500 years ago. For the details of this evidence I must refer the reader to Mr. Binyon's excellent little monograph. It may, however, be roughly summarized under four heads.

1. *The seals*, of which an extraordinary number—some hundred or more—are impressed on various parts of the roll, tell us that the picture formed part of the collection of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who prized it exceedingly

and caused it to be remounted. The oldest seal yet deciphered is that of the Emperor Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (1100–26). Mr. Binyon speaks of one older still, that of the statesman and historian Sung Ch'i, who died in 1061. But this, I fancy, must be an error arising from a too hasty inspection on the part of one of his informants. There is a seal, stamped on the original silk, which reads *Tzŭ ching chên pi*, "A rare treasure of Tzŭ-ching," and Tzŭ-ching was certainly Sung Ch'i's literary appellation. That it does not refer to him, however, in this case, appears from another seal in which the surname is given as well: *Hsiang Tzŭ-ching*. This was a noted virtuoso and collector of the sixteenth century. At all events, it is clear that the picture was accepted as genuine by the best critics of the Sung period, only 700 years after the painter's death.

2. *The fabric* of the roll has been examined by the British Museum expert, Mr. S. W. Littlejohn, and is found to have been extensively repaired with fine Sung silk, though with such extraordinary delicacy and skill that the repairs can in many cases hardly be detected. The original silk is not of the same texture, and, of course, much more ancient. So far, the evidence goes to show that the painting is considerably older than the Sung dynasty, but it does not conclusively point to a period earlier than the T'ang.

3. The next thing to be noticed is *the written text*, which the different scenes of the painting are intended to illustrate. These sentences, as Professor Chavannes first pointed out, are taken from a literary composition by Chang Hua of the third century entitled "The Admonitions of the Preceptress in the Palace". They were inserted at a later date in an ink which is different from that used by the painter himself, and can be assigned with fair certainty, on palæographic and other grounds, to the T'ang dynasty, which began in 618 A.D. The signature,

according to Mr. Binyon, is in a different hand, but on that point there may be room for doubt. In any case, it is of minor importance, as ancient pictures were commonly unsigned and the name often added later.

4. *The style* of the painting will perhaps form the most convincing argument in favour of its genuineness from the point of view of the trained art critic. It agrees closely with the appreciations of the master's work which we find in Chinese literature; and there is one feature in particular which deserves attention: while the portrayal of character and expression in the human figures is masterly, the one piece of landscape introduced is rudimentary and archaic, such as could not possibly have been executed after the time of Wang Wei, who was born at the end of the seventh century.

It remains to add that the present reproduction has been carried out with the utmost fidelity and spirit. The mellow tone of the old silk has been successfully imitated, and the figures are so lifelike as to be practically indistinguishable from the originals. Not only the written characters, but all the seals have been exquisitely reproduced in their varying shades of red. Both the labour and the skill demanded by such work must have been very great. One can only wonder at the moderate price (seven guineas) for which this magnificent specimen of an "Old Master" can be obtained.

LIONEL GILES.

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AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA. Part I: From the Earliest Times to the Manchu Conquest, A.D. 1644. By HERBERT H. GOWEN, D.D., F.R.G.S., Lecturer on Oriental History at the University of Washington. 8vo; illustrated. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1913. $1.20 net; by mail $1.30.

The book is intended to awaken the interest of schools and colleges in China's history, and to bring into more

prominence ancient times in comparison with the modern foreign relations of the country.

This epitome of the principal events of Chinese history is well written and well adapted to the purposes for which it is intended. We have read the whole book with a most critical eye and would only note a few things for future editions: on p. 65 the Fu-tsz in Kung Fu-tsz is a title of respect accorded to a literary man; the posthumous titles of emperors are given in many cases as their names; Yang Chu and Lieh-tsŭ appear as the names of one person, the former's philosophy being attributed to the latter.

J. DYER BALL.

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THE INNER LIFE AND THE TAO TEH KING. By C. H. A. BJERREGAARD, Librarian, New York Public Library. The Theosophical Publishing Co. of New York, 1912.

The contents of this book were delivered originally as lectures. The aim is a mystic interpretation of that wonderful little gem, the Tao Teh King, but we have also this Taoist Classic viewed not only from its mystical standpoint but from a theosophical one as well. Many of the salient points in Lao-tsz's treatise are brought into prominence and compared with old-world pronouncements and the sayings of mystics of the West, and naturally found to agree, for Lao-tsz was a mystic of the mystics, and the pioneer and father of mystics in the Far East as far as writings are concerned.

Mr. Bjerregaard has steeped himself in the Tao Teh King for more than thirty years, and the attitude he takes towards it will be understood from the following quotation from pp. 103 and 104: "You must transplant this book into your own home, into your heart, root and all, and, to do that, you must go out into the Open to learn how

Nature works. This book is not merely a book as thousands of others. It looks like a book. We call it a book from its appearance . . . Some future days when you and I shall see a new heaven and a new earth, we will be playing the sentences of this book on instruments, and its accords will bring us in harmony with the root of existence."

There are some beautiful passages in the book, but much of it eludes serious criticism, for there is an immense amount of transcendentalism in it which many would stigmatize as rubbish, and with which the man of common sense can find no affinity; in short, much of the book will prove caviare to all but theosophists and those who put Nature-worship in the place of religion. Nature is evidently to do everything for one, and there is a sad lack of apprehension of the God of Nature Himself. It is of course difficult or impossible to find a personal God in Lao-tsz. The author tells us that "it is difficult to define Tao and Teh fully and satisfactorily to a Western critical and intellectual mind", and one questions whether pages of mysticism veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbol will bring one much nearer to a comprehension of the incomprehensible. Let us rather stand in awe before the visions of this old-world Taoist mystic of things unutterable, which language fails to reveal, and with simple minds receive them into our hearts without a multiplication of rhapsodies and "roundabout" talk which our author speaks of. At the same time it is the mystic who may see deeper into Lao-tsz's meanings; but this is no reason for Mr. Bjerregaard's diatribe against some of the former translators of the Tao Teh King. He says he has "avoided the scholastic and distorted translations where the ideographic interpretation was the obvious one", and "unless the Chinese characters are interpreted both as to sound and to ideographic form, they can never be rightly understood". This is absurd,

for it is quite possible for a man to learn the Chinese written language as he might learn one of the dead languages of the ancient past and translate the characters without knowing the sounds and without to a great extent knowing the tones. Mr. Bjerregaard's two examples (p. 97) do not apply to translations from the Chinese, but only to those foreigners speaking the language who do not give the correct tones to the words they use.

J. DYER BALL.

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YANG CHU'S GARDEN OF PLEASURE. Translated from the Chinese by Professor ANTON FORKE, Ph.D., etc. With an Introduction by HUGH CRANMER-BYNG. Wisdom of the East Series. London: John Murray, 1912.

The Chinese Philosopher Yang Chu lived about 300 B.C. Not much is known of his life, and but scanty literary remains of his exist. They comprise a few tales and anecdotes and the present work, which is found embedded in Lieh Tzŭ's works, forming their seventh chapter. Dr. Forke compares his philosophy to a study in scarlet and black: the scarlet typifying the joy of life, and the black the pessimism of the philosopher. Many of his sayings might almost be described as paraphrases of "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die". Life and death exist, and consequently are to be accepted. From life let each take the pleasures which appeal to the tastes of each. Individualism is the chief thing; nourish this. Renounce nothing; strive for nothing. Let the senses guide the life; let nature have full rein. Enjoy life while it lasts and wait calmly for death, which ends all. Some of his views appear to be similar to some of Nietzsche's enunciations.

J. DYER BALL.

TAOIST TEACHINGS FROM THE BOOK OF LIEH TZŬ. Translated from the Chinese, with Introduction and Notes, by LIONEL GILES, M.A. London: John Murray, 1912.

Mr. Lionel Giles, who has been busy for some time past with the works of Lieh Tzŭ, has now given to the public the results of some of his labours in these selections.

Lieh Tzŭ is one of the Chinese Taoist philosophers, and, like many who have left their mark on the world of thought, but little is known of his life. He lived in the fourth century B.C., and seems to have forestalled the aeronauts, as Chuang Tzŭ informs us he could "ride upon the wind".

The parables and allegorical tales in Lieh Tzŭ are particularly interesting, being well told and to the point.

Extracts from the best commentary on Lieh Tzŭ are availed of to elucidate certain points in the text.

The Introduction contains some account of Taoism and notice of a few of its chief writers. Mr. Giles divides the Taoist Classics into three periods: the primitive, the development, and the degeneration stages.

J. DYER BALL.

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MADROLLE'S GUIDE BOOKS. NORTHERN CHINA: THE VALLEY OF THE BLUE RIVER. KOREA. Paris and London: Hachette & Co., 1912.

Madrolle's Guide Books to China are deservedly well known. This is a second edition of the one on North China. It is completely revised and brought up to date, for such changes have taken place of late in China, including among them a facility for visiting places unknown before, that considerable additions have had to be made to the book. Railways now take sightseers in a few hours or days to cities and important places which a few years ago it took weeks or months to reach.

The sinologues M. Chavannes and M. Vissière contribute descriptions, the former of the sacred mountain T'ái Shán, the Buddhist grottoes of Lung Mên, and the Wu T'ái Shán, and from the latter there is a translation of a Chinese "General Description of the Empire".

The "General Information and Practical Hints" will be found most useful to the traveller, being full and complete.

In the very full account of Peking is a most interesting description of the worship paid by the Emperors at the Temple of Heaven and other places—worship now a thing of the past, so rapid and fundamental are the changes taking place in China.

In North and Central China four provinces come in for attention respectively, as well as Manchuria, Mongolia, and Korea.

The book is well furnished with maps and plans.

J. DYER BALL.

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THE ISLAND DEPENDENCIES OF JAPAN. An Account of the Islands that have passed under Japanese Control since the Restoration, 1867–1912. A series of monographs reprinted from the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, with additions from native sources, translations, and new information. By CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.A.S. Japan, etc. London: Eugène L. Morice, 1913. Price 5*s*.

The reign of H.I.M. Meiji Tenno formed the background on which the rising sun of Japan's modern developments rose. During his reign of forty-four years not only did Japan embrace the civilizations of the Western world and adapt them to her requirements, but she showed to the world, from which she had secluded herself in the past, her capabilities, her military prowess, her desire for friendship with enlightened nations, and the possibilities

of her future. At the same time her empire extended and embraced those isles of the sea so admirably described in this book, additions to be highly prized even in this empire of four thousand isles.

The title and sub-titles of the book explain its contents. The six chapters deal with Formosa, the Loo Choo and Bonin Islands, the Kuriles, Saghalien, the Pescadores, and other islands near Formosa. These chapters are preceded by an appreciation of the late Emperor of Japan and an introduction, while an appendix on Yezo, and another on the sighting of the South Sea, close the book.

Under the heading of Formosa we have a description of the steps the Japanese are taking to press on the line of advance against the scourge of that fair island—the head-hunters. This silent war against savagery is being pursued with unremitting care, but apparently it will be many a long day before the tough task will be completed. The few pages devoted to camphor, one of the most valuable products of the island, are interesting. No less than 10,000 camphor-trees are felled annually. Other industries are enlarged upon and the fauna and mineral wealth noted, as well as many other things of interest. An account of the past, as regards the island and its inhabitants, forms an historical setting to the narrative. The Japanese are doing their best to stamp out opium-smoking; 40,000 smokers have abandoned the vice in the course of ten years.

In the same way the products, resources, and industries, etc., of the other islands are described, and a large amount of information concerning them given within a comparatively small space—information about these out-of-the-way parts of the world it would be very difficult to obtain otherwise.

The book is illustrated with seven special maps and drawings by Mr. Salwey. The photograph of "An Ami

Chief and his Wife" is good and interesting. It is only necessary to add that the book is a large octavo, neatly bound. On p. 21, l. 4, "dynasty" should be "reign".

J. DYER BALL.

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LA VECCHIA CINA. By CARLO PUINI. Firenze: Libreria della Voce, 1913.

This is a dainty little volume of 319 pages, bound in Imperial yellow, as is fitting that a book on China should be. It is divided into two parts under the headings of "Etnologia e Sociologia" and "Religione e Filosofia", while under sixteen different chapters are gathered together information and descriptions of the outstanding features of the social and religious life of this ancient people inhabiting the vast territories of old China.

The work is not from the pen of a tyro, as the author has previously written on Buddhism, Confucius, and Laotsŭ, Tibet, and other subjects.

Under the title of the present book Signor Puini has brought together articles written by him which were published in different reviews at various times, and thus different aspects of Chinese thought and life are united together in this small volume.

The author has devoted much time and thought to this work and has read much and widely to fit himself for his labours. The book is thus no superficial account of the Chinese people, as so many books are, but one which will well repay perusal by the author's fellow-countrymen who wish to acquire a knowledge of the foundations on which Chinese character and life are built.

J. DYER BALL.

# OBITUARY NOTICE

## JACOB SAMUEL SPEYER

By the death of Dr. J. S. Speyer, which occurred very suddenly in the morning of November 1, Sanskrit philology has sustained a loss which will be widely felt.

Jacob Samuel Speyer was born at Amsterdam on December 20, 1849. There he first attended the Gymnasium, and in 1865, at the age of not yet 16, he joined the Municipal College known as the "Athenæum Illustre", which since then has developed into the University of Amsterdam. After studying classics at Amsterdam for three years, he continued his studies at the University of Leyden, where Dr. Hendrik Kern then occupied the newly founded chair for Sanskrit. It was Kern, the great master of languages, who thenceforth became his chief guide. On December 21, 1872, at the age of 23, Speyer took his degree as Doctor of Philosophy on a thesis entitled *De ceremonia apud Indos quæ vocatur jātakarma.*

In November, 1873, the young doctor was called to teach Latin at the Gymnasium of Amsterdam, and from October 15, 1879 (i.e. from the date of its foundation), he became, in addition, attached to the Municipal University in that town as a Reader (Lector) of Sanskrit. In May, 1888, his Readership had been converted into an extraordinary Professorship for Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, when on December 19 of the same year he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Latin at the University of Groningen. He joined his new post on March 23 of the year following. After having lectured at Groningen for a period of fourteen years, Speyer was called to succeed his master, Dr. Kern, who, having reached the

age-limit of 70 fixed by the law, had to resign his Professorship of Sanskrit in the University of Leyden. Kern, the first and foremost Sanskritist of Holland, could not have found one worthier to succeed him than Speyer, on whom he ever looked as his principal pupil. During ten years Speyer taught at Leyden. He did not, like his master, live to reach the age of 70 and enjoy a well-earned rest. At the age of nearly 64 he died, only a few months after he had taken a prominent part in the celebration of Kern's 80th anniversary. The master has survived his favourite pupil.

Speyer's career as a teacher of Sanskrit at three out of the four universities of Holland extends over a period of thirty-four years. Those who have followed his lectures are unanimous as to the excellence of his teaching. They praise his clearness, his devotion, his never-failing patience. The number of his pupils who have taken their degree in Sanskrit is necessarily small, but includes some very prominent among the younger generation of Dutch scholars, like Dr. J. Huizinga, now Professor of History at Groningen, and Dr. B. Faddegon, Reader of Sanskrit at Amsterdam. The former, when speaking at his master's funeral on behalf of his fellow-pupils, declared that Speyer in no manner could better illustrate the ideal relationship between *guru* and *śishya* than through his own example.

It is, however, not Speyer's work as a teacher which will in the first place interest readers of this Journal, but his work as a writer. For through the latter his labours have borne fruit far beyond the somewhat narrow limits of his fatherland. That this has become possible is mainly due to the circumstance that Speyer wisely chose to write some of his leading contributions to Sanskrit scholarship in some language—English or German—more easily accessible to foreign colleagues than his native tongue.

In a time when the course of Sanskrit studies usually compels workers to restrict themselves to one particular parcel of that ever-widening field, one must be struck in the first place by the very vast range of Speyer's studies, which almost recalls the pioneer days of Von Schlegel and Wilson. Speyer combined in a remarkable degree the thorough and minute knowledge of the grammarian with the æsthetic taste of the *homme de lettres*. Indeed, he considered that without the former the right appreciation of literary beauties was an impossibility. His principal work in the department of grammar was his "Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax", which appeared in Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie*.

Speyer proved a true pupil of Kern's in that he paid special attention to the sacred lore of Indian Buddhism. After Kern had published his excellent edition of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, the famous Sanskrit collection of Buddhist birth-stories, it was Speyer who, through his English translation, rendered that remarkable work available to non-Sanskritists. It appeared as the first volume of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the Buddhists". Another important work of Speyer's in this department of Indian studies is his edition of the *Avadānaśataka*.

Closely related to the branch of Buddhist lore represented by the above-named two works are the big collections of fables and fairy tales, which are usually reckoned to belong to Brahmanical literature. To these Speyer devoted an exhaustive investigation, which, under the title *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, appeared in the Monographs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam (vol. viii, No. 5, 1908). On very sound grounds the author arrived at the conclusion that the *Bṛhatkathā*, the old Paiśācī work now lost, on which the later collections are based, was in existence about A.D. 600 and that the date of its composition cannot be far removed from that limit.

In this connexion Speyer discussed also the date of another important production of Sanskrit literature, the historical play *Mudrārākṣasa*, by Viśākhadatta. The best authorities had assigned this drama to the eighth or ninth century. According to Speyer's opinion it "is by four or five centuries older and must rank with the Mṛcchakaṭikā as the two most ancient plays of the Hindu theatre come to us". The author further conjectured that Viśākhadatta had taken the victory of Candragupta Maurya over the "barbarians" as the subject of his play in order to glorify a similar exploit by his royal patron, one of the two Candraguptas of the Gupta dynasty. This assumption is in full agreement with the prominence of art, both literary and plastic, during the period of the great Gupta emperors.

The drama was another branch of Sanskrit (and Prākrit) literature which had great attractions for Speyer. It is significant that two of his pupils took their doctor's degree on a thesis the subject of which was taken from the ancient Hindu drama. Particularly Dr. Huizinga's "dissertation" on the *Vidūṣaka*, the clown of the ancient Indian stage, is a work which does great credit, not only to its author, but also to the master under whose guidance it was composed.

Professor Speyer contributed a considerable number of papers (mostly in Dutch) to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, of which he was a member since April, 1889. Some of his earlier papers deal with subjects borrowed from the Latin language, literature, and mythology. Among his Indian articles I mention his "Kritische Nachlese zu Açvaghosha's Buddhacarita" (Proceedings, ser. III, vol. xi, No. 3, 1895) and his "Notes on the text of Saundarananda, the poem of Açvaghoṣa, edited by Professor Haraprasād" (Proceedings, ser. IV, vol. vi, No. 2).

In the Journal of the German Oriental Society also Speyer published several of his papers on questions of

Sanskrit grammar and various other subjects. His last contribution to the *Zeitschrift* is entitled "Ein alt-javanischer mahāyānistischer Katechismus" (Bd. lxvii, 1913). In this connexion I mention also a paper (in Dutch) on a Buddhist inscription from Java (Proceedings Royal Academy of Amsterdam, ser. IV, vol. vi, No. 2, 1904). The two last-mentioned papers show that the antiquities of Java also had been drawn within the compass of Speyer's studies. Though not exactly an archæologist himself, he fully appreciated the value of antiquarian research, and in his official capacity did much to promote this line of investigation in Dutch India. Dr. N. J. Krom, the present Director of Archæology in Java, was one of his pupils.

Professor Speyer was not one of those savants who jealously guard their learning within the inner circle of the initiated. He believed in popularizing his science, and many articles on Indian and allied subjects from his pen appeared in Dutch magazines intended for the educated public at large. There was, moreover, a special reason which induced Speyer to place his great learning at the disposal of his country and to act as a guide in a field of research so far removed, one would think, from modern life and its interests. It was the "theosophical" movement which of a sudden had given prominence to Indian philosophy and religion among the cultured in Holland as well as in other Western countries. Eastern mysticism couched in learned Sanskrit terms proved attractive to many minds whom dogmatic Christianity could no longer satisfy. The new religion inaugurated by Madame Blavatsky which pretended to provide the initiated with the quintessence of all the great world religions combined, but in reality reproduced certain Indian ideas adapted to Western use, was bound to be repulsive to one familiar with the ancient culture of India and well aware of its failings. The rapid growth of the

Theosophical Society was well calculated to rouse alarm in a man of such sound judgment and vast knowledge as Speyer, who as the official representative of Sanskrit learning at the chief University of Holland considered it his duty to raise a warning voice against the uncritical and wholesale surrender to Indian ideas, promulgated in a garbled shape by Western theosophists. This self-imposed task, both distasteful and thankless, he discharged in a series of lectures, which subsequently appeared in a volume entitled *De Indische theosophie en hare biteekenis voor ons* (Leiden, 1910). In it the author discussed at considerable length the various theosophical systems of India, and in his concluding chapter he reviewed the various forms in which they had made their appearance in the West. It is questionable whether Speyer's book will convert many Neo-Buddhists and theosophists. There are always certain minds to whom wisdom alleged to be derived in a mysterious manner from invisible Tibetan *mahātmas* will be more attractive than the knowledge gathered through lifelong study in the common way from the books. At any rate, Speyer has placed his knowledge at the disposal of the seekers after truth, and hereby he has undoubtedly done a good work.

To those who wished to be guided Speyer was an excellent guide. For not only his extensive learning, but also his common sense, his clear view, his precision, and above all his great kindness and moderation, made him a master not only to be revered but also to be loved.

J. PH. VOGEL.

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October–December, 1913.)

## I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society

*November 11, 1913.*—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

Twenty-three nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Dr. B. Moritz read a paper on the "Hijaz Railroad".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Miss Gertrude Bell, Professor Hagopian, and Sir Charles Lyall took part.

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*November 25, 1913.*—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Shripad Krishna Belvalkar.
Mr. Pierre Arnold Bernard (Shastri).
Mr. Andrew Caldecott.
Mr. J. Coatman (Indian Police).
Dr. Muhammad Deen.
Lieutenant S. Doraisamy, I.M.S.
Mr. John R. Egan.
Mr. John Gerald Gardner Gardner-Brown.
Rev. Robert Harper, M.D.
Mr. Mahbubul Huq, M.A.
Mr. M. Krishnamachariar, M.A., M.L.
Mr. J. E. Lockyer.
Sir Claude Macdonald, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.B.
Babu Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A.
Mr. Lala Lachmi Narayan.
Mr. G. L. Norton, I.C.S.
S. Rm. M. Ct. Pethachi Chettiar.
Babu Shiva Prasad, B.A.

Rao Sahib Gidugu Venketa Ramamurti, B.A.
Babu Rudradatta Sinha, M.A., LL.B.
Mr. T. Isaac Tambyah.
Pandit Upendranath Vidyabhushana, B.A.
Dr. Robert Zimmermann.

Mrs. Bullock Workman and Dr. Hunter Workman read papers on the "Exploration and Physical Features of the Siachen Glacier".

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*December 9, 1913.*—The Right Hon. Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

Seven nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. Pargiter read a paper on "The Earliest Indian Traditional History".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hoernle, Sir Richard Temple, and Mr. Fleet took part.

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## II. Principal Contents of Oriental Journals

### I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Bd. LXVII, Heft iii.

Franke (R. O.). Die Verknüpfung der Dīghanikāya-Suttas untereinander.

Schmidt (R.). Beiträge zur Flora Sanscritica.

Mordtmann (J. H.). Türkische Papierausschneider.

Schwarz (P.). Traum und Traumdeuting nach 'Abdalġanī an-Nābulusī.

### II. Journal Asiatique. Série XI, Tome I, No. ii.

Chavannes (E.) & P. Pelliot. Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine.

Pognon (H.). Mélanges assyriologiques.

Decourdemanche (J. A.). Note sur l'estimation de la longueur du degré terrestre chez les Grecs, les Arabes, et dans l'Inde.

Bacot (J.). La table des présages signifiés par l'éclair. Texte tibétain publié et traduit.

Pelliot (P.). Mélanges : Sur quelques mots d'Asie centrale attestés dans les textes chinois.

Tome I, No. iii.

Ross (E. D.) & R. Gauthiot. L'Alphabet sogdien d'après un témoignage du xiii$^{e}$ siècle.

Weill (R.). Les Hyksos et la restauration nationale dans la tradition égyptienne et dans l'histoire.

Masson-Oursel (P.). Les trois corps du Bouddha.

Menant (D.). Observations sur deux MSS. orientaux de la Bib. Nationale.

Pelliot (P.). Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine.

Tome II, No. i.

Conte Rossini (C.). Notice sur les MSS. éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie.

Jeannin (Dom J.). Le chant liturgique syrien.

Berger (Ph.) & M. Schwab. Le plus ancien MS. hébreu.

Pelliot (P.) (avec des notes de Cl. Huart et Denison Ross). Les plus anciens monuments de l'écriture arabe en Chine.

Finot (L.). Mélanges: Le plus ancien témoignage sur l'existence du canon pāli en Birmanie.

III. Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana.

Vol. XXV.

Patrubany (L. de). Studi etimologici.

Vallauri (M.). Intorno alle recensioni del Rāmāyaṇa.

Suali (L.). I drammi di Bhāsa.

Ballini (A.). Praçamaratiprakaraṇaṃ saṭīkam.

Belloni-Filippi (F.). Munipaticaritrasāroddhāraḥ.

Cassuto (U.). L'ashgarà nella Bibbia.

Tessitori (L. P.). Le Uvaesamālā di Dharmadāsa.

IV. JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XXII, No. lxviii.

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JOURNAL

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VI

# THE RELATION OF THE OLD ARABIAN POETRY TO THE HEBREW LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By Sir C. J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

*Read January 13, 1914.*

THREE years ago, in his Schweich Lectures on "The Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social Origins", Dr. George Adam Smith gave us a detailed examination of all the remains of ancient Hebrew poetry contained in the Old Testament which he thought might reasonably be assigned to the period before the eighth century B.C., that notable century which saw the rise of the great Prophets—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah—who brought to the religion of Israel a new spirit, and set it upon the road of development which has been fraught with incalculable consequences to the history of mankind. Those who heard his lectures, or have read them in their since published form, will remember that in dealing with these ancient relics of literature Dr. Smith throughout examined them with an eye to the compositions of those cousins of Israel, the nomad tribes of Arabia. Comparing

the two, at every step he found that the latter threw light on the former, and brought into strong relief the close kinship of these two great historic branches of the Semitic race. "Ancient Israel illustrated by Ancient Arabia" might, in fact, be taken as the alternative description of his lectures, the beauty and eloquence of which those who heard them are not likely soon to forget.

I wish, this afternoon, with your permission to examine the subject from a slightly different point of view—that of a student of Ancient Arabia. You may remember that, rather more than two years ago, I gave you in this place an account of some of the aspects of Ancient Arabian poetry, in which I pointed out that the earliest remains of that poetry which have come down to us go no further back than about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. These earliest productions (I said) "come before us full-grown: everything is settled —laws of metre and rhyme, choice of subjects, language, order of treatment. It is impossible to suppose that these poems, so fixed in their conventions and so regular in their style and workmanship, are not the product of long development, of which, however, owing to the fact that they were handed down by memory only, and were not written, no record now remains."

With such a wide gap between them—from the eighth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.—it might seem hopeless to attempt to establish any relation between these two groups of literary productions. Hebrew poetry and Arabic poetry are in outward form very different. Though Hebrew and Arabic are languages nearly akin, there are great divergences between them. Arabic abounds in short vowels, and manages its constructions by means of case endings and modal terminations, which dispense with the necessity of help-words. Hebrew (though it once possessed them) has lost nearly all its case terminations,

and consequently abounds in long vowels and consonantal endings, which would be very embarrassing to any system of prosody like that of Arabic. Hebrew poetry is arranged metrically by stresses or beats, five, four, three, or two to the line, and, at least in its later developments, is marked by an elaborate system of parallelism, in which the meaning of one line is expressed over again in other words, or displayed antithetically, or in a complement, in the next. Arabic verse, on the other hand, has an extensive system of regular and very beautiful metres, made up of long and short syllables arranged in a definite order, with a nice sense of the value of each in time. Its prosody bears a close resemblance to that of the Greeks, whereas Hebrew verse may rather be compared to the rough Saturnian rhythms of the early Latin poets, or the chants of our Northern forefathers, recently imitated by the Poet Laureate in his Christmas ode.

As I have said, the Arabian metres first come before us full-grown, and the changes which they underwent during the two centuries covered by the classical poetry are but small. We find, it is true, in the fragments of the oldest poets known to us, 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ, al-Muraqqish, and Imra' al-Qais, metres which later poets did not think fit to use, and which puzzled the metrists of al-Khalīl's time; and in Imra' al-Qais's verse we detect certain harshnesses or anomalies which his successors smoothed away; but, speaking generally, it must be admitted that by the beginning of the sixth century A.D. the essential laws of Arabic metre and prosody had been fixed, and these laws governed the poetry during the whole of the classical period. We know not who invented them, any more than we know who invented the hexameter or other leading metres of Greek verse. In both cases the inventors worked in ages of which nothing has come down to us, and it is a fair conjecture that the elaboration of the system took a long period of time to effect.

But when we turn from the form of the saying to the substance of the thing said, we find a most close and extraordinary resemblance between the old poetry of Israel and the compositions of Northern and Central Arabia in the classical period, and the great gap of twelve or thirteen centuries seems to vanish entirely. We have a saying which has become a newspaper commonplace, irritating to many people — "the unchanging East." There are many parts of the East which are far from unchanging, and our own day has seen throughout almost the whole of Asia changes which, in magnitude and suddenness, have belied all anticipations. But there is one Asiatic country where the physical conditions and the social relations resulting from them seem to be incapable of change, and that is the Arabian Peninsula. Our popular saying has probably arisen from the comparison of the stories in the Bible of the Patriarchal age with the experience of modern travellers in the deserts of Syria and Northern Arabia; and it is true that in these lands the centuries pass, and there is from age to age extremely little change. Nearly thirteen hundred years ago Arabia had its chance. Islam came, and the first two Caliphs succeeded in directing the whole forces of the country into the great career of exterior conquest which, as you know, changed the course of history in more than half Asia, the greater part of Africa, and Southern Europe. But those that were left behind in the great emigration continued to live after the fashion of their forefathers. In a century and a half the Arab Empire outside Arabia had practically come to an end. Islam became a world religion, Arabic a world language and literature; but the Arabs of Arabia were no longer the dominant people, and those who inhabited the Peninsula reverted to the customs and mode of life which the conditions of the country imposed upon them, and which continued through the centuries to our own day. Modern travellers in Arabia, above all

Mr. Charles Doughty, in their descriptions of life there, give us the best commentary on the poems of the sixth and seventh centuries. They show that, with insignificant exceptions, the foundations of the social structure remain unchanged from that day to this, and that we can best explain the old poets by looking around us and seeing how men live now.

But if this is the case in the thirteen centuries that have elapsed since the Flight of Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina, may we not say that it is likewise true for the thirteen centuries (and more) between the time of the great Prophets of Israel and the Prophet of Mecca? This is the question which I wish to state before you this afternoon, and, as briefly as may be, to illustrate it by comparing the examples found in Hebrew literature with those of Arabian classical poetry.

The history of Israel may be roughly divided into two great periods: first, that when the people were nomads, dwelling as kindred tribes either in the Wilderness or in the new lands where they first settled after the partial conquest of Canaan; and secondly, the period of social organization and civic life, which began with the establishment of the kingdom, and gradually converted the nation from a race of warriors and herdsmen to one of agriculturists and townsmen. The first period is that set forth in the Patriarchal tradition, the history of the sojourn in Egypt, the wanderings in the Wilderness, and the period of the Judges; and its record is contained in the Pentateuch, the Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, and the two Books of Samuel. The second period covers all the rest of the Old Testament, including the history of the Books of Kings and their supplement, the Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, the writings of the Prophetic age, the Wisdom literature—Job and Solomon, and the devotional literature represented by the Book of Psalms, which expresses, in a special manner, the religious consciousness of devout

Israel from age to age, but in its present form is the hymn-book of the Second Temple.

It is only in the first age that we should expect close resemblance between the literature of Israel and that of Arabia, because it was only during that time that the conditions of the two peoples were similar; and it is remarkable how few are the fragments of poetic composition which have survived to us from it. Apparently there were compilations of such poems which once existed, known as the Book of hay-Yāshār, the Book of the Wars of Yahweh, and perhaps the Book of the Songs, all of which have perished, though they are cited in the extant prose literature. But there are two outstanding monuments of this period, the Song of Deborah and the Lament of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan, both pieces of literature which, since they are included in the Sunday lessons, have from century to century touched the hearts and filled the eyes of hundreds of thousands of English folk. Both of these poems are strongly and markedly Arabian in feeling, in texture, and in expression.

The first, the Song of Deborah, has indeed one feature which you will not find in Arabian poetry, the theophany with which it opens. The Arabs of the classical time, and their descendants the Bedouin of our present day, are perhaps one of the races most untouched by the solemnities of religious awe that have ever existed. The Israelites imagined the presence of Yahweh in the storm, and heard His voice in the thunder; and some of the most splendid passages of the Old Testament are those which depict such theophanies. There is no lack in Arabian poetry of descriptions of storms, and very beautiful they are; but no Godhead is felt in them. It may be that in former times things were different, and the tribal god may have been conceived by Arabs, as the Israelites thought of Yahweh, marching in clouds and darkness at

the head of their armies; but if so, we have no evidence of the fact. After the appeal to the Lord and a description of His march from Mount Se'ir, the poetess goes on to describe the distress which afflicted Israel under the tyranny of strangers. Then she tells of the devotion of the leaders of the people, and their zeal in the national cause. Then she passes to the enumeration of the tribes who took part in the fight, and pours scorn on those who held back. Then come the hurry and rush of the battle. All these lines could be matched word for word in hundreds of Arabian poems describing fights. Then follows the curse of Mērōz, a place not otherwise known, whose townsmen should have come to the help of the people of Yahweh, but did not: perhaps they allowed the fugitives of Sisera's beaten army to pass through unharmed. Then follows the great blessing on Jael, wife of Heber the Qenite—an Arab woman herself, for Qain is an Arab tribal name. Let me read you Dr. George Adam Smith's translation—

(24) Blessed among women Ya'ēl,
Above women in tents be she blessed!
(25) Water he craved, milk she gave,
In a dish for lords she brought the curd.
(26) Her hand to the peg she put,
Her right to the workman's hammer,
And Sis'rā she hammered, she shattered his head,
She smashed, she hacked through his temples;
(27) Between her feet he bent, he fell,
Where he bent there he fell—undone!

I will make no moral reflections on Jael's treachery. The poetess does not condemn it, nor was it likely that she would. It is sufficient to say that such an act, horrible though it was according to all Arab ideas of hospitality, would probably have been dealt with in a similar manner in an Arabian poem composed by the tribe that profited by it. Last comes the passage in

which Sisera's mother is imagined, looking out of the window anxiously for the return of her victorious son—

(28) Out of the window she leans, she whines,
Sis$^{e}$rā his mother through the lattice:
"Why are his chariots shy to come?
Wherefore tarry the beats of his cars?"
(29) Warily answer to her her ladies,
Yea, she returns her words to herself:
(30) "Are they not finding, dividing the spoil?
A wench, two wenches a-head for the men,
Booty of dyes for Sis$^{e}$rā,
Booty of dyes with brocade,
Dyes, double brocade, for *my* neck the spoil!"

Dr. Smith thinks that "there can be little doubt to whom we should assign the verses on Jael and on the mother of Sisera. If Deborah did not make them, some other woman did". I see no reason myself to doubt that they were the work of Deborah; but I am sorry to say that the nearest Arabic parallel I am able to adduce comes from a poem by a man. In or about the year 570 A.D. there was fought a great battle in Central Arabia called the day of Shi'b Jabalah, in which the tribe of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah routed a great combination which the neighbouring tribes brought against it. In one of the poems celebrating this victory a poet, Mu'aqqir son of Ḥimār, al-Bāriqī, speaks thus of the tribe of Dhubyān, one of those who were defeated:—

"Many the mother in Dhubyān who enjoined her sons, 'Be sure to bring back plunder of blankets with heavy nap and bags of leather tanned with pomegranate-skin.'
She fitted them out with all she could scrape together, and said, 'Sons of mine! surely each one of you is a needy hero.'
But we disappointed her affection, and she spent the summer with the rims of her eyes bare of lashes through constant weeping."

The Lament—in Hebrew *qīnāh*—of David for Saul and Jonathan is, in its translation in the Authorized Version, known to everybody; it is in every respect exactly similar to an Arabian *marthiyah*. This is what Dr. Smith says of it: "The only general remark necessary about the two dirges (on Abner and on Saul and Jonathan) is that neither breathes the name of God nor hope of another life. In the dirge on Saul and Jonathan this is most impressive. For there we find a keen relish of life and a most passionate lasting of love, an appreciation of the virtues of the dead, and a magnanimous forgiveness of the injuries one of them had wrought—every instinct proper at the thought of the great dead except the instinct of hope. It may be said, of course, that in the abandonment of grief — grief which is nobly and splendidly passionate in the dirge on Saul and Jonathan—God and the life to come are naturally forgotten. Yet the silence of these dirges is also the silence of all the narratives and poems through which we have passed, and but illustrates that weird absence of hope which is characteristic of the pagan Arabs and of early Israel, even in their mourning for virtuous and beloved men."

You will no doubt read for yourselves Dr. Smith's beautiful rendering of the dirge. The Revised Version has made little change in the old text, even in places where a change might very reasonably have been made: perhaps it was felt that the words in their poignancy were too dear. I wish, however, to point out one matter of phrasing, in which Hebrew and Arabic, in this class of poems, coincide; that is the use of the word *ni'ma* (Ar.), *nā'īm* (Heb.). David says, according to our time-honoured rendering, "Saul and Jonathan were lovely and *pleasant* in their lives"; and again, "My brother Jonathan, *very pleasant* hast thou been unto me!" In Hebrew: "Shā'ūl wĪhōnāthān han-nĕ'ĕhābhīm w'*han-ne'īmīm* bĕḥayyēhem"; and "Akhī Yehōnāthān, *nā'amtā-llī* me'ōdh". Now in

Arabic dirges there is no word more insistent than this *ni'ma*: "How goodly was he, how pleasant!" For instance (pardon an Arabic quotation)—

نِعْمَ الفَتَى غادَرْتُمُ بِرَخْمانْ
بِثابِتِ بن جابِرِ بنِ سُفْيانْ
مَنْ يَقْتُلُ القِرْنَ و يُرْوِى النَّدْمانْ

"Goodly the warrior whom ye left at Rakhmān
—Thābit son of Jābir son of Sufyān,
who slew his foe and poured wine for his fellow!"

Here the whole point of this short cry of grief is in the word *ni'ma*; and so it is—with a double insistence—in David's lament.

How the Arabs lamented their dead let me show you for comparison by quoting a piece of a *marthiyah* by Duraid son of aṣ-Ṣimmah on his brother 'Abdallāh (date about 600 A.D.)—

"But know ye, if 'Abdallāh be dead, and his place a void—
no weakling unsure of hand, and no holder-back was he!
Alert, keen, his loins well girt, his leg to the middle bare,
unblemished and clean of limb, a climber to all things high:
No wailer before ill-luck: one mindful in all he did
to think how his work to-day would live in to-morrow's tale:
Content to bear hunger's pain though meat lay beneath his hand
—to labour in ragged shirt that those whom he served might rest.
If Dearth laid her hand on him, and Famine devoured his store,
he gave but the gladlier what little to him they spared.
He dealt as a youth with Youth until, when his head grew hoar
and age gathered o'er his brow, to Lightness he said—'Begone!'
Yea, somewhat it soothes my soul that never I said to him
'Thou liest', nor grudged him aught of mine that he sought of me."

What I wish to submit in regard to these ancient poems of Israel is that, in all probability, the contemporary

Arabs of the east and south were making verse of the same kind at the same time. It is quite certain that the Arabs did not learn from the Hebrews their chants of battle and foray, or their wonderful and poignant songs of mourning for their dead. They were, and are, unlettered men, who knew neither reading nor writing, although they had unparalleled skill in the weaving of words, and the most delicate appreciation of the value of sounds and the necessities of metre. There is no reason to suppose that the civilization of the Israelites, in the first of the two periods I have mentioned, was superior to that of their cousins the sons of Midian, Ishmael, and Edom. Apart from the mission of Israel as founder of a world-religion, and his unique capacity for the reception and development of religious ideas, there was little difference between him and his neighbours. Let anyone who doubts this read the inscription of King Mēsha' on the Moabite Stone, and think how easily this could be adapted to Israelitish use if for Chemōsh we read Yahweh.

Let us now take a leap over three or four centuries. In this interval much has developed in the mind of Israel. The Prophets have laid the basis of a religion, not of rites, but of conscience. Yahweh has become, from a tribal deity, the God of the whole earth, who loves righteousness and will surely punish iniquity wheresoever found, and who is near at hand to every soul, not dwelling in temples built by men. The Captivity has brought the nation into contact with other world powers, and strongly impressed it by the overthrow of Babylon, that secular colossal enemy, by the rising Empire of Persia. After the Return, which the people owe to the liberal policy of the Persian king, the Remnant settle down to a religious and contemplative life, and the age produces the Wisdom Literature which goes under the names of Job and Solomon. In Job (the approximate date of which is fixed by coincidences

of phrasing with the second Isaiah and many Psalms) the author, alone among the sacred writers (with the partial exception of the writer of the Book of Ruth), has gone outside the limits of Israel, and placed the scene of his colloquies in Arabia. As Professor Burkitt said the other day in his Schweich Lectures, there is no reason for supposing that the author was other than a pious Jew, though he does not mention the Law from the beginning to the end of the book. He was probably a townsman, for his knowledge of the desert life is so imperfect that he makes Job at the same time an owner of camels and sheep, and therefore a nomad, and a possessor of yokes of oxen and a tiller of the soil: the two conditions are incompatible one with the other. Nevertheless, it is clear that he intended Job to be regarded as an Arab tribal chief, dwelling in the land of Uz (ʿŪṣ), which is most probably situated in the east or south-east of Palestine, that is, in the Syrian desert: the exact locality does not matter, for the interest of the book is not local. There is an apparent solecism in bringing in as raiders not only the Chaldeans (already become, since the Persian conquest, a legendary power) but also the Sabeans from the far south of Arabia. Job's friends, like himself, are tribal chiefs, and the problem which they debate is the undeserved suffering of the righteous man. It may be that those scholars are right who would separate from the rest of the book the speeches of Elihu in chapters xxxii–vii, though I myself am not convinced on the subject. But I regard, and I believe sober critics generally regard, the book as otherwise a unity, the work of one mind.

I do not propose to take you through the whole of the book, nor is there need to do so. The passages which interest us are contained in the utterances of the Almighty in chapters xxxviii–xli, in which are set forth the marvels of creation. After reciting, in language of unmatched magnificence, the wonders of Nature—the foundations of

the earth, the majesty of the sea, the daily appearance of the dawn, the depth of the great abyss where is Sheol, the changes of light and darkness, the sources of snow and hail, the hidden tracks of the wind and rain, the origin of dew, ice, and hoar-frost, the influences of the constellations which revolve in their seasons, the clouds and lightnings—the Speaker turns to animate Nature. At the end of chapter xxxviii He mentions the lioness with her cubs in her covert, and the raven and its nestlings, for both of which God provides meat. Then in chapter xxxix follow pictures of the wild mountain-goat (Hebrew *ya'al*, Arabic *wa'il*), the wild-ass, the wild-ox or oryx (*rēm*, Arabic *ri'm*), the ostrich, the horse, the hawk, and the eagle. All these are creatures familiar to the Arabian poets, and some of them, especially the wild-ass, the oryx, the ostrich, and the eagle, are described over and over again as types of matchless speed, while the horse is depicted in the fullest detail by every poet of the Desert. I gave, in the paper I read in November, 1911, a number of pictorial passages from Arabian poetry dealing with the four animals chosen as examples of fleetness, and pointed out how closely the words of the poets correspond with those of the author of Job. If time permitted, I could give a long catalogue of passages corresponding to his superb description of the horse. Then, in chapters xl and xli, the poet sets forth, in language of high imaginative grandeur, the strength and terrible appearance of the hippopotamus (*behēmōth*) and the crocodile (*livyāthān*); but as these monsters are not found in Arabia they need not detain us.

Here, then, we have a work of splendid literary art, probably composed in the fifth or fourth century B.C., where the writer deliberately chooses for his scene, and the persons of his drama, the land and people of Arabia. This implies that in his time it was believed that wise men, capable of carrying on such a colloquy, could be

found there. In the words which he puts into the mouth of the Almighty, he draws for us pictures of desert animal life agreeing generally with those drawn by the Arabian poets of the fifth century after Christ. In some cases their knowledge was superior to his; for instance, in regard to the ostrich, the accusation of foolishness is unjustified. The eggs during the daytime are lightly covered with sand, and kept sufficiently warm by the sun; at night, or when rain threatens, they are carefully incubated by the male ostrich. All this the Arabs knew well, and set out in their verse.

It seems to me that the reasonable conclusion is that in the time of the author there were poets in Arabia who dealt with just the same subjects as were chosen by their successors nearly a thousand years later, and that they handled them in, approximately, the same way. Whether any of the established metres of Arabian verse were then in use we cannot tell; but the perfection which they have reached when they first become known to us implies, I submit, a gradual shaping which may have taken centuries to carry out.

Thus, by a comparison, first, of the early poetry of natural emotion among the Hebrews with that of the Arabs; and secondly, by a comparison of the products of literary art of the former people in an age of reflection and culture with those of Arabia during the century before Muḥammad, we are led to the conclusion that Arab poetic art, in the time of tribal Israel as well as in the later literary period, probably covered much the same field of subjects as it does at the beginning of the Islamic age; and that the sole reason why none of these compositions of ancient times are now extant is that they were not committed to writing, but perished with the dying out of the human memories in which they were preserved.

## VII

# EARLIEST INDIAN TRADITIONAL 'HISTORY'

By F. E. PARGITER

MUCH has been done by scholars to elucidate the history of the earliest times in India, based principally on the Veda and the brahmanical literature, and the deductions of philology. Kṣatriya tradition,[1] especially in the genealogical accounts, contains a great quantity of quasi-historical matter, but has been generally discarded as meriting little or no trust. It is, however, worthy of attention and examination, since it tells us what the ancient Aryans knew or believed about the earliest 'events' in India.

In a former paper I endeavoured to co-ordinate all the genealogical accounts of the principal ancient dynasties, and drew up a table of genealogies showing them synoptically.[2] That was a genealogical skeleton, though much of the tradition was utilized there in order to elucidate alleged synchronisms and the relative positions of the kings in the various dynasties. Kṣatriya tradition contains much more information, and professes to give some account of the chief kings and the course of events; and it is but prudent to co-ordinate all the information, so as to find out what ancient tradition has to tell us about the earliest times. Only after considering it can we rightly accept or reject it.

All the material information, that I have found scattered in the Epics and Purāṇas, is collected here and arranged

[1] That there was kṣatriya tradition distinct from brahmanic tradition about the same 'events' is shown by the stories about Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, some of which have been discussed by me in JRAS, 1913, pp. 900–4.

[2] JRAS, 1910, p. 1; table, pp. 26–9.

with the aid of the table of genealogies mentioned above; and along with it some particulars from the brahmanic literature also are taken into consideration. A full discussion of all the available matter would constitute a book, and would besides introduce a large quantity of details. In this paper, therefore, the information is condensed; yet the account is complete in all the important particulars, and no statement is made without citing the chief authorities that support it.[1] The further research that I have been able to make has accorded with the table of genealogies mentioned, and this account follows the scheme of that table, clothing the genealogical skeleton with the flesh and blood of traditional 'facts', so that the two should be taken together.[2] The various countries and towns mentioned will be found in the map supplied *infra*.

There is no euhemerism in this account, properly speaking. Kṣatriya tradition generally is human and not mythological; kings are commonly treated as real persons, and rishis as not specially superhuman. It is in brahmanical tradition that the mythological element swamps the human. In kṣatriya genealogies and ballads the human element vastly preponderates, subject to Oriental love of hyperbole; and it is on them that the bulk of this account is based. Tradition, however, when reaching back to origins becomes myth, and I have ventured to point out what suggestions myth offers us regarding origins.

Tradition naturally begins with myth, and the myth must be noticed because it may suggest something about the stocks that dominated India at the dawn of tradition.

[1] To cite all would swell out this account needlessly. The authorities are cited thus—MBh = Mahābhārata; Rm = Rāmāyaṇa; Mt = Matsya; Vā = Vāyu; Bḍ = Brahmāṇḍa; Br = Brahma; Vṣ = Viṣṇu; Ag = Agni; Lg = Liṅga; Kū = Kūrma; Gr = Garuḍa; Śv = Śiva; Mk = Mārkaṇḍeya; Pd = Padma; Bh = Bhāgavata; Hv = Harivaṁśa.

[2] For brevity, references for the dynastic genealogies generally are not given here, because given in JRAS, 1910, pp. 16 ff.

The myth derives all the dynasties (not the populace) from Manu, son of Vivasvant (the Sun), and is narrated in various ways[1] which, however, have this much common ground. Manu had nine sons, and also either a daughter Ilā (born from his sacrifice) or an eldest son Ila who was turned into a woman named Ilā.[2] Ilā had a son Purūravas Aila by Budha, son of Soma (the Moon).[3] She became a man afterwards with the name Sudyumna, and Sudyumna had three sons, Utkala, Gaya, and Vinatāśva (or Haritāśva).[4] Manu divided the earth into ten portions. Sudyumna obtained no share, but received the town Pratiṣṭhāna, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna. He gave it to Purūravas, and Purūravas began the Aila kingdom there. Purūravas' lineage was the Aila race. Notwithstanding that statement, Sudyumna's three sons had territories of their own; thus Utkala had the Utkala country, Gaya had the town Gayā, and the eastern region belonged to Gaya or to the third son.[5] These principalities will be denoted collectively as the Saudyumnas.[6]

Here three traditions would seem to have been blended in Ilā-Sudyumna by an attempt to unify them. Two different stocks are, one the Aila stock of Purūravas, and the other that of the chieftains of Gayā, Utkala, and all the eastern region. Their difference is, no doubt, true ethnologically; there is no connexion between them except the dual nature of Ilā-Sudyumna, and none between

[1] One form in Mt *11*, 40–*12*, 18; another in Vā *85*, 3–28, Hv *10*, 613–40; and the latter differently in Vṣ iv, *1*, 5–13: first two combined in Lg i, *65*, 17–30. MBh says merely, Manu had nine sons and Ilā, and fifty other sons (i, *75*, 3140–3). Rm vii, *87–90*, gives a variant version of the first form.

[2] *Ila* in Mt, Pd, Rm. *Ilā* in all the others.

[3] MBh says Ilā was both mother and father (i, *75*, 3143–4; cf. i, *95*, 3760). Mt *12*, 12–13 says Ilā bore Purūravas. Vā *90*, 45; *91*, 1: Hv *25*, 1357; *26*, 1363, say Purūravas was Budha's son, without mentioning Ilā.

[4] Rm knows nothing of Sudyumna and his sons.

[5] Vā *85*, 19; Br *7*, 18–19; Hv *10*, 632: somewhat different in Mt *12*, 17–18. Bh ix, *1*, 41 is late and blunders.

[6] This name is in Vā *99*, 266.

them and Manu's nine sons except through this fabulous Ila or Ilā.[1]

Manu's nine sons constituted another stock, and chief among them were Ikṣvāku, Nābhānediṣṭa, Śaryāti, and Karūṣa.

From Karūṣa were derived the numerous warlike clans of the Kārūṣas, who possessed the Karūṣa country.[2] Nābhānediṣṭa[3] was the progenitor of a long dynasty of kings,[4] who reigned in the country immediately north of Patna, because one of its later kings, Viśāla, founded Viśālā or Vaiśālī as the capital.[5] No name is given to this realm, but the later kings were called the Vaiśālaka kings,[6] and it may therefore be denoted as the Vaiśāla kingdom. Śaryāti's realm[7] lay in the extreme west, in the region bordering the Gulf of Cambay, because his successor Ānarta gave the name Ānarta to Gujarat, and the capital was Kuśasthalī (the ancient name of Dvārakā).[8] His descendants, the Śāryātas, reigned there for a time. This kingdom may be called Ānarta.

Ikṣvāku obtained Madhyadeśa[9] and originated the Solar race, which had its capital at Ayodhyā,[10] where the main line of his descendants, sometimes called Ikṣvākus[11] but generally Aikṣvakus, reigned. There are two versions regarding the development of his descendants. One says—[12] Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons, chief of whom were Vikukṣi

[1] This will be considered at the end of this article.

[2] Vā *86*, 2-3; Mt *12*, 24; Hv *11*, 658; Vṣ iv, *1*, 4.

[3] Generally corrupted to Nābhāgodiṣṭa or Nābhāgoriṣṭa, or shortened to Nābhāga, Ariṣṭa, and Diṣṭa. The correct name is in RV x, *61*, 18.

[4] His line is called Diṣṭa's line in JRAS, 1910, pp. 25, 27.

[5] Vā *86*, 17; Vṣ iv, *1*, 18. [6] Vā *86*, 22; Vṣ iv, *1*, 18-19.

[7] Vā *86*, 23-8; Hv *10*, 642-7; Mt *12*, 21-3; Vṣ iv, *1*, 20-39.

[8] See also MBh ii, *13*, 613-14, 632; Hv *36*, 1967.

[9] Br *7*, 20; Hv *10*, 634. Va *85*, 21 corrupt.

[10] Mt *12*, 15; Vā *88*, 20; Hv *11*, 662. The name *Kosala* for the country was later.

[11] MBh iii, *200*, 13486; *201*, 13621.

[12] Vā *88*, 8-11, 20, 24; Br *7*, 45-8, 51; Hv *11*, 661-4, 667; Vṣ iv, *2*, 3, 6.

(the eldest), Nimi and Daṇḍaka; fifty were kings in Uttarāpatha (North India), and forty-eight were rulers in Dakṣiṇāpatha (the Dekhan); Vikukṣi, called Śaśāda, and his heir Kakutstha succeeded, and reigned in Ayodhyā. The other says—[1] Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons, of whom Vikukṣi was the eldest; Vikukṣi had fifteen sons, who were kings north of Meru, and 114 other sons were kings south of Meru, of whom the chief was Kakutstha, who succeeded him in Ayodhyā. The former version seems less improbable (such as they are), but the two versions agree in this much, that practically most of the kings in North and South India were reckoned descendants of Ikṣvāku.[2]

Ikṣvāku's second son Nimi (or Nemi) founded a separate dynasty[3] which reigned in Videha, and he is called Videha. His capital was Jayanta. His son was Mithi Janaka, after whom the royal family were known as the Janakas.[4] Their capital was also Mithilā. This dynasty was an offshoot of the Solar race and of the Aikṣvākus, but these names were appropriated to the main line at Ayodhyā, and this dynasty was distinguished as the Vaidehas, Janakas and Maithilas.

Tradition and myth thus alleged that the kings and chiefs throughout India, except the Ailas at Pratiṣṭhāna and the Saudyumnas in the eastern region, belonged to one common stock; and they say so doubly, first with regard to Manu's sons, and secondly with regard to Ikṣvāku's descendants. This stock had five prominent kingdoms, the Aikṣvākus or Solar race at Ayodhyā, the Janakas in Videha, the Vaiśāla kingdom north of Patna, the Kārūṣas in Karūṣa (Rewa) and the Śāryātas in Ānarta

[1] Mt *12*, 26–8; Pd v, *8*, 130–3.

[2] Bh ix, *6*, 4–5 is late and untrustworthy.

[3] See JRAS, 1910, p. 19.

[4] *Vaṁśo Janakānām* in Vā *89*, 23; Bḍ iii, *64*, 24. *Janakavaṁśa* in Vṣ iv, *5*, 13. *Janakānāṁ kule* in Mk *13*, 11. For individual kings called Janaka see JRAS, 1910, p. 19, note [4].

(Gujarat). Tradition and myth thus virtually distinguished three dominant stocks, for there is no connexion between them except through the fabulous Ilā,[1] namely, (1) the Ailas or Lunar race at Pratiṣṭhāna, (2) the Saudyumnas in Gayā and the eastern region, and (3) all the other kings and chiefs throughout India. This last stock has no common name in tradition. The word Mānava is used too widely to be appropriate. Some name is required to distinguish this stock, and in the absence of any better term I venture to call it by the new word *Mānva*.[2]

Further, according to tradition royal power first developed in the Gangetic plain in the towns Pratiṣṭhāna, Ayodhyā, Jayanta, Mithilā and Gayā, with an off-lying branch at Kuśasthalī.

These traditions deal only with the dominant races. There are many indications that those races ruled over various folk of rude culture or aboriginal stock, such as Niṣādas, Dāsas and Pulindas. Tribes of a higher grade or hostile character are often mentioned, such as Daityas, Dānavas, Nāgas and Rākṣasas.[3] These names do not always imply that such tribes were different from Mānvas and Saudyumnas, or even Ailas, but generally mean men of alien and hostile race in kṣatriya tradition. They are sometimes used merely as epithets of hatred or opprobrium, and are found applied even to kings descended from the Aila or Lunar race[4]; thus Madhu, the great king of the Yādavas (from whom Kṛṣṇa obtained the patronymic Mādhava), is styled a "Daitya" and "king of the Dānavas".[5]

The kingdoms mentioned continued as they have been

[1] See further at the end of this article.

[2] After the analogy of *Yādva* from *Yadu*, and *Mādhva* from *Madhu*. It is not found in Sanskrit and is therefore neutral; still, some term unconnected with *Manu* would be preferable.

[3] Compare the Chinese name, "foreign devils," for Europeans.

[4] For the significance of this, see end of this article.

[5] Hv *94*, 5143, 5157, 5164.

described, with the exception of the Aila dynasty. That quickly developed from Pratiṣṭhāna. Northward it was barred by the Aikṣvāku kingdom and southward by the warlike Kārūṣas, hence its expansion began north-westward and eastward along the Ganges during the reigns of Purūravas' successors Āyus and Nahuṣa. Āyus' brother Amāvasu or his immediate descendants established a kingdom, the capital of which was afterwards Kānyakubja[1]; and from Sunahotra or Suhotra, Nahuṣa's brother or nephew, sprang a line of kings who reigned in the Kāśya country with their capital at Kāśi or Vārāṇasī (Benares).[2]

Nahuṣa's son Yayāti extended his kingdom greatly[3] and became a samrāj.[4] He conquered not only all Madhyadeśa west of the Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja kingdoms but also the country to the N.W., W., S.W. and S.E. He had five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, and divided his territories among them. He installed Pūru, the youngest, in the ancestral sovereignty in the middle region,[5] that is, the southern half of the joint Ganges-Jumna plain, and gave the elder sons the outlying territories; thus, according to the majority of the authorities, Yadu got the south-west, Turvasu the south-east, Druhyu the west and Anu the north.[6] These directions are taken from the middle kingdom assigned to Pūru; hence Yadu

[1] It was Gādhi's capital, MBh v, *118*, 4005.

[2] Kāśi, Vā *92*, 18, 21; Bḍ iii, *67*, 7, 23. Vārāṇasī, Vā *92*, 23–68.

[3] MBh i, *75*, 3151–4; vii, *63*, 2292–7; xii, *29*, 987–90: Vā *93*, 90; Hv *30*, 1602; Mt *24*, 55–6.

[4] MBh i, *75*, 3156.

[5] MBh i, *85*, 3531, and next note.

[6] Vā *93*, 88–90; Bḍ iii, *68*, 90–2; Lg i, *67*, 11–13; Kū i, *22*, 9–11; with Hv *30*, 1617–19; Vṣ iv, *10*, 16–18. Yadu's region *dakṣiṇāparato* is misread as °*parayo* in Kū, °*pathato* in Vṣ and °*yām atho* in Lg; while Hv reads *pūrvottarasyām* wrongly, for the Ayodhyā territory lay there. Br *12*, 19–20 is imperfect; and Bh ix, *19*, 22–3 is late and blunders. Instead of these allocations MBh i, *85*, 3533–4 and Mt *34*, 30–1 say, "From Turvasu were descended the Yavanas, from Druhyu the Bhojas (or Vaibhojas?), and from Anu the mleccha races;" but this version is incompatible with all other statements and allusions and seems erroneous.

had the country between the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal) and Śuktimatī (Ken) Rivers; Druhyu, the country north of the Chambal and west of the upper Jumna; and Anu, the north portion of the joint Ganges-Jumna plain; and these positions agree with the subsequent notices of the Yādavas, Druhyus and Ānavas. Turvasu's kingdom in the south-east must have comprised the Karūsa country, where the Kārūṣas must have been subdued, because nothing more is said about them till long afterwards; but his line played no important part, and the references to it are very few.

Thus at this time the Aila stock had dominated a large part of North India, overcoming the Mānvas in all those directions; but the Ayodhyā, Videha, Vaiśāla and Ānarta kingdoms, which were Mānva, continued to flourish, and soon afterwards Śrāvastī was built in the Ayodhyā realm.[1]

Yadu's descendants, the Yādavas, then increased greatly in power, and divided at once into two great branches.[2] His two chief sons were Sahasrajit and Kroṣṭu, and Sahasrajit's successor, Haihaya, originated the famous line of the Haihayas. Kroṣṭu's descendants were not named after him, but to them was more particularly given the name Yādava. So far as the indications afforded by subsequent developments go, it would seem that the Yādava branch occupied the north part of Yadu's region and the Haihaya branch the south part. The Yādava branch first developed a great kingdom under its king Śaśavindu. He was a cakravartin,[3] which means that he extended his sway over neighbouring countries. The chief kingdoms assailable were the Pauravas, Ānavas and Druhyus, and he probably subjugated the first, because the Paurava dynasty disappears now from notice till Duṣyanta re-established it.[4] Probably also he forced the Druhyus

[1] Mt *12*, 30; Vā *88*, 27; Br *7*, 53; Vṣ iv, *2*, 13; MBh iii, *201*, 13518.
[2] JRAS, 1910, p. 19.
[3] MBh vii, *65*; xii, *29*, 998–1003: Vā *95*, 19; Mt *44*, 18; Vṣ iv, *12*, 1.
[4] JRAS, 1910, pp. 26, 43; and p. 282, *infra*.

further into the Panjab.[1] Śaśavindu had many sons who were known as the Śaśavindu or Śāśavindava princes[2]; hence it would seem that his territories were divided among them in many small principalities.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā then rose to the highest eminence under Yuvanāśva's son, Māndhātṛ, who married Śaśavindu's daughter.[3] Māndhātṛ was a very famous king,[4] and became both a cakravartin[5] and a samrāj.[6] He extended his sway so widely that an old verse said, "As far as the sun rises and as far as he comes to rest, all that is called Yauvanāśva Māndhātṛ's territory."[7] He had a long contest with the Druhyu king Aṅgāra in the Panjab, and at last conquered him,[8] so that his sway extended to the Panjab; and therefore Kānyakubja and the Paurava country must have acknowledged his sovereignty. The Ānavas also from their position probably felt his power.[9] There is no indication that he assailed the Yādavas, for the Śāśavindavas were his brothers-in-law. Some passages suggest that he (or his sons) carried his power into the Narbadā valley, but the statements are uncertain and inconsistent.

After his death his empire diminished, and the Kānyakubja kingdom rose to local prominence under king Jahnu, who had married a princess of Ayodhyā,[10] and after whom the Ganges was called Jāhnavī.[11] Then, and seemingly in consequence of the disturbances caused by Māndhātṛ's conquests, three great movements occurred among the Haihayas, Ānavas and Druhyus.

[1] See next paragraph.
[2] MBh vii, *65*, 2322–4; xii, *29*, 999: Vā *95*, 20–2; Mt *44*, 19–21.
[3] JRAS, 1910, p. 31.
[4] MBh vii, *62*; xii, *29*, 974–86: Hv *12*, 711; Br. *7*, 92.
[5] Vā *88*, 66–7; Bḍ iii, *63*, 68. [6] MBh ii, *14*, 649–50.
[7] MBh vii, *62*, 2282–3; xii, *29*, 983: Vā *88*, 68.
[8] Vā *99*, 7–8; Hv *32*, 1837–8; MBh iii, *126*, 10465.
[9] He sacrificed in the country called afterwards Kurukṣetra (which was perhaps Ānava), MBh iii, *126*, 10467.
[10] JRAS, 1910, p. 32. [11] Vā *91*, 58; Br *10*, 19; Hv *27*, 1421.

The Haihayas, under their king Bhadraśreṇya,[1] carried their arms north-eastward over the prostrate Paurava realm,[2] conquered the kingdom of Kāśi and reigned in Benares.[3] The Kāśi king, Divodāsa I, recovered his kingdom and capital from Bhadraśreṇya's sons, and yet abandoned Benares afterwards, and retiring eastward built a new capital on the River Gomatī. It is said the Rākṣasa Kṣemaka then took possession of Benares; and Bhadraśreṇya's son Durdama reconquered the Kāśi territory. That occupation by the Rākṣasas suggests that the country had been so weakened by the Haihaya raids that southern tribes invaded it; and in connexion therewith it may be noted that a conflict took place between Anaraṇya, a king of Ayodhyā, who reigned about that time, and Rāvaṇa,[4] who would be a king from South India. The Haihayas held the Kāśi territory, and seem to have been mainly engaged in raiding North India.

The movements among the Ānavas and Druhyus seem to have been connected. The Ānavas rose to power at this time under two able kings, Mahāśāla and Mahāmanas, and the latter appears to have encroached on a large part of the north Panjab, because he is styled a cakravartin and lord of the seven *dvīpas* or doabs.[5] He had two sons, Uśīnara and Titikṣu, under whom the Ānavas divided into two distinct branches.[6] One branch headed by Uśīnara[7] established separate kingdoms on the border of and within the Panjab. Of his sons, four founded the

[1] Called Bhadrasena in Bḍ, Ag, Pd; Rudraśreṇya in Mt.

[2] This is implied by the name Vatsa (given by anticipation) in MBh xiii, *30*, 1951.

[3] The story is told in Vā *92*, 23–68; Bḍ iii, *67*, 25–72; Hv *29*, 1540–91; Br *11*, 39–54, with Vā *94*, 6–7, Hv *33*, 1847–8; Mt *43*, 10–11.

[4] Vā *88*, 75; Bḍ iii, *63*, 74; Lg i, *65*, 44. See *Rāvaṇa* in connexion with Rāma, p. 285, *infra*.

[5] Probably the north portions of the seven doabs from the Sarayū north-westwards. Vā *99*, 15–17; Hv *31*, 1671–3; Mt *48*, 13–14.

[6] Vā *99*, 19–24; Hv *32*, 1675–81; Mt *48*, 17–21; Bḍ iii, *74*, 18–24; Br *13*, 21–7.; Vṣ iv, *18*, 1.

[7] He was famous, MBh xiii, *76*, 3689.

principalities of the Yaudheyas, of Navarāṣṭra, of the Ambaṣṭhas, and of the town Kṛmilā, all on the east border of the Panjab. His chief son, Śivi Auśīnara, originated the Śivis in Śivapura, and Śivi's four sons established the kingdoms of the Madrakas (or Madras), Kekayas (or Kaikeyas), Sauvīras and Vṛṣadarbhas,[1] occupying all the Panjab except the north-west portion. Śivi was a famous king, who greatly extended his sway,[2] so that he must have conquered much of the Panjab, which was divided afterwards into those kingdoms. The Panjab was the country of the Druhyus, whose power Māndhātṛ had broken, as already mentioned; so it appears Śivi must have driven them back into the remaining portion of the Panjab, namely the north-western corner; and this agrees with the mention that Aṅgāra's son, the next Druhyu king, was Gāndhāra, who gave his name to that country.[3] There the Druhyus maintained their position permanently, and it is said that five generations afterwards they multiplied and founded many principalities in the mleccha countries in the northern region beyond India.[4]

The other branch of the Ānavas under Titikṣu moved eastward, and, passing beyond Videha and the Vaiśāla kingdom, descended into east Behar, among the ruder Saudyumna stock, and founded a kingdom, which was called the kingdom in the East,[5] and which afterwards divided into Aṅga and four other kingdoms, as will be explained.

About this time lived Kuśa, king of Kānyakubja, and his younger son Amūrtarayas[6] is said to have carved out

[1] Position uncertain.

[2] MBh vii, *58*; xii, *29*, 932–7; iii, *293*, 16674.

[3] Vā *99*, 9–10; Hv *32*, 1839–40; Mt *48*, 6–7.

[4] Vā *99*, 10–12; Mt *48*, 8–9; Vṣ iv, *17*, 2. This is noteworthy with regard to the inscription of later date found at Boghaz-keui, mentioning Indian gods.

[5] Bḍ iii, *74*, 24; Br *13*, 27; Mt *48*, 22; Vā *99*, 25.

[6] Vā *91*, 62; Vṣ iv, *7*, 3; Hv *27*, 1425.

for himself a kingdom from the branch of the Saudyumna stock in the country known afterwards as Magadha.[1] His son Gaya Āmūrtarayasa reigned in the Gayā district, and was a king of note.[2] Nothing more, however, is known of this dynasty.[3]

It was also about this time, apparently, that the Śāryāta kingdom in Ānarta perished.[4] Kuśasthalī was captured by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas,[5] and the Śāryātas fled inland to other countries, where they developed into bands of noble kṣatriyas called Śāryātas; and it is probably they who are mentioned not long afterwards as forming one of the five bands of the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas.

The Bhārgavas were the priests of the Haihaya kings, and grew wealthy, but enmity arose between them, and the Bhārgavas fled northward.[6] Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya monarch,[7] turned to Datta the Ātreya. He was a famous cakravartin and samrāj, and raised the Haihaya power to pre-eminence by his character and conquests during his long reign. He captured the town Māhiṣmatī, on the rocky island Māndhātā in the River Narbadā,[8] from the Karkoṭaka Nāgas, and made it his fortress-capital. He extended his sway to the sea on the west and into Madhyadeśa northwards. He defeated Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā, who had come northwards on conquest.[9]

[1] Rm i, *32*, 1–8, with next note.

[2] MBh iii, *95*, 8518–20, 8527–39 with *84*, 8060–4.

[3] The Rm suggests the country was afterwards occupied by Yakṣas and Rākṣasas (i, *25*, 12–14 read with i, *32*, 7–10), but confuses the genealogies.

[4] Vā *88*, 1–4; Br 7, 37–41; Vṣ iv, *2*, 1–2.

[5] Probably from the sea. May *Puṇya-jana* be connected with the country *Punt*?

[6] MBh i, *178*, 6802–*179*, 6827; xiii, *56*, 2905–10.

[7] Vā *94*, 9–43; Mt *43*, 17–39; Br *13*, 160–194; Vṣ iv, *11*, 3–6; MBh ii, *14*, 649–50; xii, *49*, 1751–9; xiii, *152*, 7188–95.

[8] The identification of Māhiṣmatī with Māndhātā is established in JRAS, 1910, pp. 444–7, 867–9; and corroborated by Hv *33*, 1870; and Br *13*, 178.

[9] See *Rāvaṇa* in connexion with Rāma, p. 285, *infra*.

The Bhārgavas appear to have taken to arms at that time. Ṛcīka Aurva, who was the chief Bhārgava rishi then, allied himself by marriage with Gāthin or Gādhi, king of Kānyakubja,[1] and his son Jamadagni married a princess of Ayodhyā.[2] Gādhi was succeeded by his son Viśvaratha, who, however, relinquished his kingdom and became a brahman with the name Viśvāmitra,[3] being succeeded by his son Aṣṭaka.[4]

The enmity between the Haihayas and Bhārgavas brought on a conflict between Arjuna's sons and Jamadagni's son Rāma. They murdered Jamadagni, and Rāma, who was a great warrior,[5] is said to have killed Arjuna, and most of them and many Haihayas.[6] Fable adds that Rāma in his vengeance killed off all kṣatriyas from the earth twenty-one times,[7] but this will be noticed further on.

Arjuna's chief successor was his son Jayadhvaja, who was king in Avanti, and his son and successor was Tālajaṅgha. Tālajaṅgha had many sons, chief of whom was Vītihotra; and his descendants, the Tālajaṅghas, developed so greatly that the name Tālajaṅgha became almost equivalent to Haihaya. The Haihayas comprised five great bands, the Vītihotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis, and Tuṇḍikeras, all of whom were reckoned Tālajaṅghas.[8] The Haihaya dominion stretched from the sea to the lower part of the Ganges-Jumna doab, and thence to Kāśi.[9] They continued their raids into North India (just as the Marāṭhas did in modern times), for there is no suggestion

[1] MBh iii, *115*, 11044–54; Vā *91*, 66; Hv *27*, 1430–1.
[2] MBh iii, *115*, 11067–*116*; Vā *91*, 85, 89–92; Hv *27*, 1453–4.
[3] See JRAS, 1913, p. 886.
[4] See JRAS, 1913, p. 888; MBh iii, *197*, 13301–2.
[5] MBh vii, *70*, 2427, 2446; Vā *91*, 90–1; Hv *27*, 1454–5.
[6] MBh xii, *49*, 1760–9; iii, *115–17*; vii, *70*: Vā *94*, 46–7; Mt *43*, 42–3; Hv *33*, 1887–8.
[7] MBh vii, *70*, 2444; xii, *49*, 1775–8.
[8] Vā *94*, 48–53; Mt *43*, 45–9; Hv *34*, 1891–8; Lg i, *68*, 10–13, 16–19; Br. *13*, 199–207.
[9] MBh xiii, *30*, 1946, 1950–1.

that they founded new dynasties in the countries they conquered; and it is probable that they overthrew the Kānyakubja kingdom, for it disappeared about this time.[1] The realm of Ayodhyā then lay open to assault. The disorganization caused by the long-continued Haihaya raids left North India a tempting prey to the hardy races of the north-west, and Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas and Pāradas poured in and joined with the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas in an attack on Ayodhyā. The king Bāhu[2] was driven from his throne and died in the forest, but his queen was succoured by the Bhārgava rishi, Aurva, in his hermitage. Her son Sagara was born there, and was trained in arms by Aurva. During this interval of some twenty years or more the further progress of the marauders was stayed, for the Videha and Vaiśāla kingdoms were not overthrown apparently, and the foreigners seem to have settled down in the countries they had overrun.

The destruction wrought by the Haihayas and foreign hordes[3] may be imagined by comparing the deplorable condition to which India was reduced by the Marāṭha power and the Persian and Afghan invasions in the eighteenth century. The two periods are remarkably alike. These events are nowhere described connectedly, but are summed up in the brahmanical fable that Rāma Jāmadagnya destroyed all kṣatriyas off the earth twenty-one times. He began hostilities with the Haihayas, but it was the Haihayas who, bent on conquest, attacked all kingdoms, overthrew dynasties and destroyed the kṣatriyas by their long-continued raids.[4]

[1] Aṣṭaka's son Lauhi is the last king mentioned, JRAS, 1913, p. 888.

[2] Vā *88*, 122–43; Br *8*, 29–51; Hv *13*, 760–84; Rm ii, *110*, 15–25 (briefly, calling Bāhu *Asita*).

[3] It is noticed in MBh xii, *49*, 1783–6.

[4] As Rāma began, the subsequent slaughter was attributed to him. Rāma certainly did not exterminate the Haihayas, for they were rising into great power as the "Tālajaṅghas" during his life.

The first kingdom to reassert itself appears to have been Kāśi. Its kings had carried on a long struggle with the Haihayas, and at length Pratardana, son of Divodāsa II, defeated the Vītahavyas or Vītihotras and recovered his territory,[1] though Vārāṇasī itself was not regained till later by his grandson Alarka.[2]

By this time Sagara had attained manhood and entered on a fight for his own kingdom of Ayodhyā.[3] He vanquished the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas and the foreigners, and re-established the Aikṣvāku dynasty there. He also subdued the enemies throughout North India and became a cakravartin[4]; in fact, he annihilated the Haihaya dominion and nothing more is said of Haihayas till long afterwards. They appear to have continued in their own territory in the Narbadā valley, but only as a small kingdom merged in the great branch of the Yādavas. Sagara also resolved to exterminate the foreigners who had settled down in his kingdom, if not throughout North India[5]; but the then Vasiṣṭha, the royal priest of Ayodhyā, who had maintained his position apparently under the Haihaya rule, interposed in their favour and prevented him. Sagara then spared their lives, but abrogated their religious usages and imposed degrading distinctions on them — which naturally disappeared in the course of time.[6]

During the height of the Haihaya dominion a young prince of the Yādava branch, named Jyāmagha, was expelled by his elder brothers and sought his fortune southwards in and beyond the upper Narbadā valley, and founded a principality among the Rkṣa Hills (the

[1] MBh xiii, *30*, 1958–76 : JRAS, 1910, p. 38 : Vā *92*, 64–5.

[2] Vā *92*, 68 ; Hv *29*, 1591 ; *32*, 1748–9.

[3] Vā *88*, 124–5, 135–43 ; Hv *13*, 774–84 ; Vṣ iv, *3*, 18–21 ; MBh iii, *106*, 8831–2.

[4] MBh xii, *29*, 1023–9 ; Hv *13*, 785 ; Vā *88*, 144.

[5] See n. [3] for references.

[6] The rest of the story of Sagara is marvellous, the birth of his 60,000 sons, his horse-sacrifice and their destruction. Vā *88*, 144–52 ; Hv *13*, 790–807 ; MBh iii, *106*, 8831–*107*, 9913.

Satpura range), apparently in Vidarbha, for his son was called Vidarbha and the main line of his successors reigned there.[1]

When Sagara established his empire over North India, the only noticeable kingdoms that had survived were Kāśi, Videha, the Vaiśāla realm. the Ānava kingdom in the east, Turvasu's line in the hilly country of Rewa and the new state of Vidarbha in the Dekhan. All the other kingdoms had perished or been subjugated. But on his death his empire declined, and the submerged dynasties recovered themselves, especially those at a distance; thus the Kaikeyas, Madras, etc., in the Panjab appear to have revived; the Yādavas of Vidarbha extended their power northward and founded the kingdom of Cedi[2] in the country lying along the south of the Jumna; and the Kāśi kingdom formed the new principality of Vatsa in the south of the Ganges–Jumna doab.[3]

The Paurava claimant then was Duṣyanta, who had been adopted as heir by Marutta, son of Karandhama, of Turvasu's line.[4] He recovered his ancestral kingdom and re-established the Paurava dynasty which had been out of power since Māndhātṛ's time. His son was Bharata, who was a cakravartin[5] and samrāj,[6] a famous monarch; and his successors were known, not only as Pauravas, but more particularly as Bharatas[7] and Bhāratas.[8]

The Ayodhyā kingdom rose to eminence again, first

[1] Vā *95*, 27–38; Hv *37*, 1979–89; Mt *44*, 28–38; Vṣ iv, *12*, 2–14.

[2] Vā *95*, 38; Mt *44*, 38; Lg i, *68*, 40; Vṣ iv, *12*, 15.

[3] Hv *29*, 1597; *32*, 1753: Vā *92*, 65, 73; Br *11*, 60; *13*, 78.

[4] Vā *99*, 133 with 1–4; Mt *49*, 10 with *48*, 1–3; Hv *32*, 1721 with 1830–4; Vṣ iv, *19*, 2 with *16*, 1–2: JRAS, 1910, p. 43.

[5] MBh i, *74*, 3119–21; Hv *32*, 1723; Vā *99*, 133–4; Mt *49*, 11.

[6] MBh ii, *14*, 649–50.

[7] MBh iv, *64*, 2035 and in brahmanical literature: but its use is rare in kṣatriya tradition except in compounds as *Bharatarṣabha*, *Bharatasattama*.

[8] The general term; MBh i, *2*, 371; *74*, 3223; *94*, 3709: Mt *24*, 71; *49*, 11; Vā *99*, 134.

under Bhagīratha,[1] and again under his third successor Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi[2]; but no changes occurred except that the large and indefinite Ānava kingdom over the Saudyumnas in the east became divided up into five kingdoms, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kaliṅga.[3] The capital of Aṅga was Mālinī, and its name was changed afterwards to Campā or Campāvatī (Bhagalpur) after king Campa.[4]

The Paurava kingdom had shifted its position north-westward, for its ancient site at Allahabad became the Vatsa realm (p. 282); and Bharata's fifth successor Hastin founded the city Hastināpura[5] as his capital. It remained the Paurava capital for centuries onwards. It was about this time apparently, that king Viśāla founded the town Viśālā or Vaiśālī[6] as the capital of the kingdom, which has been called the Vaiśāla kingdom in anticipation.

The Paurava dynasty grew great and formed fresh kingdoms under its king Ajamīḍha. His brother Dvimīḍha founded a new realm and dynasty, which may be called that of the Dvimīḍhas,[7] and lay probably east of Hastināpura.[8] A cousin named Rantideva Sāṅkṛti, a famous king, had a short-lived kingdom on the River

[1] MBh vii, *60*; xii, *29*, 956–63. Styled *samrāj*, MBh ii, *14*, 649–50. After him the Ganges was named Bhāgīrathī, Vā *88*, 167–9; etc.

[2] MBh vii, *64*; xii, *29*, 993–7: Vā *88*, 171–2. But there was another and much earlier Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi, Hv *15*, 813; Mt *11*, 41; *12*, 20.

[3] Vā *99*, 26–34, 85–6, 98; Mt 23–9, 77–8; Hv *31*, 1682–93.

[4] MBh xii, *5*, 134; Vā *99*, 105–6; Mt *48*, 97; Hv *31*, 1699.

[5] MBh i, *95*, 3787; Vā *99*, 165; Hv *20*, 1053–4. MBh i, *94*, 3736 says it had been Bharata's residence; if so, Hastin gave it his name. The other names, *Gajasāhvaya*, *Vāraṇāhvaya*, etc., were probably mere puns, for its region was not elephant-country, having been occupied by the Ānavas long before.

[6] See p. 270, n. [6].

[7] Vā *99*, 166, 184–93; Gr i, *140*, 8, 14–16; Bh ix, *21*, 21, 27–8. Mt *49*, 70–9 and Hv *20*, 1075–85 vary. Vṣ iv, *19*, 10, 13–15 errs.

[8] It must have adjoined the main Paurava territory, was not Pañcāla, and presumably bordered on Kosala (Mt *49*, 75; Hv *20*, 1081): also N. Pañcāla lay between it and S. Pañcāla (Hv *20*, 1083–1112).

Chambal.[1] Ajamīḍha's realm was divided on his death among his three sons, the main kingdom with the capital Hastināpura, and two others in the Krivi country, which was named Pañcāla afterwards, a northern kingdom of which the capital was then or soon afterwards Ahicchatrā,[2] and a southern of which the capital was afterwards Kāmpilya.[3] All these three lines were Pauravas, Bhāratas and Ājamīḍhas, but the latter two branches were distinguished afterwards as the kingdoms of North and South Pañcāla respectively, and those patronymics were appropriated to the main line at Hastināpura.[4]

The northern of these two kingdoms first rose to eminence, and in consequence of a jocular boast uttered by one of its early kings Bhṛmyaśva, the name, the "five capables" or *Pañcālas*, was given to his five sons.[5] But the name Pañcāla grew into general and approved use as the name of this dynasty and realm, and superseding the old name of the country, Krivi, was extended to the whole Pañcāla country.[6] Bhṛmyaśva was succeeded by his son Mudgala, and Mudgala's son became a brahman and originated the family of the Maudgalyas[7]; but the line continued under his descendants Vadhryaśva, Divodāsa and Sṛñjaya. These kings play an important part in the Rigveda,[8] and their relationship to the Maudgalyas and the brahmanical order suggests how that followed naturally.

[1] MBh iii, *293*, 16674; vii, *67*; xii, *29*, 1013–22: Mt *49*, 35–7: Meghad. i, 46, where Comm. says his capital was Daśapura.

[2] Vā *99*, 194–211; Mt *50*, 1–16; Hv *32*, 1777–95: MBh i, *138*, 5509, 5515–16; Hv *20*, 1111–12.

[3] Vā *99*, 170–82; Mt *49*, 47–59; Vṣ iv, *19*, 11–13. MBh i, *138*, 5509, 5512–13; Hv *23*, 1252.

[4] e.g. Saṁvaraṇa (see *infra*) is called Ājamīḍha, MBh i, *94*, 3737.

[5] Probably humorously; cf. our title "Prime Minister". If so, it is obvious why the name does not occur in the Vedic hymns about these kings.

[6] JRAS, 1910, pp. 48, 1328.

[7] JRAS, 1910, p. 1330.

[8] JRAS, 1910, p. 21, n. 3.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā again rose to eminence under Dilīpa II, surnamed Khaṭvāṅga, who was reckoned a cakravartin,[1] and under his successors Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha and Rāma. The story of Rāma brings South India into view definitely for the first time. As related in the Epics it appears largely as fable, yet the fable must have grown out of some basis, and the following features are worthy of notice in it.

There was a flourishing kingdom of people who are called Rākṣasas in Ceylon, with Laṅkā as their capital[2] and Rāvaṇa[3] as their king; and there was a settlement of Rākṣasas in the lower Godavari valley called Janasthāna,[4] which is treated as part of Rāvaṇa's realm; hence there must have been intercourse between the two, and that must obviously have been by sea. During all these centuries no change had taken place in the Dekhan politically except the founding of Vidarbha, but the religion of North India had penetrated into the Dekhan, because there is frequent mention of munis there whom the Rākṣasas had maltreated,[5] and Agastya, whom tradition places earlier than Rāma, is called the conqueror of the south. The south was Agastya's region and his abode is said sometimes to have been on the Malaya Hills.[6]

[1] Vā *88*, 182; MBh vii, *61*; xii, *29*, 964–73.

[2] See p. 272. The Rm describes Laṅkā in the most glowing terms (v, *4* ff.).

[3] Two other Rāvaṇas have been mentioned (pp. 276, 278). *Rāvaṇa*, though Sanskrit in appearance, can hardly be a Sanskrit word, for it is not credible that any Rākṣasa king would have taken a Sanskrit name, when these Rākṣasas were bitterly hostile and are described as civilized. *Rāvaṇa* is probably the Tamil word *iṟeivan*, "God, king, sovereign, lord," Sanskritized—a fuller form of *iṟei*, which has the same meanings. Malayalam has *iṟān*, "sire" (used in addressing princes), where the *ṟ* shows it differs from Tamil *irāyan* (= Skt. *rājā*). Kanarese has *ĕṟĕ* (and also apparently *iṟivata*), "master." Telugu seems to have lost the word. Tamil *ei* and Skt. *ā* constantly correspond, and *i* is mainly a helping vowel to *ṟ*; hence *iṟeivan* may well have been Sanskritized as *Rāvaṇa*. If so, *Rāvaṇa* would be the royal title.

[4] Rm ii, *116*, 11; iii, *18*, 25; MBh vii, *59*, 2226.

[5] Rm ii, *116*, 11–19; *119*, 18–20: MBh vii, *59*, 2227.

[6] Rm iii, *11*, 78–83. MBh iii, *104*, 8792–4. JRAS, 1910, p. 41.

Rāma avenged the munis' wrongs on the Rākṣasas.[1] Rāvaṇa carried Sītā off to Laṅkā.[2] Rāma with the aid of a people in South India called monkeys, whose capital was Kiṣkindhā[3] (somewhere between the River Kṛṣṇā and the Nilgiris), crossed over to Ceylon by Adam's Bridge, killed Rāvaṇa and recovered Sītā. Thus the only civilized communities in South India then were in Janasthāna and at Kiṣkindhā. The Pāṇḍya kingdom did not exist then, for it is not mentioned, though Rāma passed through that very country to reach Adam's Bridge.

Rāma succeeded to the throne of Ayodhyā, and was reckoned a cakravartin.[4] His brother Śatrughna conquered the Yādavas and founded the city Mathurā, where he and his two sons Subāhu and Śūrasena reigned.[5] His brother Bharata was related to the Kaikeyas in the Panjab, as his mother was a Kaikeya princess[6]; and his two sons, Takṣa and Puṣkara, had principalities at Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvatī respectively, both in the Gāndhāra country.[7] The fourth brother Lakṣmaṇa had two sons, Aṅgada and Candraketu, and to them are assigned two countries near the Himalayas. Aṅgada had the town Aṅgadīyā in Kārapathadeśa, and Candraketu had the town Candracakrā.[8] Rāma had two sons Kuśa and Lava. Kuśa succeeded him, and is said to have also founded the town Kuśasthalī on the Vindhya Hills.[9] Lava obtained the northern portion of Kosala, with the famous city Śrāvastī.[10]

Rāma was the last cakravartin of the Ayodhyā line.

[1] MBh iii, *276*, 15987; Rm iii, *25–30*.
[2] Through the air; by sea would have been the natural way.
[3] Rm iv, *13*, 1: MBh iii, *279*, 16107.
[4] MBh vii, *59*; xii, *29*, 944–55.
[5] Vā *88*, 185–6; Hv *55*, 3093–3101; *95*, 5244–5; Rm vi, *68–70*.
[6] Rm i, *18*, 13; *77*, 15–17.
[7] Vā *88*, 189–90; Bḍ iii, *63*, 190–1; Vṣ iv, *4*, 47.
[8] Vā *88*, 187–8; Bḍ iii, *63*, 188–9; Vṣ iv, *4*, 47.
[9] It is difficult to place this. It may perhaps have been north of Dakṣiṇa Kosala.
[10] Vā *88*, 198–200; Bḍ iii, *63*, 198–200; Mt *12*, 51.

After his death the Yādava king Bhīma recovered Mathurā, put an end to Śatrughna's line, and reigned there.[1] Nothing more is said of the two sub-Himalayan principalities of Lakṣmaṇa's sons, the two small Gāndhāra states of Bharata's sons disappeared among the Panjab kingdoms, and the Śrāvastī kingdom would seem to have been re-absorbed into Kosala. From this time onward the Ayodhyā and other eastern kingdoms played no important part in the political life of India, and the predominant actors were the Yādavas and Pauravas.

The Yādava king Bhīma appears to be Sātvata of the genealogies.[2] Sātvata had four sons,[3] and his territory appears to have been divided among them thus. Andhaka, called the great Bhoja, reigned at Mathurā; and his descendants, the Andhakas, comprised the Andhakas proper and also his son Kukura's descendants, known as the Kukuras, who became the chief Yādava dynasty reigning at Mathurā, which was the chief Yādava capital.[4] Another son, Devāvṛdha, and his son Babhru were famous kings, and their lineage, which was very great, reigned in Mṛttikāvatī,[5] a town in the upper region of the Narbada southward of Vatsabhūmi.[6] A third son Vṛṣṇi established a dynasty which seems to have been in Gujarat.[7] Devāvṛdha's descendants were specially called the Bhojas,[8] but this name was applied comprehensively to many branches of the Yādavas.[9] There were other Yādava kingdoms, such as Avanti, Daśārṇa, Vidarbha and Māhiṣmatī, though this last seems rather to have been the remnant of the Haihayas.

[1] Hv *95*, 5245–8. [2] Vā *95*, 45–7; Lg i, *68*, 47–9; Hv *37*, 1995–6.
[3] Mt *44*, 47–8; Vā *96*, 1–2; Hv *38*, 1999–2000.
[4] Hv *38*, 2014–30; Lg i, *69*, 32–42; Vā *96*, 115 (where read *Andhakāt* for *Satyakāt*)–142.
[5] Vā *96*, 6–17; Hv *38*, 2004–14; Mt *44*, 51–60.
[6] MBh iii, *253*, 15245–6 with Jyāmagha's story (p. 281).
[7] Vā *96*, 17 ff.; Hv *39*, 2040 (where read *Vṛṣṇer* for *Kroṣṭor*) ff.
[8] Bḍ iii, *71*, 18; Br *15*, 45; Lg i, *69*, 9; Vṣ iv, *13*, 6.
[9] MBh ii, *13*, 570, 589; v, *157*, 5351, 5366. See p. 279.

North Pañcāla continued to flourish under Sṛñjaya, Cyavana, Somadatta and Sudāsa.[1] Sudāsa raised it to its height, and it was he apparently who drove the Paurava king Saṁvaraṇa out of Hastināpura; but, when he was succeeded by Sahadeva and Somaka, the kingdom declined, and Saṁvaraṇa recovered his kingdom with Vasiṣṭha's aid. Saṁvaraṇa's son Kuru raised the Paurava kingdom to eminence. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra and pushed his rule beyond Prayāga, which means that he must have established a suzerainty over South as well as North Pañcāla, which was already defeated. His descendants were specially known as the Kurus and Kauravas, besides being Pauravas, Bhāratas and Ājamīḍhas.

A descendant of Kuru in the fifth degree, named Vasu, conquered the Yādava kingdom of Cedi and established himself there, whence he was styled Caidyoparicara. He extended his sway eastward as far as Magadha, and was reckoned a cakravartin.[2] On his death his territories were divided among his sons, the Vāsavas. The eldest Bṛhadratha obtained Magadha, built Girivraja as his capital[3] and founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty. Another son had Cedi,[4] and others the intervening realms of Karūṣa[5] and Kauśāmbī (Vatsa).[6] With the Bārhadratha dynasty Magadha for the first time takes a real part in the 'history' of India.

Some little time later the Kauravas became eminent under Pratīpa and his successor Śantanu,[7] and South Pañcāla under Brahmadatta, who was a contemporary of Pratīpa.[8] Ugrāyudha of the Dvimīḍhas conquered

[1] JRAS, 1910, pp. 48-51; and p. 21, n. [3].
[2] JRAS, 1910, pp. 11, 22, 51. MBh i, *63*, 2362; Hv *154*, 8815.
[3] Hv *117*, 6598; MBh ii, *20*, 798-800.
[4] Hv *117*, 6599-6601; Vṣ iv, *14*, 11.
[5] Vṣ iv, *14*, 11. [6] See MBh i, *63*, 2365.
[7] MBh i, *95*, 3797; v, *148*, 5053-5; Hv *32*, 1819.
[8] Hv *20*, 1047-9; MBh xii, *234*, 8603.

North Pañcāla and was killed by Bhīṣma in battle; and that line soon afterwards disappeared. Pṛṣata regained his own kingdom of North Pañcāla,[1] and also obtained South Pañcāla.[2]

Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, then rose to the highest power,[3] and extended his authority as far west as Mathurā, where the Yādava king Kaṁsa, who had married two of his daughters, acknowledged him as overlord. Kaṁsa was a tyrant and Kṛṣṇa killed him. This brought down on Kṛṣṇa and the Bhojas of Mathurā Jarāsandha's wrath, and in fear they migrated in a body to Ānarta (Gujarat), and established themselves in Dvārakā.[4]

Drupada succeeded his father Pṛṣata in Pañcāla, but Droṇa with the help of the young Pāṇḍava and Kaurava princes conquered him, and keeping North Pañcāla for himself, gave Drupada South Pañcāla.[5] The young Pāṇḍavas were then eager for fame, and Bhīma and Arjuna with Kṛṣṇa's help killed Jarāsandha, their common enemy.[6]

This brings the traditional account down to the time of the great Bhārata battle, and the kingdoms that existed then have been discussed before.[7]

We may now take stock of all the racial and political changes that had taken place. Of the Mānva kingdoms there remained three, those of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī; and the greater part of the Dekhan continued unchanged. The Saudyumna stock had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and its power was confined to the Utkalas and other tribes in the hilly tracts between Gayā and Orissa. All North and East Bengal was held by Prāgjyotiṣa, which is nowhere connected with any of these races and would seem to have been founded by an invasion of Mongolians from the north-east. All the rest of North

[1] Hv *20*, 1071-3, 1082-1112. [2] See n. [5] *infra*.
[3] Called *samrāj*, MBh ii, *13*, 571-86; Hv *91*, 4963-72.
[4] MBh ii, *13*, 594-616; Hv *91*, 4953-61; *117*, 6579-86.
[5] MBh i, *138*; *166*, 6344-54; Hv *20*, 1113-15.
[6] MBh ii, *19-23*, 930. [7] JRAS, 1908, p. 309.

India and the north-west part of the Dekhan had been dominated by the Aila stock and was held thus:—

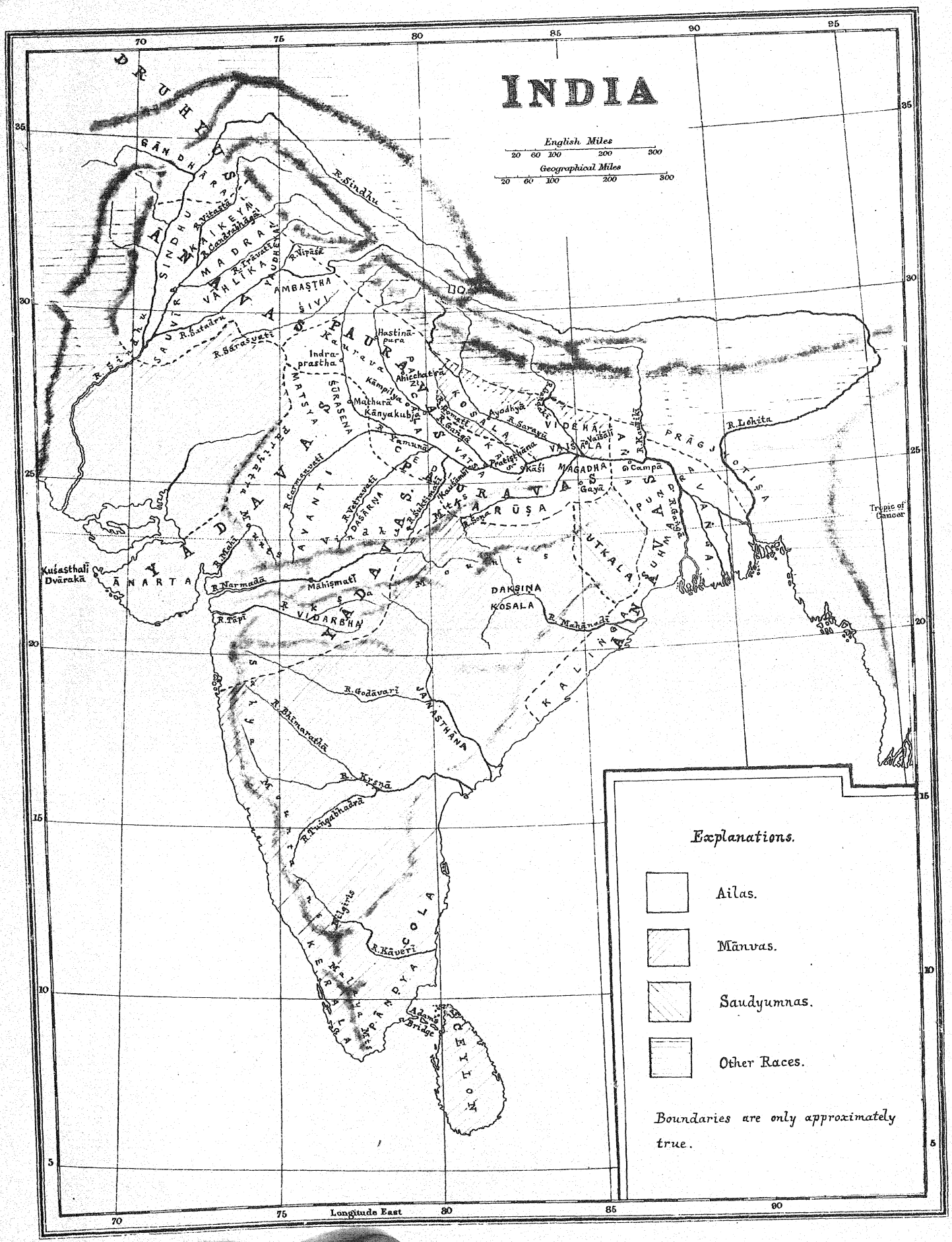
The Pauravas ruled the whole of the Ganges and Jumna valley from the Siwalik Hills to Magadha, except Śūrasena (which was Yādava) and Kāśi; namely, the kingdoms of Hastināpura, Pañcāla, Cedi, Vatsa, Karūṣa and Magadha. Kāśi was an Aila realm of earlier foundation (p. 273).

The Yādavas held all the country between the Rajputana desert and a line drawn roughly from Bombay to the south-east of Berar and then north to the River Ken (Śuktimatī), including Śūrasena but excluding Cedi and Vatsa (which however had belonged to them before the Paurava Vasu conquered them).

The Ānavas held all the Panjab west of Kurukṣetra, and all East Behar, Bengal proper and Orissa. The Druhyus held the Gāndhāra realm and the north-west frontier of the Panjab, and are said to have spread out into kingdoms beyond. The Turvasu line had failed, except that the Pāṇḍya, Cola and Kerala royal families in the extreme south claimed descent from it, or rather from Duṣyanta, who had been adopted into it (p. 282).[1]

All the occurrences that have been set out are stated in tradition, and the chief authorities for every statement have been cited. Now, whatever doubt may attach to the arrangement of this account and the sequence in which the events have been narrated, yet two things are not open to such doubt, namely, the initial position and the ultimate position; and tradition is definite about them, that is (1) that the Aila race began with Purūravas at Allahabad, and (2) that ultimately it dominated all the countries of North India (except the three kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī) and the north-west of the Dekhan, and that all the reigning families therein were Aila. The ultimate position is shown in the annexed map, where boundaries can of course be only regarded as approximate.

[1] Mt *48*, 4-5; Vā *99*, 5-6; Hv *32*, 1835-6.


INDIA
English Miles
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GĀNDHĀRA
SINDHUSAUVĪRA
MADRA
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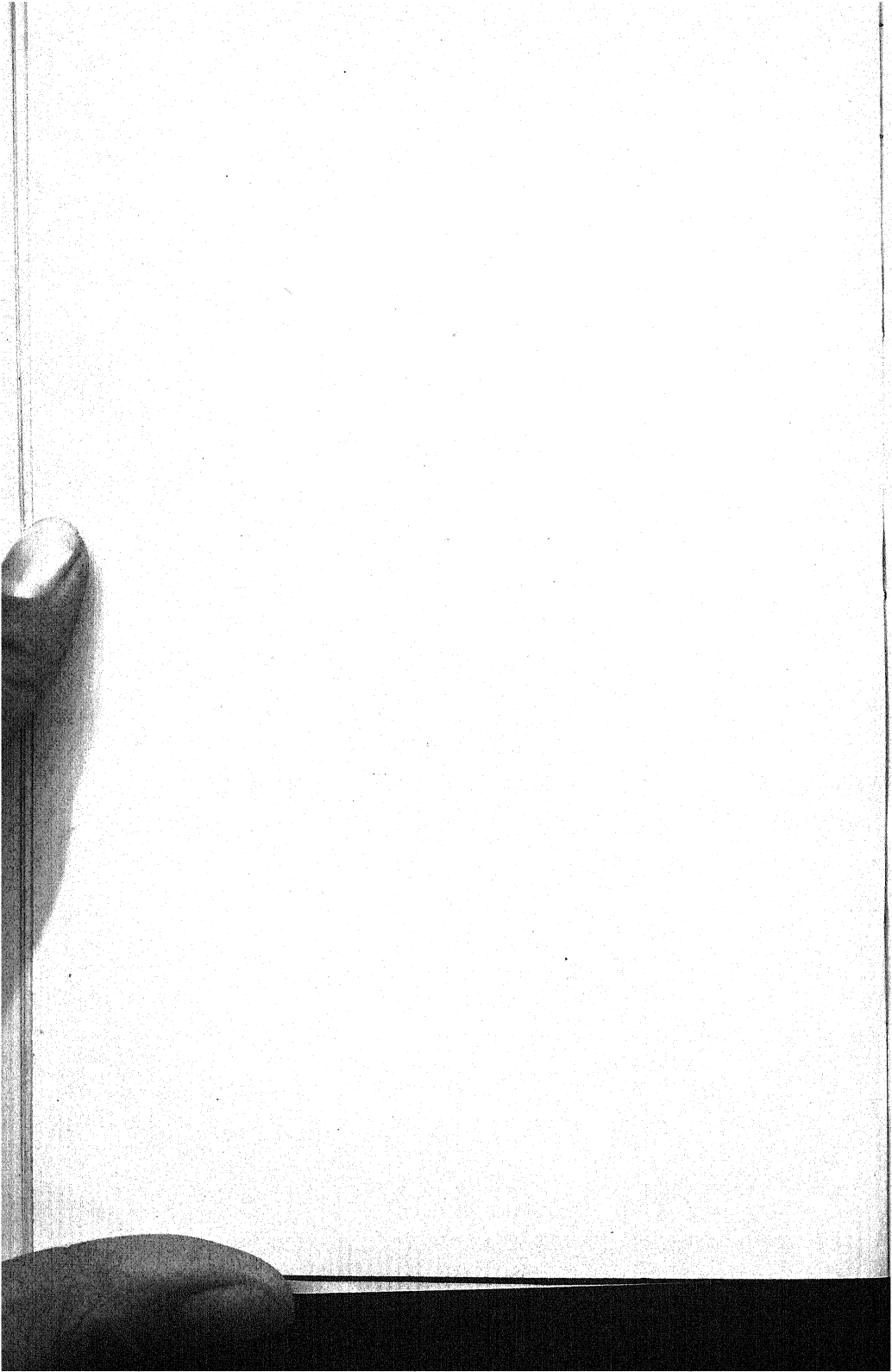
AMBAṢṬHA
ŚIVI
KAIKEYA
KURU
PAURAVA
PĀÑCĀLA
KOSALA
VIDEHA
VAJJALA
MAGADHA
ANGA
PRĀGJYOTIṢA
PUṆḌRA
SUHMA
VAṄGA
KALIṄGA
UTKALA
ĀNARTA
MĀLAVA
ĀBHĪRA
ARBUDA
VIDARBHA
ṚKṢA
VINDHYA Mountains
DAKṢIṆA KOSALA
ASMAKA
ASITA
ŚAIVYA
MEKALA
PULINDA
CHOLA
PĀṆḌYA
KERALAPUTRA
CEYLON
Adam's Bridge
R. Sindhu
R. Vitastā
R. Candrabhāgā
R. Irāvatī
R. Vipāśā
R. Śatadru
R. Sarasvatī
R. Dṛṣadvatī
Kurukṣetra
Hastinā-pura
Indra-prastha
Ahichatrā
Kāmpilya
Mathurā
Kāñyakubja
R. Yamunā
R. Gaṅgā
Ayodhyā
R. Sarayū
R. Kauśikī
Vaiśālī
R. Lohita
Pratiṣṭhāna
Kāśi
Campā
Gayā
R. Carmaṇvatī
R. Vetravatī
R. Śiprā
Ujjayinī
R. Śoṇa
R. Narmadā
Māhiṣmatī
R. Tāpī
R. Godāvarī
JANASTHĀNA
R. Bhīmarathī
R. Kṛṣṇā
R. Tuṅgabhadrā
R. Kāverī
Kuśasthalī Dvārakā
Tropic of Cancer
Longitude East
70 75 80 85 90 95
35 30 25 20 15 10 5
Explanations.
Ailas.
Mānvas.
Saudyumnas.
Other Races.
Boundaries are only approximately true.



The broad result then stands out clear, that the Aila stock began with Purūravas in a small principality at Allahabad, and dominated the whole of North India down to Vidarbha,[1] with the exception of the three Mānva countries of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī; and those countries had been profoundly influenced by Aila thought and culture. Now this result is precisely what is known as the Aryan occupation of India, so that what is called the Aryan race is what Indian tradition calls the Aila or Lunar race; that is, Aila = Aryan. The Saudyumna stock without doubt represents a distinct race, but I am not prepared to suggest what it should be called ethnologically.[2] The Mānva stock, which held all the rest of India with the three kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī, would naturally appear to declare itself Dravidian.[3]

It will thus be seen that Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aryan invasion of India from the north-west, nor of any gradual advance of the Aryans from thence eastwards. It makes the Aryan power begin at Allahabad and spread its dominion thence in all directions except over Kosala, Videha and Vaiśālī; and tradition even says there was an Aryan outflow of the Druhyus through the north-west into Afghanistan and beyond (p. 277).

Yet tradition does not say the Ailas or Aryans originated in India, but distinctly suggests that they came from outside. The legends and myths about the progenitor Purūravas Aila all connect him with the middle Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region. He was closely associated with the Gandharvas. His wife Urvaśī was a Gandharvī.[4] The regions he frequented were the Rivers

[1] The five races descended from Yayāti overspread the entire earth; Vā *93*, 103; Bḍ iii, *68*, 105–6; Hv *30*, 1619–20.

[2] See further, p. 293, n. [2].

[3] For this reason I dislike the term *Mānva*, but can think of none better.

[4] Vā *91*, 9; Bḍ iii, *66*, 9; Hv *26*, 1374.

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[4] Vā *91*, 9; Bḍ iii, *66*, 9; Hv *26*, 1374.

Mandākinī and Alakā, the Caitraratha and Nandana forests, the mountains Gandhamādana and Meru, and the country of the Northern Kurus.[1] The Gandharvas are assigned to those regions. From them he obtained sacrificial fire, he himself ultimately became a Gandharva, and his sons were known among them.[2] Further, Purūravas is said in some accounts to have been born in the northern country Ilāvṛta, which was so named after his parent Ilă.[3]

Now these tales are mythical, and tradition becomes mythical when it reaches back to its utmost limits; yet such myths do not spring from nothing, but must have had some basis. They certainly suggest that Purūravas' origin was in that north region. This inference is supported by the fact that that region, the middle region in and beyond the Himalayas, has always been the sacred and ancient land of the Indians. The north-west frontier had no ancient associations or memories of any kind, and never had any sanctity. This is a remarkable fact of the first importance. All ancient Indian belief was bound up with that middle region, and it was thither that rishis and kings turned their steps when they sought the ancient inspiration—never to the north-west.[4]

Tradition and myth therefore concur in suggesting that Purūravas came originally from beyond the middle Himalayan region; that is, that the Aila or Āryan race entered India from that direction. Myth names the country Ilāvṛta in the far north as the land from which the race came when it entered India. Purūravas' name Aila occurs in the Rigveda (x, *95*, 7, 18) and is therefore

[1] Vā *91*, 5-8; Br *10*, 5-8; Hv *26*, 1367-70.

[2] Vā *91*, 40-8, 51; Hv *26*, 1402-10; Br *10*, 11; Ag *273*, 14.

[3] So Mt *11*, 43-66; *12*, 12-15: Pd v, *8*, 82-105, 117-120. Bd iii, *60*, 23-8, adopts the story partially and ineptly; and Vā *85*, 25-8 similarly, with the first part lost.

[4] See Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, ii, pp. 323-39, where all the passages agree with this view, except the two quotations about Kashmir.

very ancient—more ancient than the stories about Ila and Ilā.[1] Some importance may therefore be attached to the myth which connects it with the first part of the word Ilāvṛta; and the fables about Ilă and Ilā or Iḍā were probably devised in later times to explain the name Aila.[2] Such explanatory stories are common in Sanskrit literature, but the connexion between Aila and Ilāvṛta would not have suggested itself naturally, is surprising and may therefore be a truly ancient relic.

A few words may be said about what tradition suggests regarding the Vedic age. To arrange the reputed authors of the hymns chronologically, as far as possible, with the aid of tradition is a large and arduous task that has yet to be done; still, my examination of tradition has incidentally touched many of them, and I offer a few remarks provisionally. Various hymns are attributed to persons who lived in the earliest ages, but it is with Viśvāmitra's time that we enter definitely on the Vedic period. Most of the reputed authors who are mentioned in tradition are later than his time, and the list reaches down to Devāpi (the eldest brother of king Śantanu)[3] who lived about half a century before Vyāsa. Hence the period of the hymns did not close till just before Vyāsa's time, and it would follow that he not only arranged them as tradition says, but must have also compiled them into the Rigvedic canon. It could have been only a rishi of commanding ability, knowledge and eminence, who could have brought into one compilation

[1] See JRAS, 1913, p. 412.

[2] It may be mentioned that Sudyumna, into whom Ilā was turned, is said to have been a *kimpuruṣa* and finally departed to Ilāvṛta; Mt *12*, 16, 19; Pd v, *8*, 121, 124; Lg i, *65*, 22. The kimpuruṣas were also placed in that same north region. Myth thus connected the Saudyumna stock also with that land. Further, it is said in Mt *12*, 18 and Pd v, *8*, 123, that the Kurus, that is, the Northern Kurus, belonged to or were subject to that stock. These allusions suggest that that stock, which held East India, came also originally from the north.

[3] Nirukta ii, 10; Bṛhadd. vii, 156; MBh v, *148*, 5054–5.

all the hymns composed by the different and sometimes rival brahmanical families and also a large quantity of hymns of miscellaneous authorship; and have established that compilation as a canon accepted unquestionably by all subsequent times. No rishi is mentioned who could have accomplished that except Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa.

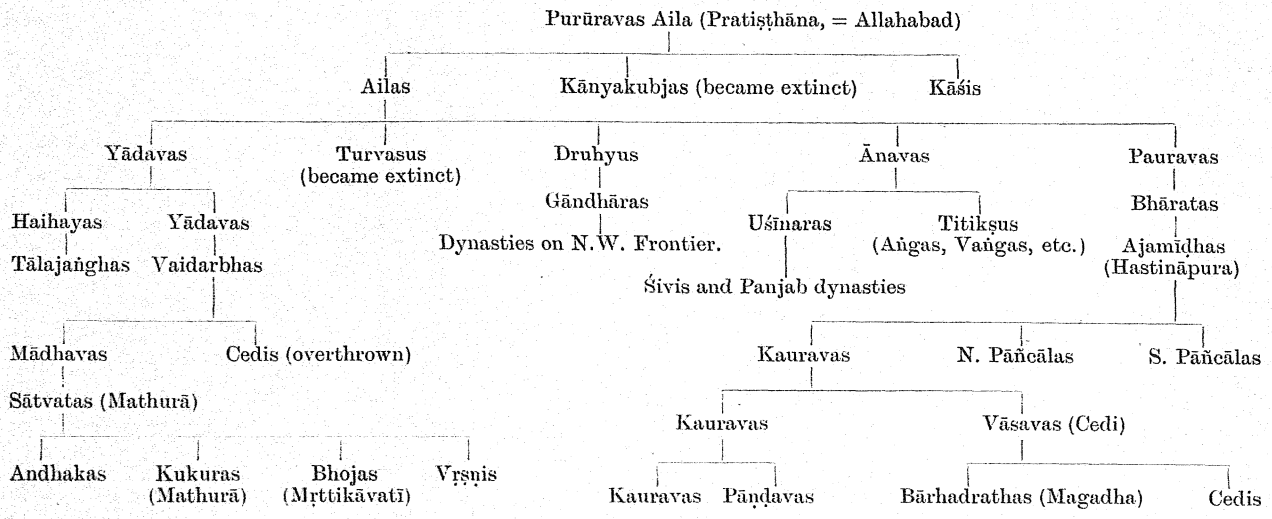
If we may estimate the date of the great Bhārata battle as 1000 B.C. approximately, Devāpi would be placed about a century earlier. If further we form a chronological estimate from the genealogical table in JRAS, 1910, pp. 26–9 (and we have no other basis to work upon), Viśvāmitra may be placed, at a very moderate computation, about seven centuries earlier than the battle. Hence without attempting precision the Vedic age may be estimated as 1700 to 1100 B.C. approximately, from tradition.

It may be objected that the language of the hymns betrays no marked differences commensurate with so long a period, and to this point the following suggestion may be offered with all deference to Vedic scholars. It would, I imagine, be generally conceded that no sacred literature attains to verbal veneration until it has been definitely formed into a canon and finally closed; before that it is no doubt sacred, but it has not acquired rigid sanctity. Hymns handed down orally during the centuries before the formation of the canon could hardly escape being gradually and imperceptibly modified in their diction as the language gradually changed, so that, when they were at last compiled into the canon, their language would be rather that of the age when the canon was formed than that of the ages when they were composed. If this suggestion be reasonable, it would explain why there is no very marked difference in the language of the hymns, though they manifestly purport to have been composed during a very long period.

This presentation of what Indian tradition says about the earliest times differs greatly from what scholars have deduced from a study of the Veda and the Vedic literature; yet may I in conclusion offer, as a plea for a fair consideration of it, this question: Can a complete account be constructed if we put aside the copious tradition left by the kṣatriyas, who played the chief part in establishing the Aryan dominion by their conquests?

In order to show at a glance the development of the Aila (or Lunar) race a concise genealogical table is added on the next page. It exhibits the principal ruling families and dynasties of the Ailas, and does not deal with the populace in the countries and capitals mentioned.

## AILA RACE


Purūravas Aila (Pratiṣṭhāna, = Allahabad)
Ailas
Kānyakubjas (became extinct)
Kāśis
Yādavas
Turvasus (became extinct)
Druhyus
Ānavas
Pauravas
Haihayas
Yādavas
Gāndhāras
Uśīnaras
Titikṣus (Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, etc.)
Bhāratas
Tālajaṅghas
Vaidarbhas
Dynasties on N.W. Frontier.
Śivis and Panjab dynasties
Ajamīḍhas (Hastināpura)
Mādhavas
Cedis (overthrown)
Kauravas
N. Pāñcālas
S. Pāñcālas
Sātvatas (Mathurā)
Kauravas
Vāsavas (Cedi)
Andhakas
Kukuras (Mathurā)
Bhojas (Mṛttikāvatī)
Vṛṣṇis
Kauravas
Pāṇḍavas
Bārhadrathas (Magadha)
Cedis

## VIII

# GLEANINGS FROM SHABARA

By Colonel GEORGE A. JACOB, Indian Army.

IT is passing strange that this ancient and interesting author, whose exposition of the Mīmāṃsā sūtras is the oldest now extant, should be so much neglected by modern students of Sanskrit. Yet one would suppose that a writer who offered an interpretation of Vedic ritual, and who preceded Sāyaṇa by nearly twelve centuries, would never fail to receive attention from students of the most ancient literature of India. But there are others to whom a good knowledge of Mīmāṃsā is of importance. It is no exaggeration to say that, without that knowledge, it would be impossible rightly to comprehend the larger treatises on Vedānta—notably those of the very learned Appaya Dīkṣita, in which very lengthy disquisitions on Mīmāṃsā topics abound — or even Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamanjarī*.

Quotations from Śabara are found in all such works though not to the same extent as those from the famous Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila, who probably flourished in the seventh century of our era.[1] Dr. Gangānāth Jhā, of Allāhabād, has done great service by his translations of those very abstruse works the *Ślokavārtika* and *Tantravārtika*, which, together with his very helpful work entitled "The Prābhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā", which he prepared as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Letters, have brought a valuable body of Mīmāṃsā lore within reach of even those unacquainted with Sanskrit.

I have recently prepared for my own use a somewhat full Index to the first six Books of Śabara's bhāṣya, and

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv, p. 613.

now offer a few items from it as samples of the interesting matter to be found there. There are one or two references to Mahādeo Moreśvara Kunte's unfinished work entitled *Ṣaḍdarśanacintanikā*. It contains a translation of the sūtras of the first five books of Jaimini's treatise and of part of the sixth book. His renderings are not very lucid, but there is a good deal of useful information in the notes; and, most important of all, to my mind, he gives references to a large number of the Vedic passages explained in the bhāṣya. The *Vedic Index* occasionally mentioned is, of course, that compiled by Professor A. A. Macdonell and Dr. A. B. Keith, and published in 1912. The *Vedic Concordance* is the gigantic work by Professor Bloomfield, which forms vol. x of the Harvard Oriental Series.

All but the last of the nyāyas quoted below are included in the latest editions of my *Popular Sanskrit Maxims*, but the references now given to Śabara's bhāṣya are new.

1. **अवयुत्यवाद ॥** This uncommon technical term (from the root **यु** "to separate") is found under sūtras 3. 7. 32–5, where Kunte defines it as "a particular statement which narrows the application of a general statement". In the *adhikaraṇa* comprised by those four sūtras an inquiry is made as to whether the Vedic declaration **सौम्यस्याध्वरस्य यज्ञक्रतोः सप्तदशर्त्विजः**, "the sacrificial rites of a Soma sacrifice have [or require] seventeen priests," is an example of **अवयुत्यवाद**, or whether it is merely a **परिसंख्याविधि**, that is, an injunction limiting the number of priests, without in any way discriminating between them. The *pūrvapakṣa* assigns it to the former, but that view is shown to be untenable. In the *Bhāmatī*, under *Vedānta-sūtra* 1. 1. 23, we find the expression **अवयुत्यानुवाद**, which in the *Kalpataru* (a commentary on *Bhāmatī*) appears as **अवयुत्यवाद**, and is defined as **एकदेशस्य विभज्य कथनम्**.

Since the number of priests for a Soma sacrifice is limited to *sixteen*, how is it that the above passage provides for *seventeen*? This point is dealt with in sūtras 36–8, where, after disposing of the suggestion that the *Sadasya* is the seventeenth, it is decided that the *Svāmī*, or patron for whom the sacrifice is offered, is the additional man.

Professor Eggeling's note on *Śatap. Brāh.* x. 1. 4. 19, which forbids the employment of a seventeenth priest, is of interest: "This prohibition is probably directed against the Kaushitakins, who recognize a seventeenth priest, the Sadasya, who seems to have taken no other part in the sacrificial performance except sitting in the Sadas as the permanent custodian thereof."

2. **इन्द्रवाङ्** ॥ In the bhāṣya on sūtras 6. 2. 16–18 there is a discussion as to whether in everyday life, as in the performance of religious rites, everything commenced must of necessity be carried to completion. The primâ facie view is that it is as imperative in the former as it is known to be in the latter, since both alike have their codes of laws which prescribe penalties for those who fail. The following, for example, is laid down for artificers: **आरे भग्ने इन्द्रवाङ्बद्धव्यः पायसं च ब्राह्मणो भोजयितव्यः** which Kunte renders thus: "In the case of a spoke being broken, a flag is to be hoisted, and a Brāhman is to be fed with a milk-preparation." Now, apart from the absurdity of hoisting a flag as a remedy for a damaged (probably *bent*, rather than *broken*) spoke, one would like to know the authority for attaching such a meaning to **इन्द्रवाङ्**, since it is not to be found in the lexicons and is not explained in the commentaries. In the Marāṭhī dictionary, however, we find **इन्द्रबाही**, which Molesworth defines as "a common term for the central and the two side-slips which lie along a door". What these slips are I cannot say, but they would seem to be intended to strengthen or bind together the component parts of a door; and it is

just such a sense as this that is required for **इन्द्रवाज** if it is to be worthy of its name, and useful for straightening a bent spoke or splicing a split one.

3. **उत्ताना वै देवगवा वहन्ति ॥** This curious statement—"the cows of the gods walk on their backs"—is *Āpast. Śrautasūtra*, xi, 7. 6, and is quoted by Śabara (under sūtra 1. 3. 30) in support of the argument of an objector that words are used in the Veda in a different sense from that attached to them in common life. In this case it is urged that *go* cannot possibly mean "cow". The Siddhāntin of course rejects this view, and Kumārila attempts to remove the difficulty by suggesting (*Tantravārtika*, p. 245) that possibly the cows are on the *earth*, and that when in its revolution it passes over the abode of the gods, the cows appear to be walking upside down! One wonders why he did not reverse this and place the spectators on the earth and the cows in heaven, so as to justify the expression "the cows of the gods".

4. **उत्सूचिक ॥** Readers of the *Mahābhāṣya* will remember the simpler form of this word in the sentence **यो ह्युत्सूत्रं कथयेन्नादो गृह्येत**, which Dr. Kielhorn[1] rendered "If anybody (in interpreting a rule) should say anything that is *not contained in the sūtra*, such a statement would not be accepted". The derivative employed by Śabara is found under sūtra 6. 8. 36, whilst Vācaspati Miśra twice uses **उत्सूच** in his comment on *Yogabhāṣya*, iv, 15. Besides the above I know of no examples of the word, in either form, in philosophical writings.

5. **उपदंशन, उपदंशित ॥** These words are clearly used by Śabara under sūtra 6. 8. 35 in the sense of "indication" and "indicated" respectively; but it is not easy to deduce that meaning from **दंश्** "to bite". In the *Dhātupāṭha*, xxxiii, 91, there is a root **दंशि** "to speak", or "shine", but perhaps the more probable source of the two words is

[1] JRAS. 1908, p. 499, on Māgha, ii, 112.

the Prākṛit root *daṇse*, "to show," for which see Monier-Williams, s.v. **दंश्**.

The passage in which the words occur forms part of a lengthy discussion (under sūtras 6. 8. 30–42) as to the meaning of the word **पशु** in the sentence **यो दीक्षितो यदग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभते** (TS. vi, 1. 11. 6), the decision being that **छाग** "a goat" is intended. The sentence with which we are concerned is the following: **छागोपकरणमस्योपदंशितं यदुपदंशने पशुशब्दस्छागाभिप्राय इति गम्यते। यथा युगवरत्वे उपदंशिते ईषाचक्रादिसन्निधाने चेद्वत्समानयेत्युच्यते तदा यानात्वमधिकृत्य ब्रूत इति गम्यते न तु विदेवनात्वमिति॥**

6. **जामि॥** Under sūtra 2. 2. 9 Śabara quotes and discusses the mantra (TS. 2. 6. 6. 4) **जामि वा एतद्यज्ञस्य क्रियते यदन्वञ्चौ पुरोडाशौ, उपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजत्यजामित्वाय** "the fault of repetition [or, of too close a connexion] is brought upon a sacrifice when two cakes are offered in succession; he therefore offers the low-voiced oblation in between them, in order to avoid that fault". It is strange that here, as well as in his bhāṣya on a similar passage in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 47, Sāyaṇa should have taken this word to be the equivalent of **आलस्य**, and that Dr. Haug, following him, rendered it "laziness". One of the three meanings assigned to it in *Nirukta*, iv, 20, is **पुनरुक्त**, and in his translation of *Śatap. Brāhmaṇa*, 1. 3. 2. 8 and 1. 6. 3. 27, Professor Eggeling rendered it "(the fault of) a repetition" and "(the fault of) sameness", a meaning clearly required by the context. It is a pity, therefore, that the compilers of the *Vedic Index* omitted that sense of the word. It may be added that the word **जामिता** is found in *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka*, i, 161, where the commentator explains it by **पर्यायता**, one meaning of which is "repetition".

Since the only example of the verb **भिषज्** given in the lexicons is that of ṚV. viii, 79. 2 (quoted by them as viii, 68. 2), namely **भिषक्ति विश्वं यत्तुरम्** "all that is sick

he medicines" (Griffith), it may be of interest to note that, in the discussion on the Taittirīya mantra, Śabara twice uses this verb in the sense of "to remedy". He says: **आग्नेयाग्नीषोमीययोर्निरन्तरं क्रियमाणयोर्जामितादोष उक्तस्तं भिषजितुमुपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजतीति विहितम्**. Then, a little further on, **कथं तेन भिषजिष्यते**.

7. **तुम्ब** ॥ As the "nave" of a wheel this word is not found in Sanskrit lexicons; but Molesworth includes it, in that sense, under **तुंबा**. It is found in the bhāṣya (i, 4. 20) in the sentence **शोभनमस्य चक्रस्य नेमितुम्बारम्**.

8. **नैचाशाख** ॥ Various meanings have been assigned to this word,[1] which is found only in ṚV. iii, 53. 14, a mantra commencing with the words **किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावः** ॥ According to Śabara (1. 2. 39) it is the name of a *city*. He says: **कीकटा नाम जनपदाः। नैचाशाखं नगरं प्रमङ्गदो** (*sic*) **राजा** ॥ So, too, Kumārila, **प्रमगन्दस्य कीकटाधिपतेर्यद्वेदो धनं तदस्माकं नैचाशाखं नगरमाभर**. On p. 4 of his introduction to the Ṛigveda, Sāyaṇa quotes Śabara's explanation, as above; but in the interpretation of the mantra he makes *naicāśākha* an epithet of **वेदस्**.

9. **परिभोजनीय** ॥ This word is new to me and is not found in the dictionaries. It is used by Śabara (3. 8. 32) as an epithet of **बर्हिस्** in the sense of **असंस्कृत** "unconsecrated"—or possibly as itself the name of some kind of grass—and used for making the **पवित्र**. Mādhava explains it thus: **पवित्रनिष्पत्तिरपि शास्त्रीयलवनादिसंस्काररहितैः परिभोजनीयनामकैर्दर्भैः सम्पादनीया**. This is confirmed by the *Śāstradīpikā*, **असंस्कृतादेव** [**बर्हिषः**] **पवित्रादि कार्यम्**.

10. **पवित्र** ॥ Under the same sūtra as the above we find the following in connexion with the Darśapūrṇamāsa ceremonial: **समावप्रच्छिन्नाग्रौ दर्भौ प्रादेशमात्रौ पवित्रे करोति** "Of two blades of darbha grass, of equal length, viz. each a span long, and with the points unbroken, he makes two *pavitras*". This description of the *pavitra* at once

[1] See *Vedic Index* under this and *Pramaganda*.

differentiates it from that of the Ṛigveda, which, according to the *Vedic Index*, was a sieve made of sheep's wool. In his translation of *Śatap. Brāh.* i. 1. 3, Professor Eggeling calls the above "strainers", "purifiers", and "clarifiers". In the original of para. 3 we read **ताभ्यामेताः प्रोक्षणीरुत्पूय ताभिः प्रोक्षति**, which the Professor renders "having then strained the sprinkling water with those two (strainers), he sprinkles with it", and adds in a footnote, "He pours water into the Agnihotra ladle (in which some of the awn of the rice remains), and after cleaning it with the two strainers he sprinkles with it." Dr. Gangānātha Jhā[1] defines the *pavitra* as "a blade of kuśa cut into two equal pieces, and consecrated with a mantra; used for sprinkling water". The use of the word **उत्पूय**, however, in the Brāhmaṇa, and of **उत्पुनाति** in *Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra*, 2. 3. 33 (**हविर्गृहणामपः क्षत्वा ताभ्यां [पवित्राभ्यां] उत्पुनाति**), makes it clear that the *pavitras* were not *mere* sprinklers of water, the idea of *purifying* being inseparable from the word.

11. **पृष्ठाकोट ॥** Śabara probably coined this word, which is said to mean "twisting of the back" in turning from side to side in order to examine and explain various objects to a pupil. It occurs under sūtra 2. 1. 32, and is explained by Kumārila thus: **धरणिगतानेकद्रव्यप्रत्येकनिरीक्षणे पुनः पुनः पृष्ठं कुटिलीक्रियत इति तत्सामान्येन पृष्ठाकोटाभिधानम्.**

12. **प्रति प्रधानं गुणा आवर्तनीयः**[2] **॥** This maxim is found twice in the bhāṣya; under sūtra 3. 3. 14 in the words **उपस्थेयभेदात्प्रति प्रधानमावर्तन्ते गुणाः**, and under 3. 8. 12 in the sentence **प्रधानसन्निधौ हि गुणः शिष्यमाणः प्रति प्रधानमुपदिष्टो भवति.**

13. **प्रतिसमानी ॥** The abridged St. Petersburg lexicon alone shows the root **नी** with these three upasargas, and quotes *Āpast. Śrauta*, vii, 14. 8, as an example. Śabara

[1] *Prābhākar Mīmāṃsā*, p. 269.

[2] See *Third Handful of Popular Maxims* (2nd ed., 1911).

(5. 1. 7) gives us two more, perhaps from some Kalpasūtra: **तथा "चतुर्थोत्तमयोः प्रतिसमानयति" इत्युक्ते सति "अतिहायेडो बर्हिः प्रतिसमानयति" इत्युच्यते.**

14 **प्रत्याम्ना ॥** As used by Jaimini in sūtra 6. 4. 30 (**स प्रत्यामनेत् स्थानात्**) this verb clearly means "to take the place of", "to be substituted for", something else, a sense not found in our dictionaries. In expounding the sūtra Śabara employs the noun **प्रत्याम्नाय** as the equivalent of **प्रतिनिधि**, a meaning assigned to it in the *Vācaspatyam*. This is confirmed by the *Jaiminisūtravritti* as follows: **अयं यागो दर्शप्रतिनिधिरूप उत तदङ्गमिति संशये पूर्वपक्षमाह स इति। स पञ्चशरावयागः प्रत्यामनेत् प्रतिनिधिः तत्स्थानात्.** If I, who am not a Vedic scholar, may presume to differ from one so learned as Dr. Garbe, I would suggest that "substitute", and not "corollary", is the meaning of **प्रत्याम्नाय** throughout the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*.

15. **प्राक्रमिक ॥** As the only recorded example of this very significant word is from some unspecified commentary on Gautama's *Dharmaśāstra*, I offer one from Śabara. Under sūtra 4. 3. 24 it is argued that a man ought to finish any sacrificial act which he has commenced, even though he has ceased to desire the advantage to be derived from it. But why? **शिष्टाविगर्हणाय उपक्रम्यापरिसमापयतः। तदनन्तरमेवैनं शिष्टा विगर्हयेयुः प्राक्रमिको ऽयं कापुरुष इति वदन्तः ॥**

16. **बाणवन्तः परिधयः ॥** This expression, found near the end of the bhāṣya on 2. 1. 12, has puzzled me exceedingly. The *paridhis*, as Dr. Jhā[1] tells us, are three logs of wood placed on the north, west, and south sides of the altar; and Professor Eggeling calls them "enclosing-sticks". Six kinds of wood are named by Kātyāyana (ii, 8. 1), of which the *paridhis* may be made, but Bāṇa is not one of them. In *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 3. 8. 2, we have the word **बाणवन्तौ** as an epithet of **श्रुती** (understood), and Śankara

[1] *Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā*, p. 257.

explains **वाण** as a piece of bamboo affixed to the point of an arrow. This meaning may be conjectural, but in any case it would be unsuitable here. Can any one enlighten us?

17. **भूतं भव्यायोपदिश्यते ॥** This saying (explained in my *Maxims*) is found under sūtras 2. 1. 4; 3. 4. 40; 4. 1. 18; 4. 2. 10; 6. 1. 1. It probably originated with Śabara.

18. **भ्रष्टावसरन्याय ॥** This, too, is found in the bhāṣya on 3. 5. 46 in the following words: **भ्रष्टे चावसरे ऽनुष्ठीयमानो यजमानस्य विगुणः स्यात् । न च विगुणः कथंचिदर्थं साधयेत्.** This reminds us of a passage in *Mahābhāṣya* 1. 2. 64 (vārt. 43) which I have quoted under the nyāya **अकाले क्लृतमक्लृतं स्यात्** in the second edition of part iii of the *Maxims*.

19. **मायु ॥** Śabara (6. 8. 28) quotes TS. 3. 1. 4. 3, viz. **यत्पशुर्मायुमक्लृतोरो वा पङ्क्तिराहते अग्निर्मा तस्मादेनसो विश्वान्मोचयत्वंहसः ॥** In the Ṛigveda, according to the *Vedic Index*, "*Māyu* denotes the 'lowing' of a cow and the 'bleating' of a sheep or goat," but here it means *a cry of pain* proceeding from an animal that is being killed at a sacrifice, and which necessitates the **सञ्ज्ञप्तहोम**. Here is Sāyaṇa's comment on the passage. After quoting *Āpast. Śrautasūtra*, vii. 17. 3, **यत्पशुर्मायुमक्लृतेति सञ्ज्ञप्ते सञ्ज्ञप्तहोमं जुहोति**, he says: **अयं पशुर्मारणवेलायां मायुं दुःखहेतुकशब्दमकरुताथवा यतस्ततश्चाल्यमानैः पादैरुरुस्ताडयति तत्र यदेनो निष्पन्नं तस्मादेनसो ऽग्निर्मा मोचयतु ।**

Although the Śrautasūtra quoted above seems to state that the **सञ्ज्ञप्तहोम** is to be offered if the animal raises a cry of pain, etc., yet the commentator declares that the offering is *not* made on that account, but simply on account of the killing! Here are his words: **सञ्ज्ञप्तिमात्रनिमित्तो होमो न तु मान्त्रवर्णिकमायुकरणादिनिमित्तस्तेन नित्य इति ज्ञापयितुमुक्तं सञ्ज्ञप्ते सञ्ज्ञप्तहोममिति.**

20. **यावद्वचनं वाचनिकम् ॥** This nyāya is found four times in the bhāṣya, namely in 3. 5. 44; 5. 3. 12; 5. 4. 11

and 18. The meaning seems to be, "It expresses just what is stated, and nothing more." For other examples see the second edition of part ii of the *Maxims*.

21. **वक्तारो भवन्ति ॥** Many of our readers will doubtless recall with pleasure Dr. Kielhorn's very interesting exposition[1] of this "somewhat peculiar phrase" which is found four times in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It has been variously interpreted, but is really the equivalent of **वदन्ति** "they say". I think, however, that it seems, in some cases, to imply a feeling of contempt for the persons in question as being mere *chatterers* whose opinion was of little value. A point of great interest brought out by Dr. Kielhorn is the fact that the same phrase is found in one of the Jātakas as *vattāro honti*, a form of expression which, as we are told in a footnote, is of frequent occurrence in some Pāli works. Dr. Kielhorn's comments on this coincidence deserve attention. Śabara, no doubt, took it from Patanjali, and we find it as **वक्तारो भवन्ति** under sūtras 3. 1. 2 and 4. 2. 8; and as **भवन्ति वक्तारः** under sūtras 1. 4. 10 and 11. Śabara was a keen grammarian, and a firm believer in the accuracy of Pāṇini. Under sūtra 10. 8. 4 there is an interesting passage in which he gives his opinion as to the relative credibility of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, which is quoted by Vācaspati Miśra in *Bhāmatī*, 3. 3. 26.

22. **शाक्यानामयनम् ॥** So Śabara under sūtra 3. 8. 42; and the same is found in the Benares edition of *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, xxiv, 176, where the commentary says: **शाक्यानामयनमिति संज्ञा सत्रस्य । . . . तत्र तरसमयाः पुरोडाशा भवन्ति.** But in *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, xxv, 7. 1, it is called **शाक्त्यानां सत्रम्**, and in the next sūtra it is stated that the Śāktya Gaurivīti, who offered a puroḍāśa of meat, attained universal prosperity by means of that sacrificial session at the River Yavyāvatī. The *Āpast. Śrauta*, too, has the

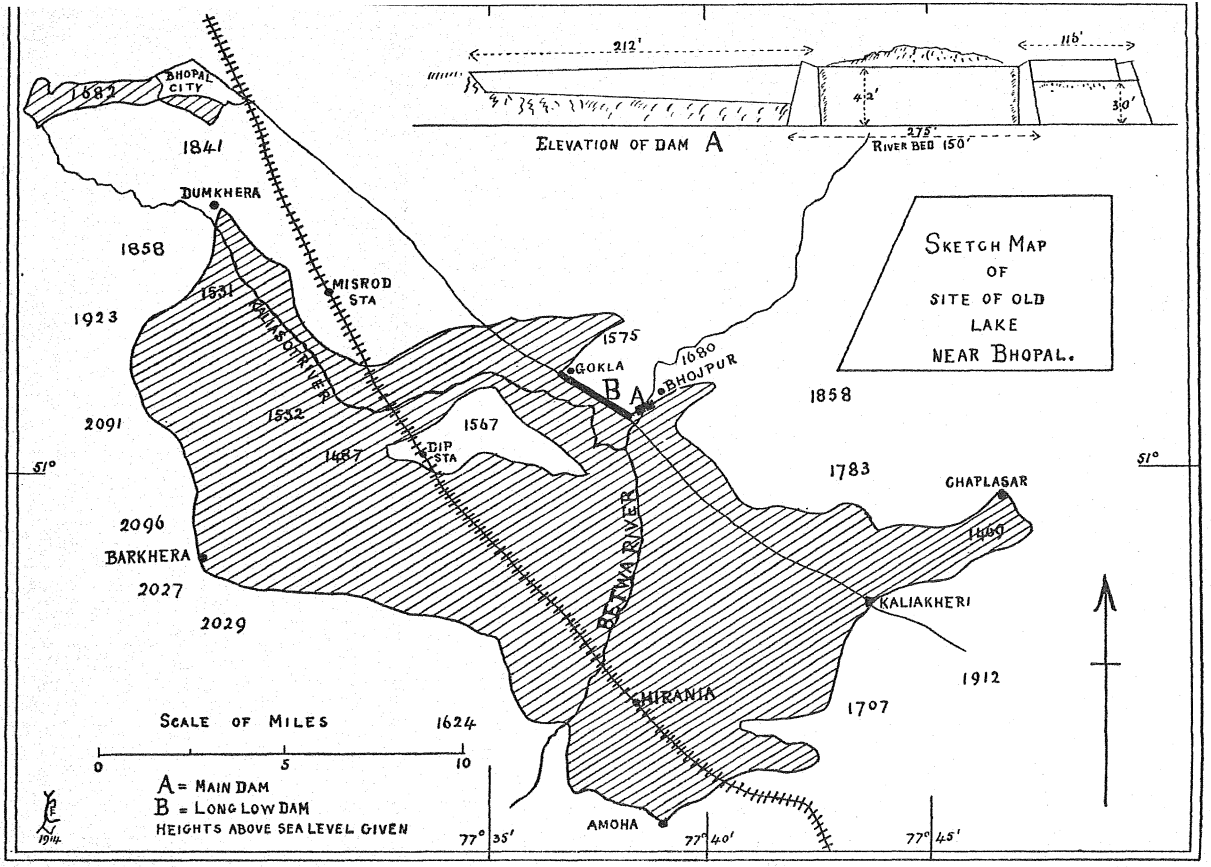
[1] In JRAS. 1898, p. 19.

reading **शात्यानां**, and it is from sūtras 23. 11. 12 and 13 that Śabara quotes the passage **संस्थिते संस्थितेऽहनि**, which tells how the meat for the sacrificial cakes was obtained. These two sūtras, alas! are not quoted in Dr. Bloomfield's Concordance, and I spent a lot of time in hunting for them.

23. **शुक्तिरजतन्याय ॥** This well-known simile, which illustrates the "apparent existence" of the Vedāntist, is employed in the following passage on sūtra 3. 8. 24: **यस्य हि दर्शनस्य प्रमाणं नास्ति व्यामोहः स यथा शुक्तिकायां रजतविज्ञानम.**

24. There is a curious passage in the opening part of the sixth book where a discussion is raised as to the application of the injunction **स्वर्गकामो यजेत.** It cannot, it is said, apply to *trees*, for being inanimate they have no desires of any kind; but it may, perchance, apply to *animals*, for that they desire things is proved by their seeking a shady spot when overcome by heat, or a warm one when oppressed by cold. If it is objected that all their desires relate to present enjoyment and not to anything in the future, the objection is proved to be groundless by the fact that *dogs are seen to fast on the fourteenth day of the month, and hawks on the eighth*, with a view to some advantage in the future! This primâ facie view is gravely refuted on the ground that without a knowledge of the Veda none are led to engage in fasting in order to obtain some advantage in the distant future, and of course animals have not that knowledge!

25. In connexion with the Vājapeya sacrifice we find in *Āpast. Śrauta*, xviii, 2. 11, the sūtra **हिरण्यमालिन ऋत्विजः सुत्येऽहनि प्रचरन्ति**, which is quoted by Śabara under sūtra 3. 4. 13 and 3. 8. 12. As the sūtra is not included in the *Vedic Concordance*, the above reference to it may be a help to some quotation-hunter.


212'
118'
41'2'
30'
275'
RIVER BED 150'
ELEVATION OF DAM A
SKETCH MAP OF SITE OF OLD LAKE NEAR BHOPAL.
BHOPAL CITY
1682
1841
DUMKHERA
1858
MISROD STA
1531
KOLAS CREEK
1923
1575
GOKLA
1680
BHOJPUR
B
A
1858
2091
1532
1567
DIP STA
1487
51°
51°
1783
GHAPLASAR
1460
2096
BARKHERA
2027
2029
BETWA RIVER
KALIAKHERI
1912
1707
HIRANIA
SCALE OF MILES
1624
0
5
10
A = MAIN DAM
B = LONG LOW DAM
HEIGHTS ABOVE SEA LEVEL GIVEN
1914
77° 35'
AMOHA
77° 40'
77° 45'

# IX

## GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA

By Major C. ECKFORD LUARD

### The Great Dam and Temple at Bhojpur in Bhopal State

THE temple and dam which form the subject of this paper have already been dealt with in the *Indian Antiquary*[1] and in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[2] the former paper, written by Colonel Kincaid, being the most complete.

The little village of Bhojpur is situated in the Bhopāl State of the Central India Agency in longitude 23° 6′ N. and latitude 77° 38′ E., 5 miles north-east of Dīp station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. From this station it is reached by a country track leading at first over rocky hills and finally over deep alluvium, which marks the area of the old lake described further on.

Dīp was, as its name still shows, once an "island" in the lake. The present village lies at the base of a rock-strewn hill on the summit of which signs of a much older settlement may still be traced. From the top of this hill a fine view of the whole of the area occupied by the old lake can be had.

The village of Bhojpur is traditionally supposed to have been founded by Rājā Bhoja I of Dhār (1010–55). He is, moreover, credited with having erected a large town here. This an examination of the site shows to be a mere fable, as there are no traces whatever of a settlement of any size, while the unfinished condition of the temples proves that whatever the intentions of the founder may have been, he was unable to carry out his design. In

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 348.

[2] JASB., viii, 805; xvi, 739.

Mughal days, moreover, when places of importance under the Hindus usually became the head-quarters of Sarkārs or Maḥals, this place was of no importance apparently. A Bhojpur is mentioned in the *'Ain-i-Akbari*[1] as the head-quarters of a maḥal in Sarkār Raisen, but it is a different place of the same name. It may be remarked also that no traces of Muhammadan occupation exist here, such as are invariably met with in any place used as an official centre, while its remoteness would militate against its being a place of importance.

The great temple stands just above the village of Bhojpur, a little to the south-east of the shorter of the two dams to be described later, at an elevation slightly higher than the maximum water-level, as controlled by the waste weir.

The shrine is Shaivite and is incomplete, all that stands being the garbha-gṛha containing the Liṅga, of which the doorway faces west over the site of the great lake. A wall of rubble and mud now extends in front of the shrine, forming a long narrow courtyard, enclosing some small huts used by the local Mahant and his chelas. The sanctum is in plan a simple square of 66 feet, quite plain in design, and without any of the salient and re-entrant angles usual in northern temples. It is raised upon a plinth 7 feet high, divided into two sections by a simple string-course. The doorway is of unusual height, partly covered with carving of the bell and chain pattern and other designs. It was evidently to have been decorated profusely with carving below also, the empty socket-holes for pieces of sculpture being still visible.

Within four massive pillars support the foundations of a magnificent dome, which unfortunately was never completed. That its present condition is not due to injury but to incompletion is clear from the existence against the north wall of the earthen ramp by which the

[1] Jarrett & Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 199.

blocks of stone were raised to the necessary level to enable them to be placed in position as well as by the numerous shaped blocks lying round the building.

The four pillars, massive as they are, have been saved from any appearance of heaviness by clever construction. Each pillar is built up in three sections; the lowest is an octagon with facets of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, surmounted by another octagon with facets of $2\frac{1}{8}$ feet, from which a twenty-four-faced section rises.

The Liṅga within is also of unusually massive proportions. It has a total height of 20 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. including the base, the emblem itself being $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference. It stands on a massive platform consisting of three sandstone blocks placed one upon another, and is 20 ft. 10 in. square at its foundation. Here, as in the case of the pillars, skilful construction has prevented any appearance of excessive massiveness. The parts are carefully graduated, while the rounding off of the corners adds to its gracefulness. A flight of steps leading up to it is certainly a later addition.

The temple is supposed to date from the twelfth century. This seems probable, and though legend associates both Bhoja and Udayāditya (1059–81) with its erection, a later date would appear more likely.

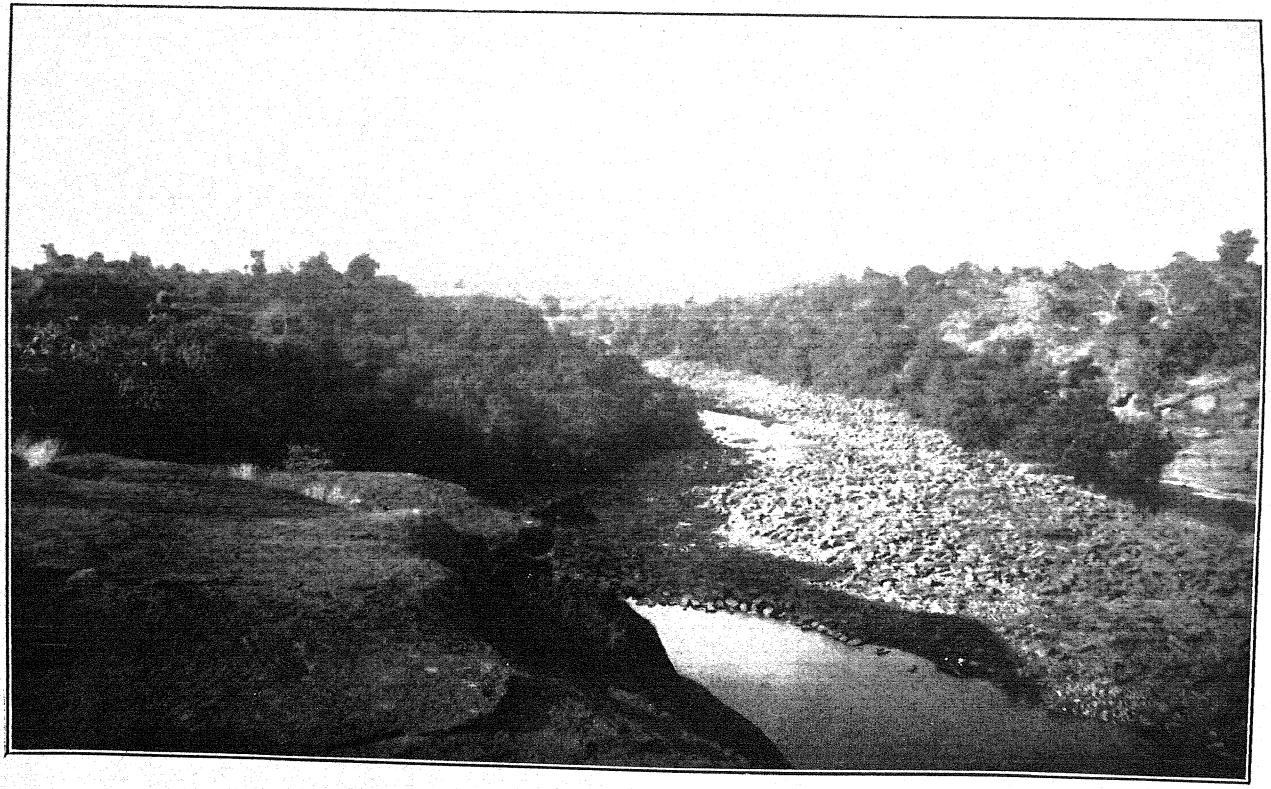
To the east of this temple, higher up the hill, stands a Jain shrine. It is rectangular in plan with sides of 14 and 11 feet. The roof is formed of large stone slabs. The floor is 3 feet below the base of the door. It contains a large figure of Mahāvira, 18 feet high, flanked by two statues of Pārasnāth under the usual snake-hood canopies each 7 feet high. All these figures are naked, showing that they belong to the Dīgambara sect. This building is clearly nothing more than the garbha-gṛha of a temple of which the rest was never completed. This is shown by the plinth and also the existence of an earthen ramp similar to that at the great temple. To the north

of this temple is a small shrine formed of nine pillars of simple design, which contains a large headless figure of a female deity and a small image of Pārasnāth. Just outside lie two more figures, one of Pārasnāth and the other of Mahāvira, both belonging to the Dīgambara sect. Nowhere are there any inscriptions, a few names scratched on walls and a short salutation to "the son of Mahādev", all in modern characters, being the only records in any of these buildings.

Traces of other small temples are to be found scattered in the bushes and along the rocks leading from the great temple to the short dam. The figure of a goddess, another of a bearded Ṛshi, and some small images lie near the remains of one small ruined shrine. A large number of samādhi stones are collected at one spot, and a Yonī with fifteen rows of footprints before it, each row containing sixteen footprints, or 240 in all.

Some very interesting designs have been cut on the surface of the rock near these footprints. These are apparently working plans to scale of designs to be used in the great temple.

To turn to the dams. Two dams lie west of the village. From the map it will be seen how skilfully the position of the lake was chosen. The scheme was to form a vast sheet of water by utilizing the streams of the Betwā and Kāliasot Rivers. To effect this the waters of the Kāliasot had to be diverted so as to unite with those of the Betwā. Three dams were required to carry this out. The first was that near Bhopāl, which still divides the upper and lower lakes. It is known as the dam of the old fort, the "Qila kohna band". This dam deflected the stream southwards. On its course, however, it would have escaped through the gap lying west of Goklākheḍī village, the only gap in the natural wall of hills which surrounded the area chosen. Here the longer but lower of the two dams was raised. It is 3,250 feet long, and



*Remains of dam at Bhojpur.*

200 feet wide at its broadest part, its average height being 24 feet. It now carries a country road leading to Bhopāl city. The dam is formed of rubble and earth in the centre with a facing of sandstone blocks, set square like bricks. The stream of the Kāliasot no longer flows against it, the accumulated silt having driven it into a new course often lying as much as 400 yards away.

The third dam, now in a ruined state, is by far the more interesting of the two. Having to withstand the full flood of the two rivers it was constructed with great care. The western end was carried 200 feet back into the rock of the bank, being brought out in a curve and protected with two revetments on the lake side. On the side opposite to this the dam wall has been taken 500 feet into the rock so as to obviate the danger of its being cut through or round by small streams. It is not, however, so strongly made at this point, as the pressure it was called on to bear was lessened by the way the rock rises from the lake side to meet the dam wall.

This dam was 42 feet high at the banks and 50 feet high in the centre when intact, its base covering about 275 feet, the actual width of the gap filled by it being 120 feet. The greatest care was taken to ensure its strength in the centre, as the remains on the western bank show. Here, where the top is uncovered, it is possible to see the nature of the structure. The dam was divided internally into rectangular compartments by vertical walls of sandstone. These compartments were then filled with stone and rubble well rammed down, a method pursued, no doubt, throughout the structure.

The facing of this dam was perhaps its most interesting feature. Great blocks of sandstone averaging 4 feet long by 3½ wide and 2½ thick were employed. On the lake side, where the water pressure was considerable, they were set in at an angle of 65 degrees. Throughout the dam no cement was used anywhere.

Eastwards of this dam lay the waste weir by which the level of the lake was controlled. This was formed by cutting down into the neck of a col lying between two small hills. The waste weir channel lies 40 feet above the base of the dam.

The Betwā and Kāliasot now flow through the gap and wend their way down a picturesque valley, with lofty wooded banks, which is strewn for over a quarter of a mile from the dam with great blocks of sandstone, once the retaining wall of this barrier (see Fig.).

The area of water held up by these dams exceeded 250 square miles (see Map). It stretched from Dumkheḍa, near Bhopāl city to Amohā in the south, and from Chaplāsar in the east to Barkheḍī in the west, the maximum length and breadth being respectively 22 and 15 miles.

From the Pāṇḍava hero Bhīm to Rāma and Rājā Bhoja of Dhār, various persons have been credited with the erection of the dams, but there seems little doubt that they were the work of either Rājā Bhoja or one of the Paramāra line, to which he belonged, a line that ruled over Mālwā from the ninth to the fourteenth century, reaching the zenith of their power in the eleventh and twelfth. The assignment of these dams, therefore, to the eleventh or twelfth century must come very near the truth.

The builders, whoever they were, had considerable knowledge and skill, as the selection of the site and the boldness of the design amply testify.

Tradition records with greater certainty that the ruined dam was cut through by Sultān Hoshang Shāh of Mālwā, who ruled from 1405 to 1435 A.D., 200 years or more after its erection. Whether this was done in a fit of destructiveness or with the deliberate intention of securing a large fertile addition to his possessions, it is impossible to say, but considering the troubled times he

lived in it seems most likely that he came across the dam in some march from his new city of Hoshangābād, which lies not far distant, and destroyed this monument of a former Hindu ruler out of mere wantonness. It is also possible that tradition is at fault and natural causes destroyed it. But tradition has more to say, adding that Hoshang Shāh employed a large army three months in making a breach, and that it was thirty years before the heavy alluvium left by the waters of the lake became sufficiently dry to be habitable, so that the Sultān himself benefited little, though he conferred a great boon on his successors.

Many tales have been woven round the memory of this great spread of water. Rājā Bhoja and his Rāṇī are said to have sailed on hot weather evenings from Bhojpur across to Bhīmbait at the southern end of the lake, where some curiously shaped rocks are called after the Pāṇḍava hero to this day. Another tale narrates that Bhoja, afflicted with leprosy, was told that he could be cured only by washing in the biggest lake in all India, and that the lake must be fed by one stream for each day in the year. For a long time only 364 were forthcoming, till a Gond, Kallia by name, discovered the stream called after him, the Kāliasot. The lake was made and the king was cured. Numerous small shrines, simply formed of large slabs of sandstone, are still pointed out as "Rājā Bhoja's boathouses".

It would be interesting to speculate on the effect which this huge sheet of water, sending its moisture-laden breezes over the plateau, had on the climate of Mālwā. Forest still covers the hills and valleys round Bhojpur, but in the days of the lake it must have been far more luxuriant, and possibly the traditional fertility and exemption from famine which is always attributed to this still favoured tract owed its existence largely to this great expanse of water.

The lake is no more and the glories of the place are dimmed, but the ruins of the titanic dam remain, and the fame of the mighty sheet of water, which once lapped the rocks at the foot of the great temple and on which Rāja Bhoja and his queen loved to sail after the heat of a summer's day, still lives in Northern India in a series of verses recording the greatest vanished marvels of the land.

Tāl to Bhopāl tāl
Aur sab talāya
Rāṇī Kamalāpatī
Aur sab raṇāya
Rājā to Rāmchandra
Aur sab Rājāya
(and so on).

X

# THE VAKATAKA DYNASTY OF BERAR IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES A.C.

By VINCENT A. SMITH

ABBREVIATIONS

**A.S.R.**—*Archæological Survey of India, Reports*, written or edited by Sir A. Cunningham, 1871–87.

**A.S.W.I.**—*Archæological Survey of Western India*, Trübner, v.d., by Dr. James Burgess, C.I.E.

**Collins.**—"The Geographical Data of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Daśakumāracarita*," being an inaugural dissertation for the Ph.D. degree at Leipzig. Printed at Leipzig by G. Kreysing, 1907. The author, Dr. Mark Collins, is now Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dublin.

**Ep. Ind.**—*Epigraphia Indica.*

**F.GI.**—*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1888, by Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E.

**H.F.A.**—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911.

**I.G.**—*Imperial Gazetteer*, Oxford, 1907–9.

**Ind. Ant.**—*The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.

**K.INI.**—"A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, from about A.D. 400," by Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E., Göttingen (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. v, 1878–9).

THE Vākāṭaka Dynasty, of which the very name and existence had been utterly forgotten for many centuries, was brought to the knowledge of students of ancient Indian history by the publication in 1836 of

a copper-plate grant from the Central Provinces. Since that date a few more inscriptions on stone or copper have been discovered at various times and places, and the little known about the dynasty is derived solely from those records. No extant coin can be assigned to the Vākāṭaka princes, who must have used as currency the monetary issues of other powers. We are ignorant of the derivation of the name Vākāṭaka, and are unable to say whether the kings were indigenous or of foreign descent. Nor do we know for certain the locality in which the dynasty took its rise. It is not mentioned in literature, although it seems to be the subject of an obscure allusion in the Purāṇas, which contain in the section dealing with the dynasties of Vidiśā, etc., the passage translated by Mr. Pargiter from his eclectic text, as follows :—

"Hear also the future kings of Vidiśā. Bhogin, son of the Nāga king Seṣa, will be king, conqueror of his enemies' cities, a king who will exalt the Nāga family. Saducandra, and Candrāṁśa *who will be* a second Nakhavant, then Dhanadharman, and Vaṅgara is remembered as the fourth. Then Bhūtinanda will reign in the Vaidiśa *kingdom*.

"When the family of the Śungas ends, Śiśunandi will reign. His younger brother was named Nandiyaśas. In his lineage there will be 3 kings. *His* daughter's son named Śiśuka was king in Purikā.

"Vindhyaśakti's valiant son, named Pravīra, will enjoy the city Kāñchanakā 60 years, and will sacrifice with vājapeya sacrifices replete with choice largesse. His 4 sons will be kings." [1]

The passage is concerned with the territories now known collectively as Central India, Vidiśā being Bhīlsā on the Betwā River in the Gwālior State, so that a reference to the Vākāṭakas would be in place. The uncommon name Vindhyaśakti is the first in the Vākāṭaka

[1] *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 72.

genealogy, and the Pravīra of the text may well be a variant of Pravarasena, the second name and the first Mahārāja in the Vākāṭaka list, who, according to the Chammak inscription, celebrated the *vājapeya* sacrifice, as well as four *aśvamedhas* and other sacrificial rites. The special reference in the Purāṇas to Pravīra's performance of the *vājapeya* rite makes it highly probable that Pravīra is merely a variant of the epigraphic Pravara. Moreover, the inscriptions connect the Vākāṭakas with Nāga princes, such as are mentioned in the beginning of the Purāṇic passage.

Notwithstanding the admitted obscurity of the dynasty and the imperfection of its record, the fragmentary story of the Vākāṭaka kings is not devoid of interest and importance. Their chronology, which Bühler long ago had outlined with substantial accuracy, had been obscured by an unlucky hypothesis, the acceptance of which concealed the intimate relation between the Vākāṭakas and the great imperial Guptas, while at the same time it confused the history of Indian art. A recent discovery, published by a competent scholar in substance although without details, has proved that Bühler's view was sound, and has established beyond dispute the substantial correctness of his chronology. The Vākāṭaka kings are thus brought into direct relation with the Imperial Gupta dynasty, as well as with high-class architecture and sculpture of the early Gupta period, and with some of the best pictorial art in the western caves. These consequences of the recent discovery make it worth while to review the whole of the existing evidence for the history of the Vākāṭakas, and to work out the dynastic chronology.

Following my usual method I begin with the exhibition of the epigraphic testimony in a convenient tabular form.[1]

[1] Obsolete editions are not cited.

| Serial No. | No. in Kielhorn's List. | Locality. | Stone or Copper-plate. | Vākāṭaka King. | Date. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Regnal. | Indian era. | c. A.D. |
| I | 618 | Nāchnā, the ancient Kuthāra (24° 25′ N., 80° 28′ E.), in the Ajaygarh State of Bundelkhand, in the Central India Agency (erroneously placed in the Jaśō State by F.G.I.). | S. | Mahārāja Pṛithivīsheṇa | — | — | — |
| II | 618 | As No. I. | S. | Mahārāja Pṛithivīsheṇa and his subordinate Vyāghradeva. | — | — | — |
| III | 619 | Chammak village, 4 miles S.W. of Īlichpur (Elichpur, Ellichpur), (21° 16′ N., 77° 33′ E.), now in the Amraotī District of the Berār Division attached to the Central Provinces. | C.-p. | Mahārāja Pravarasena (II) | 18th | — | — |
| IV | 620 | Somewhere in the Siwanī (Seuni, Seoni) Tahsīl of the District of that name in the Jabalpur (Jubbulpore) Division of the Central Provinces. Seoni town is in 22° 5′ N., 79° 33′ E. | C.-p. | Mahārāja Pravarasena (II) | 18th | — | — |
| V | 621 | "Dudia in the Aser pargana" of the Chhindwāra District, Nerbudda Division, Central Provinces. I cannot find the Aser pargana or "Dudia". Chhindwāra town is in 22° 4′ N., 78° 57′ E. | C.-p. | Mahārāja Pravarasena (II) | 23rd | — | — |
| VI | 622 | Ajaṇṭā (village lies in 20° 32′ N., 75° 46′ E.), Cave No. xvi, on left end wall outside the verandah. | S. | Harisheṇa. | — | — | — |
| VII | 624 | Ajaṇṭā, Cave No. xvii. | S. | Harisheṇa, presumably the Vākāṭaka. | — | — | — |
| VIII | 623 | Gulwārā, 11 miles W. of Ajaṇṭā, in the Ghaṭotkacha cave. | S. | Devasena. | — | — | — |
| IX | — | Not stated. | C.-p. | Rudrasena (II). | — | — | — |

| PURPORT. | REFERENCES AND REMARKS. |
|---|---|
| Merely the king's name inscribed on the edge of a slab, followed by a doubtful word, perhaps Vyāghra. | F.GI., No. 53, p. 233, pl. xxxiii A; A.S.R., vol. xxi, p. 98, pl. xxvii. The record seems to be merely a rough draft of part of the inscription No. II on the face of the same slab. |
| Records that something, not specified, was done or made by Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Mahārāja Pṛithivīsheṇa, for the benefit of Vyāghradeva's parents. The slab must have been inserted in a building of some kind. | F.GI., No. 54, p. 233, pl. xxxiii B; A.S.R., *ut supra*. The slab is associated with temples and good sculpture in the Gupta style of the fourth century. See I.G. (1908), *s.v.* Ajaigaṛh State; and Collins, p. 34. |
| Grant of the village Charmāṅka (Chammak), situated in the Bhojakaṭa kingdom, to 1,000 Brahmans. Issued from Pravarapura. Gives the donor's genealogy back to the first Mahārāja, Pravarasena (I). Recites the marriage of Rudrasena (II), the donor's father, to Prabhāvati-guptā, daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Srī Devagupta. | F.GI., No. 55, p. 235, pl. xxxiv; A.S.W.I., iv, p. 116; *Ind. Ant.*, xii, 216. For discussion of the Bhojakaṭa kingdom, see Collins, p. 28. |
| Grant of a village in the Beṇṇākārpara bhāga to a Brahman. Place of issue not stated. Genealogy exactly as in No. III. | F.GI., No. 56, p. 243, pl. xxxv; Collins, pp. 28, 37. |
| Two grants, namely, one of land in Darbhamalaka, in Chandrapura-saṅgamika, in Ārammi *rājya*; and the other of land in Karmakāra village, in the Hiraṇyapura *bhoga*. These localities have not been identified. Issued from Pravarapura. Genealogy exactly as in Nos. III, IV. | Ed. with facs. by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii (1894–5), p. 258. See Collins, p. 29, n. |
| Gift of the cave to a community of Buddhist monks by Varāhadeva, son of Hastibhoja, who had been minister of Devasena Vākāṭaka. Varāhadeva presumably was minister of Harisheṇa, but the record is imperfect. | Bühler finally ed. and transl. in A.S.W.I., iv, p. 124, pl. lvii. See also ibid., p. 53. |
| Much mutilated. Dedication of a cave and *chaitya* by a Rāja apparently subordinate to the Vākāṭakas. The Rāja's genealogy is recited. | Ibid., p. 129, pl. lvi. |
| Genealogy of Devasena's minister, Hastibhoja, who dedicated the cave apparently. Much mutilated. | Ibid., pp. 64, 138, pl. lx. |
| Grant of land, details not stated, issued by Queen Prabhāvatī, widow of Rudrasena II, during minority of her son the Yuvarāja, Divakārasena. Incidentally gives the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas. Prabhāvatī was daughter of Chandragupta II and Kuberanāgā. | Not yet ed. or transl. Known only from an abstract notice by Professor K. B. Pāthak in *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 215. |

The genealogical information afforded by the inscriptions also may be conveniently exhibited in a tabular form.

VĀKĀṬAKA GENEALOGY

| Inscriptions Nos. 619–20 (Chammak, Siwanī, and Dudia) | Inscription No. 622 (Ajaṇṭā) | Pāthak C.-p. |
|---|---|---|
| | Vindhyaśakti | |
| Mahārāja Pravarasena [I] | Pravarasena [I] | |
| Gautamīputra, m. dau. of Mahārāja Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśivas | | |
| Mahārāja Rudrasena [I] | Rudrasena [I] | |
| Mahārāja Pṛithivīsheṇa | Pṛithivīsheṇa (conquered the lord of Kuntala) | |
| Mahārāja Rudrasena [II], m. Prabhāvatiguptā, dau. of Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta | | Rudrasena [II], m. Śrī Prabhāvatī, dau. of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta [II] and Kuberanāgā |
| Mahārāja Pravarasena [II] | Pravarasena [II] | Yuvarāja Śrī Divākarasena |
| | unnamed son, acc. at 8 years of age | |
| | Devasena | |
| | Harisheṇa | |
| | (conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Andhra) | |

The three genealogical statements, it will be observed, present considerable discrepancies as well as much agreement.

The first name, that of Vindhyaśakti, is known from the Ajaṇṭā record only, in which he is described as a famous and valiant "twice-born" man, who became the banner of the Vākāṭaka race, and vanquished his enemies. No royal title is given to him and in all probability he

was not a ruling sovereign, although, as already observed, he may be the person of the same name mentioned in the Purāṇas. The name is uncommon. It is impossible to determine the region in which he lived and founded the fortunes of his family, nor is anything known about his race or lineage.

Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, was the first to bear the title of Mahārāja, but there is nothing to show definitely the situation or extent of his principality. He is given the additional title of *samrāj*, or "universal king", which implies the exercise of or at least the claim to considerable power, and he is credited with having performed a multitude of *śrauta* sacrifices, including four *aśvamedhas*, or horse-sacrifices, which could be celebrated only by a prince who had subdued his neighbours. It seems to be probable that he is commemorated in the Purāṇas under the slightly variant name Pravīra, but the scanty data do not permit the reconstruction of his history.

Gautamīputra, his son, married the daughter of a distinguished prince named Bhavanāga, Mahārāja of the Bhāraśivas. The language of the inscriptions was interpreted by Bühler as implying that the seat of the Bhāraśivas "lay to the north of the Vākāṭakas, on the Ganges (Bhāgirathī)". So far as I know, the Bhāraśivas are not mentioned elsewhere, nor is there any other notice of a sovereign named Bhavanāga. His name seems to mean that he belonged to one of the Nāga races whom Samudragupta conquered. The head-quarters of the Nāga chiefs in Samudragupta's time were at Padmāvatī or Narwar in the Gwālior territory, and it is possible that Bhavanāga may have ruled somewhere in that region. Bühler's guess that the Bhāraśivas might possibly be the same as "the Bhār Rājpūts" was unfortunate. The name of the tribe or race which at one time was influential in Oudh and Bundelkhaṇḍ is Bhar, not Bhār. The modern

Bhars occupy the position of a lowly and impure Hindu caste, although they retain traditions of former greatness, and are obscurely connected with the Bais Rājpūt clan in Oudh. They are usually considered to be an "aboriginal" tribe, and in Bundelkhaṇḍ were much mixed up with the Goṇḍs. I was familiar with the caste during many years of my service in India, and have never known its members to be reckoned as Rājpūts in modern times. At present I am not in a position to throw any light on the Bhāraśivas or their chief, Bhavanāga.

Gautamīputra, who married the daughter of Bhavanāga, evidently must have died before his father, and is omitted from the Ajaṇṭā genealogy. The second Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, according to all the lists, was Rudrasena I, who is known from the grants to have been the son of Gautamīputra.

Nothing is recorded about Rudrasena I, except that he was an ardent worshipper of Śiva under his form of Bhairava. It may be assumed that the reign of Pravarasena I, who survived his son Gautamīputra, and was succeeded by his grandson, was long. The third reign being expressly stated to have been of unusual duration, a reasonable inference arises that the second, namely, that of Rudrasena I, must have been brief. Three long reigns never occur in unbroken succession.

Pṛithivīsheṇa, the third Mahārāja, son of Rudrasena, also was a worshipper of Śiva. The grants say that "his treasures, means of government, and line increased during a hundred years, and that he had sons and grandsons". The correct explanation of that phrase, according to Bühler, seems to be that he ruled for a long time, and saw his sons and grandsons grow up. The expression "a hundred years" need not, of course, be taken literally. His reign may be regarded as extending over any period from about forty to sixty years. The Ajaṇṭā inscription credits him with having conquered the lord of Kuntala,

in the Deccan, whereas his only known contemporary record at Nāchnā is in the Ajaygaṛh State, to the south-west of Allahabad. The evidence, though scanty, is enough to prove that Pṛithivīsheṇa in the course of his exceptionally long reign had acquired a wide dominion.

His son, Rudrasena II, married Śrī Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Devagupta, or Chandragupta II, whose consort was Kuberanāgā. Bühler, who justly observed that the title given to Devagupta in the Vākāṭaka grants then known shows that he must have been a greater man than the Vākāṭaka king, wisely refrained from attempting to identify Devagupta. Dr. Fleet, more boldly, was of opinion that it could "hardly be doubted" that the Devagupta of the grants was the prince of that name who belonged to the Later Guptas of Magadha, and lived about A.D. 700. In order to justify that guess, based upon the identity of name, Dr. Fleet was obliged perhaps to make the supposition that several Vākāṭaka inscriptions recorded in different places at different times had been all written in an archaic, obsolete script. It is, however, unnecessary to labour an argument on the subject, because the discovery announced by Professor Pāthak settles the matter. The grant (ix of my list) published partially by him, which describes the bride of Rudrasena II as the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta (II) and his consort Kuberanāgā, permits of no hesitation in acknowledging that the Devagupta of the other grants was simply an alternative name for the great emperor of Northern India, who conquered Mālwā and Surāshṭra in the last decade of the fourth century. That conquest supplies a good reason for the matrimonial alliance, because the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarāt and Surāshṭra. Chandragupta adopted a prudent

precaution in giving his daughter to the Vākāṭaka prince, and so securing his subordinate alliance. Assuming the conquest to have been completed somewhere about A.D. 395, the marriage cannot be far removed from that year. We thus obtain a closely approximate date as the foundation for the chronology of the dynasty, and one fully accordant with the natural interpretation of the palæographical facts. It is worth notice that the consort of Chandragupta, the mother of Rudrasena's queen, had a Nāga name, as Rudrasena's father had. The emperor evidently found it to his advantage to use the influence of the old Nāga families, whose sovereign power had been broken by his father.[1]

I cannot explain why the Ajaṇṭā genealogy should have omitted Rudrasena II, who had made such a distinguished alliance, but agree with Bühler in believing that the reign of Rudrasena probably was brief and unimportant. He may have been so overshadowed by his father-in-law's greatness that he was not considered to be an independent sovereign. Rudrasena, like his Gupta superior, was devoted to the cult of Vishṇu.

His son, Pravarasena II, returned to the Śaiva faith, and, perhaps, may have been less dependent on the great northern empire than his father had been. The grants show that he reigned at least twenty-three years. The capital, Pravarapura, from which two of the documents were issued, may have been named either after him or after his ancestor Pravarasena I. There is nothing to show where the town was situated, and it is useless to guess.

The genealogy of the successors of Pravarasena II is detailed only in the Ajaṇṭā inscription, No. 622. That record, unfortunately, is so badly damaged, that it is difficult to decide whether Pravarasena II was succeeded

[1] For details and dates of the history of the Imperial Guptas, see *Early History of India*, in either the second or the third edition.

immediately by a prince whose name has been lost or by Devasena, who is known from the other cave inscriptions.

The fragments of the relevant passage were translated by Bühler as follows:—

Verse 8. "[The son] of [that] king [*Pṛi*]thivī[*sheṇa*] . . . [*having conquered*] the lord of Kuntala, righteously ruled the earth.

„ 9. His excellent son was Pravarasena, who gained exalted rule . . .

„ 10. [*His*] son . . . [*was*] . . . who, having obtained the kingdom when 8 years of age, ruled well.

„ 11. His son was . . . king . . . on earth Devasena, through whose lovely enjoyments . . . of the king of gods . . ."

Verse 12 then proceeds to mention Hastibhoja, the minister of Devasena.

The fragments, as they stand, seem to mean that Pravarasena II had a son, whose name had been lost, and who ascended the throne at 8 years of age, becoming the father of Devasena. Bühler adopted that interpretation. But Kielhorn took no notice of the nameless son, and apparently thought that he might be identical with Devasena. It is impossible to be certain as to the meaning of the passage. If Devasena's father came to the throne at 8 years of age, he must be assigned a reign of considerable length to allow of his begetting Devasena, who must have succeeded while still very young.

The Ghaṭotkacha cave at Gulsāṛā, to the west of Ajaṇṭā, was dedicated either by Hastibhoja the minister of Devasena, or by a member of his family.

The name of Harisheṇa which occurs in the badly mutilated inscription in Cave No. xvii at Ajaṇṭā presumably refers to the latest known Vākāṭaka Mahārāja.

Professor Pāthak's copper-plate shows that Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatī had a son named Divākarasena, who was the *yuvarāja* or Crown Prince. He may possibly have

succeeded under the title of Pravarasena II, but it is more likely that he died young, and that Pravarasena was his brother.

From the imperfect and rather unsatisfactory materials thus presented, we obtain the list of Mahārājas as follows :—

THE VĀKĀṬAKA MAHĀRĀJAS

| | | Acc. *c.* A.D. |
|---|---|---|
| I. | Pravarasena I, son of Vindhyaśakti . . . | 300 |
| II. | Rudrasena I, grandson of No. I . . . . | 330 |
| III. | Pṛithivīsheṇa, son of No. II, had long reign . . | 340 |
| IV. | Rudrasena II, son of No. III, married daughter of Chandragupta II . . . . . | 390 |
| V. | Pravarasena II, son of No. IV, known to have reigned twenty-three years . . . . | 395 |
| VI. | —— son of No. V, came to the throne at 8 years of age . . . . . | 420 |
| VII. | Devasena, son of No. VI . . . . . | 445 |
| VIII. | Harisheṇa, son of No. VII, made extensive conquests | 465 to *c.* 500 |

Eight reigns cover approximately 200 years. The chronology agrees closely with that suggested by Bühler on palæographical grounds.

Although it is impossible to fix the duration of each reign, it is established that Pṛithivīsheṇa enjoyed an exceptionally long reign, that Pravarasena II ruled for at least twenty-three years, and that Harisheṇa effected extensive conquests, implying a prolonged exercise of power. On the assumption that Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya gave his daughter in marriage to Rudrasena II at about the time when the invasion of Mālwā took place, the dates assigned in the table cannot be far wrong, and we may feel confident that the eight Vākāṭaka Mahārājas should be placed between the limits A.D. 300 and 500. If Harisheṇa had any successors they are not known, but it is possible and not unlikely that the dynasty may have survived until the establishment of the Chalukya power in the middle of the sixth century.

The materials at present available do not suffice for the determination of the place of origin of the dynasty or of the manner in which Pravarasena I attained power. Professor Collins observes that it can hardly be an accident that the dynastic lists of both the Śaka Satraps of Surāshṭra and the Vākāṭakas exhibit a sovereign named Rudrasena followed by his son Pṛithivīsheṇa. The inference readily suggests itself that Rudrasena Vākāṭaka and his son Pṛithivīsheṇa (*c.* 330–90) must have been in some way connected with the Satraps of the same name who had reigned between A.D. 199 and 222. But such an inference obviously is inconclusive, and it may be unfounded.

If Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena are the same persons as the Vindhyaśakti and Pravīrasena of the Purāṇas, the origin of the family might be sought somewhere in the area now known as Central India. The earliest proved local connexion, however, is that of Pṛithivīsheṇa with the territory in Bundelkhaṇḍ now known as the Ajaygaṛh State, which lies to the south-west of Allahabad. All the other inscriptions come from places much farther to the south. The Chammak grant (K.INI., No. 619) establishes definitely the fact that Pravarasena II (*c.* 395–420) held the province of Bhojakaṭaka, in which Chammak (Charmāṅka) near Īlichpur was situated. That province, therefore, was equivalent roughly to the Īlichpur District.[1] The name Bhojakaṭaka, which means "castle of the Bhojas", implies that the province (*rājyam*) was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Asoka, the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, Daśakumāracharita, and other works of Sanskrit literature.[2] The only conspicuous stronghold in the neighbourhood of Īlichpur is the famous fortress

[1] The Districts of Berār were re-arranged in 1905. Īlichpur, which used to be a separate District, was then merged in Amraoti (Amarāvatī).

[2] The references are collected by Collins, p. 28.

of Gāwīlgaṛh, built on a mountain nearly 4,000 feet high and commanding a pass formerly of strategic importance. Although the ruined buildings now in existence are of Muhammadan date, none being older than the fifteenth century, such a position must have been held in force by the local rulers from the most remote times. The name of Gāwīlgaṛh suggests that the fortress was once occupied by the Gaolis, a so-called aboriginal tribe. I believe that Gāwīlgaṛh must have been Bhojakaṭaka. It is not unlikely that the first Vākāṭaka Mahārāja may have established his power by seizing the old Bhoja stronghold, from which he gradually extended his dominions both to the north and to the south. But, inasmuch as we do not hear of Bhojakaṭaka until about A.D. 400 in the time of the fifth Vākāṭaka Mahārāja, the conjecture that the first Mahārāja, a century earlier in date, had originally established himself at Gāwīlgaṛh is far from being proved.

The inscriptions state that Pṛithivīsheṇa (*c.* A.D. 340–90) vanquished the lord of Kuntala, and credit Harisheṇa, the eighth Mahārāja (*c.* A.D. 465–500), with the conquest, not only of Kuntala, but of Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, and Andhra. A few words may be devoted to the explanation of those territorial or tribal names.

Kuntala is defined by Mr. Rice in general terms as "a province which included the western Dekhan and the north of Mysore", and more particularly as the country between the Rivers Bhīma and Vedāvatī, bounded by the Ghāṭs on the west, and including the Shimoga and Chitraldurg Districts of the Mysore State, Bellary, now in Madras, and Dharwār and Bījāpur, now in Bombay, as well as certain adjacent tracts of the Nizam's Dominions.[1]

It is hardly necessary to explain that Avanti was the well-known kingdom in Mālwā, of which Ujjain

[1] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 1909, p. 3; *Mysore Gazetteer*, i, 289, 1897.

(23° 11′ N. and 75° 47′ E.) was the capital. Up to about A.D. 395 Ujjain had been held by the Satraps of Mālwā and Surāshṭra. It then passed under the rule of the Guptas, and so remained until the break up of the Gupta empire late in the fifth century, when the Vākāṭakas, like other local princes, freed themselves from the control of the weakened suzerain power, and were at liberty to extend their dominion. Kalinga, as is well known, was the country on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī.

The Kosala mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription must mean South Kosala or Mahā Kosala, which comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadī with its tributaries, and seems at times to have included a much larger area, now forming the eastern districts of the Central Provinces and the tributary states of Orissa. The early capital seems to have been Sirpur (Śrīpura) on the Mahānadī, now in the Rāipur District of the Central Provinces.[1]

The name Trikūṭa means "three-peaked mountain". The exact position of the mountain referred to has not been determined, but the poet Kālidāsa, writing in the fifth century, states that it was situated in Aparānta, the region of the Konkan to the north of Bombay, which included the modern Ṭhānā District. The mountain gave its name to a kingdom, the rulers of which, the Traikūṭakas, are mentioned in a few inscriptions and coin legends, dated in a special era, starting from A.D. 248–9. The latest known date for the dynasty is A.D. 494. The last Rāja presumably was suppressed by Harisheṇa Vākāṭaka. The Traikūṭaka history thus further confirms the proposed Vākāṭaka chronology.[2]

[1] A.S.R., xvii, pp. 68–70, 1884.

[2] All the little information available about the Traikūṭakas has been collected and published by Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, in the British Museum, 1908. See especially sections 42, 132, 134.

Lāṭa means Southern Gujarāt, between the Mahi and Tāpti Rivers.[1]

The Andhra country may, perhaps, be taken to mean Mahārāshṭra, the Marāthā country above the Ghāṭs, but at some periods the term had a wider signification.

The statement of the Ajaṇṭā inscription concerning the conquests made by Harisheṇa, if true, implies that his victorious arms were carried right across the centre of India, from the Bombay coast to the shore of the Bay of Bengal. His campaigns, however, even if they really happened, probably amounted to nothing more than temporary incursions into foreign territory, at least in so far as the more distant kingdoms were concerned.

If any Vākāṭaka Rājas succeeded the victorious Harisheṇa, we do not know their names, but, as already observed, we may conjecture that the dynasty continued to exist with greater or smaller possessions until the establishment of the Chalukya power in the sixth century.

The determination of the main outlines of the Vākāṭaka chronology is a matter of considerable importance for the history of Indian art, and involves the reconsideration of the dates tentatively assigned to certain buildings, sculptures, and paintings in *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, published in December, 1911.

My calculation assigns the long reign of Mahārāja Pṛithivīsheṇa Vākāṭaka to the period between A.D. 340 and 390, or, in less precise terms, to the second half of the fourth century. Pṛithivīsheṇa, therefore, was the contemporary of Samudragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, who reigned from about A.D. 330 to 375 or 380. The Nāchnā inscriptions of Pṛithivīsheṇa are inscribed in characters substantially the same as those of the Eraṇ inscription of Samudragupta and the Udayagiri inscription dated A.D. 401 of Chandragupta II. The inscribed slab at Nāchnā clearly belonged to one of the early buildings

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 7, 1896.

at the site, which is that of the ancient capital of the local rulers. That capital was named Kuthāra and presumably was the residence of Pṛithivīsheṇa's subordinate chief, Vyāghradeva, who erected the structure to which the inscribed slab was originally attached.

It may well be that the structure in question was the remarkable little early temple of Pārvatī, described and illustrated by Cunningham, which undoubtedly offers an example of early Gupta architecture and sculpture—the art of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. I proceed to quote the most significant passages from Cunningham's description.

"The temple of Pārvatī," he writes, "is one of the most curious and interesting shrines that I have seen. It is curious from the conventional imitations of rock-work on all the outer faces of its walls. It is especially interesting, as it seems to preserve the old fashion of the temples cut in the rock. The figures on the outer walls and on the doorway are all in the Gupta style of sculpture. The entrance doorway has the figures of the Ganges and Jumna standing on their respective symbols, the crocodile and tortoise. And lastly, all the roofs are flat, like those of known Gupta temples at Sānchi, Eran, and Tigowa.

"The Pārvatī temple is a building of two storeys. It is nearly square, 15 feet 9 inches by 15 feet ['inches' in text], with plain, perpendicular walls. The lower storey is surrounded by a roofed cloister upwards of 5 feet wide, which is closed, except in front of the entrance door, by a wall 3 feet thick . . . The upper storey is quite plain both inside and outside. It was covered by a flat roof of apparently three slabs . . . The doorway of the lower storey is very richly carved with human figures in pairs on each jamb, ending with small statues of the Ganges and Jumna. The figures are all of the Gupta period, and are much superior to all mediaeval sculpture, both in the ease and gracefulness of their attitudes, as well as in the real beauty of the forms. The hair of the male figures is arranged in the same fashion as that of the Gupta kings on their coins, with rows of curls, like the wig of a judge. There are no obscene

figures . . . The outer faces of the wall (excepting only the upper room) are carved to imitate rock-work. A few figures are introduced, as well as a few lions or bears lying in holes or caves in the rock-work . . .

"The pilasters and . . . peculiar ornaments on the lintel of the doorway. All these belong to the Gupta style, as shown in the temples at Eran and Udayagiri. There is no inscription, and not even a single mason's mark could be found on any of the stones. But the Gupta style of the figures, the returns at the ends of the door lintel for the reception of statues, the prominence given to the figures of the Ganges and Jumna, all point to a very early period."

Cunningham then proceeds to describe the inscribed slab lying near, pronouncing that it "also certainly belongs to the Gupta period".[1]

When writing the *History of Fine Art* I was not able to discriminate between the various stages of the art of the early Gupta period, and accordingly treated the little flat-roofed temple at Tigawā in the Central Provinces as being of "about the same age" as the sculptures in Cave xxii at Ajaṇṭā, which I estimated as "somewhere about A.D. 500".[2] I now think that the buildings of the Tīgawā class with their sculptures are appreciably earlier in date, and belong mostly to the fourth century. My amended view finds expression in an illustrated article on "The Sculpture of the Gupta Period", which is expected to appear in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* during 1914. I think that there is good reason for referring the temple of Pārvatī at Nachnā with its remarkable sculptures to the time of Pṛithivīsheṇa Vākāṭaka and his contemporary Samudragupta, that is to say, to the middle or second half of the fourth century. The inscribed slab of Pṛithivīsheṇa,

[1] A.S.R., vol. xxi, pp. 95–8, pls. xxv–vii, 1885. Plate xxvi gives slight indications of the nature of the sculptured ornaments, but no statue is figured. It is much to be desired that a good set of photographs of the temple and its sculptures should be obtained and published to illustrate the art of the reign of Samudragupta.

[2] H.F.A., p. 162.

if it was not attached to the Pārvatī temple, must surely have belonged to some structure of the same age.

The three Vākāṭaka inscriptions in Buddhist caves, viz. No. vi in Cave xvi at Ajaṇṭā, No. vii in Cave xvii at the same place, and No. viii in the Ghaṭotkacha cave near Gulwāṛā, about 11 miles west of Ajaṇṭā, are of special interest as determining the dates of the excavation of those caves with approximate accuracy. The Ghaṭotkacha record, which is perhaps the earliest, gives the genealogy of Hastibhoja, a Malabar Brahman of the Vallūra subdivision, who was the minister of the Vākāṭaka king, Devasena. Unfortunately, the latter portion of the document is lost, and it is not certain whether the cave was dedicated by Hastibhoja himself or by some of his descendants. Anyhow, the inscription must belong to the reign of either Devasena or his son Harisheṇa. The date of the cave, therefore, must be placed certainly in the fifth century, and probably in the second half of that century.

The inscription No. vi, which is better preserved, records the dedication of Cave xvi at Ajaṇṭā by king Harisheṇa's minister, Varāhadeva, who was son of the above-mentioned Hastibhoja, the minister of Devasena.

Inscription No. vii, which is much mutilated, records the dedication of Cave xvii at Ajaṇṭā by a member of a family of local princes, presumably subordinate to the Vākāṭakas, the name of Harisheṇa, apparently the Vākāṭaka king, being mentioned in v. 21.

The result is that Caves xvi and xvii at Ajaṇṭā and the Ghaṭotkacha cave near Gulwāṛā are proved to be approximately contemporary. All three were excavated in the reign of either Devasena Vākāṭaka or his son Harisheṇa, and all three may be dated with confidence in the second half of the fifth century, a determination sufficiently precise for the purposes of the history of art.

When *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* was published at the close of 1911, I had not gone closely into the Vākāṭaka problem as I have now done. Professor Pāthak's inscription had not then come to light, and I was influenced by the suspicion that the Devagupta whose daughter was married to Rudrasena II Vākāṭaka might possibly have been the prince named Devagupta who belonged to the minor dynasty of the Later Guptas of Magadha, about A.D. 700. Accordingly, I dated Caves xiv–xx, with xxi–ix and i–v, as having been all excavated between A.D. 500 and 642, observing that the bulk of the paintings must be assigned to the time of the great Chalukya kings, A.D. 550 and 642, although some may have been executed under the patronage of the earlier Vākāṭaka kings of Berar. I alluded to the existence of a Vākāṭaka record in Cave xvi, but failed to take note of the connected epigraphs in Cave xvii and the Ghaṭotkacha cave.

The clearing up of the Vākāṭaka chronology effected in this essay considerably antedates Caves xvi and xvii at Ajaṇṭā, and makes it possible that some of the other caves included in the numbers xiv–xx and xxi–ix may be as early. Nos. i–v probably are the latest of all. The absence of inscriptions renders precise chronology of the whole series impossible, and we should remember that the excavation of spacious halls in the solid rock must have taken a long time. The execution of each of the more important works must have extended over several years, and as to the paintings, they may have been added or extended from time to time. But when allowance is duly made for all these considerations, a definite advance in the chronology of Indian art results from the determination of the fact that three important Buddhist cave-shrines, namely, Caves Nos. xvi and xvii at Ajaṇṭā, as well as the Ghaṭotkacha cave near Gulwāṛā, were dedicated at some time in the second half of the

fifth century. At Kuchāra (Nāchnā) we find a Vākāṭaka inscription associated with distinctive early Gupta sculpture of the fourth century. At Ajaṇṭā and Gulwāṛā we find other Vākāṭaka inscriptions associated with other manifestations of the artistic impulse which distinguished the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I in the fifth century—the age of Kālidāsa. The Vākāṭaka princes, therefore, are entitled to a share in the glory of the golden age of the Guptas, a share only now restored to them after their very existence had been forgotten for many centuries.

The results of the inquiry may be summed up briefly as follows:—

The Vākāṭaka dynasty, comprising eight ruling chiefs and nine generations, lasted for at least two centuries in round numbers, from about A.D. 300–500. It may have survived the latter date for half a century or so, but if it did no record of the fact has been discovered. The derivation and meaning of the name, which seems to be an adjective based on a form *Vakāṭa*, are unknown. We are equally ignorant as to the race and origin of the chiefs, who may possibly have been foreigners connected with the Satraps of Ujjain and Surāshṭra. The first Mahārāja, Pravarasena I, is credited with the performance of many Hindu sacrifices, including four *aśvamedhas*, or horse-sacrifices, a vaunt which implies that he actually established a considerable amount of control over his neighbours. But we do not know either where the seat of his dominion was situated or how he attained such power as he possessed. He was succeeded by a grandson, and presumably enjoyed a long reign. A record of the 4th Mahārāja, Pṛithivīsheṇa, has been found in the Ajaygaṛh State, to the south-west of Allahabad, and is associated with buildings and good sculptures in the early Gupta style of the fourth century. Pṛithivīsheṇa is said to have conquered Kuntala, far to the south in the

Deccan, and is credited with a reign of abnormal length. His son, Rudrasena II, married a daughter of the emperor Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, probably about A.D. 390–5, when that monarch annexed Mālwā.

Rudrasena's son, Pravarasena II, certainly was in possession of Eastern Berār (Īlichpur) and of a considerable part of the western districts of the modern Central Provinces, and is known to have reigned for at least twenty-three years. A prince whose name has been lost seems to have intervened between Pravarasena and Devasena, whose Brahman minister (or perhaps a son of the minister) dedicated the Ghaṭotkacha cave at Gulwāṛā, near Ajaṇṭā. This last known Rāja was Harisheṇa, son of Devasena, and it is certain that Cave xvi, at Ajaṇṭā, was dedicated in his reign. It is highly probable that Cave xvii was dedicated at about the same time, that is to say, during the second half of the fifth century.

The establishment of the chronology of the dynasty in a general way is specially important for the history of art as supplying approximate dates for the temple and sculptures in early Gupta style at Kuthāra or Nāchnā, for two caves at Ajaṇṭā, and for the Ghaṭotkacha cave at Gulwāṛā. The dynasty probably came to an end when the Chalukya power was established in the sixth century.

# XI

## KHOTAN STUDIES

By STEN KONOW

ABOUT twelve years ago Dr. Hoernle published[1] a series of ancient documents written in Brāhmī characters and an Iranian language. There was and is some uncertainty about the exact spot or spots where they were found. Some of them had been bought "from a Khotan trader Badruddīn, who could or would give no information". Others were said to have been dug out from a buried town near Kuchar. The interpretation of these documents has not advanced much since they were edited, though we now know that they are written in the same tongue which is used in numerous fragments and MSS. found in Eastern Turkistan, and which has been variously designated North Aryan, East Iranian, Tokharī, and Khotanese. The alphabet in which these documents are written, on the other hand, is much better known now than twelve years ago. Dr. Hoernle has published[2] tables found in Central Asia and containing complete alphabets, so that we are now relatively well informed about the value of the different signs. Moreover, a comparison with other manuscript finds from Turkistan has shown that some signs were not from the beginning correctly transliterated. In the present connexion it is of importance that we now know that two different signs were originally confounded and invariably transliterated *ñ*. One of them, however, denotes an *r*-sound, and is now usually transcribed *rr*.

[1] *A Report of the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia*, pt. ii, pp. 30 ff., Calcutta, 1902.

[2] JRAS. 1911, pp. 447 ff.

Several of the Iranian documents are dated, but it has not hitherto proved possible to interpret these dates. Together with them were found Chinese documents carrying dates ranging from A.D. 768 to 790. Dr. Hoernle inferred from this fact that the Iranian documents belonged to the same period, and he was of opinion that they might have come from the buried site of Dandan Oiliq. The Chinese documents have since been published by M. Chavannes,[1] and it is curious to see that one of them mentions a petition written in "barbaric" language and hailing from the Khotan country. This statement seems to show that the home tongue of the Khotan people was used in public documents in the last half of the eighth century A.D. Moreover, one of the Chinese documents which is stated to have been dug out near Kuchar, and which is a certificate of payment of taxes, contains three Brāhmī akṣaras, *rä-hau-ḍe*, which show that they hail from a part of the country where the Iranian language of the documents was used. *Hauḍe* is a well-known word belonging to that form of speech and meaning "gave". *Rä* is therefore probably an abbreviation of the name of the person who did pay. I hope to be able to prove that Dr. Hoernle was right both in thinking that the documents belong to the Khotan country and that they should be dated in the second half of the eighth century A.D.

Two of the Iranian documents, Hoernle's Nos. 1 and 12, have an almost identical beginning. If we substitute *rr* for *ñ* in its proper place, No. 1 begins—

*oṃ salī 10 7 māśto Skarhvāro haḍā 5 hvaṃ-no-rruṃ-do-vi-śa-vā-haṃ ;*

and No. 12—

*oṃ salī 20 māśtä Cvātaja haḍā 10 3 mye hvaṃ-närrāṃ-dä-vä-śa-vā-haṃ.*

[1] See M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, pp. 521 ff.

The words containing the actual dates are quite clear and mean "year 17 (20), month Skarhvāro (Cvātaja), days 5 (13th)". The remainder has not yet been translated.

If we compare the two texts, we will at once notice that we in No. 1 often find *o* where No. 12 reads *ä*; cf. *māśto* and *māśtä*, etc. An examination of the context of No. 1 will reveal the fact that the sign *ä*, which is so common in all other Turkistano-Iranian texts, does not occur a single time, but is always replaced by *o*. Thus, *ttoña beḍa* instead of *ttäña beḍa*, at that time; *ci-buro* instead of *ci-burä*, as many as. Now an examination of the plate will show that the sign which has been transliterated *o* is a simple curve above the akṣara. In the alphabet published by Dr. Hoernle, on the other hand, there is always an indenture in the middle. I therefore feel convinced that the curve does not denote *o* at all, but is a cursive way of writing *ä*, which is in other documents denoted by means of the curve with a dot to its left. In fols. 7 and 8 of the Aparimitāyuḥsūtra, which are written in cursive Brāhmī,[1] the sign of *ä* has in this way become almost like an anusvāra, so that e.g. the word *väśūde* was misread as *vaṃśūde* in the first edition of those leaves.

The beginning of No. 1 must accordingly be read: *oṃ salī 10 7 māśtä Skarhvārä haḍā 5 hvāṃ-nä-rruṃ-dä-viśa-vā-haṃ*. It will be seen that the only difference in the last part of the legend from No. 12 is that the latter reads *rrāṃ-dä* while No. 1 has *rruṃ-dä*, for *vi* and *vä* are, as we know from numerous examples, interchangeable.

Now *rruṃdä* is a well-known word. It is the genitive singular of *rre*, king, and it becomes probable that *rrāṃdä* in No. 12, which does not look like any known word in the language, is miswritten instead of *rruṃdä*. This supposition will be proved if it can be shown that the dates in Nos. 1 and 12 are, in fact, what the word *rruṃdä* seems to show, given in regnal years.

[1] See Hoernle, JRAS. 1911, p. 468 f.

If *rruṃdä* means "of the king", we would naturally expect to find a nearer designation of the king in the word *hvaṃnä* preceding it. We may compare *kalä rri*, the Kali king or, the king of Kali, in the Vajracchedikā. The form *hvaṃnä* itself may stand for *hvannä* and for *hvanä*, for the anusvāra is in the documents commonly used instead of other nasals before consonants, and, on the other hand, it is quite common to add an anusvāra before other nasals. Now the T'ang-shu[1] and Hüan-tsang[2] inform us that, in the days of the T'ang dynasty the colloquial form of the name of the Khotan oasis was *Huan-na*. It seems evident that this *Huan-na* is identical with the word *hvaṃnä* occurring in documents Nos. 1 and 12, and that they are accordingly dated during the rule of a Khotan king, and that this is actually the case will be proved when we consider the word following after *rruṃdä*, viz. *viśa̲vāhaṃ* or *väśa̲vāhaṃ*. If I am right in translating *hvaṃnä rruṃdä* as "of the Khotan king", we would expect to find the name of the king in the next word, and if we remember that the name *Huan-na* of Khotan is only known from the T'ang annals and from Hüan-tsang, we would naturally think of a Khotan king during the T'ang period. Now the T'ang-shu informs us[3] that the name of the royal family in Khotan was Wei-chih, and it has long been recognized that this Wei-chih must represent the word *vijaya*, which occurs as the first component of the names of Khotan kings in some lists which have been preserved in Tibetan literature, and which have been published by Mr. W. W. Rockhill,[4] with additions by Dr. Thomas,[5] and by Babu Sarat

[1] Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 125, St. Petersbourg, 1903.

[2] Stein, loc. cit., p. 153.

[3] Chavannes, loc. cit., p. 126.

[4] *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order*, pp. 230 ff. London, 1884.

[5] Stein, loc. cit., pp. 581 ff.

Chandra Das.[1] If we now look at these lists we will find a name which seems to correspond to *viśavāhaṃ* in the documents, viz. the king whom Sarat Chandra calls *Vijayavahana* and Dr. Thomas *Vijayabohan chen-po*, i.e. the great. The letter *ś* in Turkistano-Iranian is sometimes used instead of *j* in Indian loan-words. Professor Leumann[2] mentions such instances as *pūśa* = *pūjā* and *rrāśa* = *rājā*. The curve under *śa* may well denote some shortening, so that *viśa* would naturally represent a Skr. *vijaya*. Finally, *vāhaṃ* is the natural representative of a Skr. *vāhana*; cf. *āysaṃ* = Skr. *āsana*, seat. *Viśavāhaṃ* is therefore as near an approach to the sound in Skr. *Vijayavāhana* as we could expect, and there can be no doubt that we have here a welcome proof that the Tibetan lists must have some foundation in fact. Moreover, we must infer that the two documents refer themselves to Khotan, to the times of King Vijayavāhana.

It will be seen that the two Iranian documents thus conclusively show that the language in which they are written was the vernacular of the Khotan oasis. I think that it can be made almost certain that the same tongue has been spoken in Khotan since the beginning of our era. But then it will be difficult to adopt the ingenious theory of Professor Lüders,[3] that the Turkistano-Iranian language was the home tongue of the Śakas. The Śakas do not seem to have been permanently established in Khotan. There are also, as I shall try to show in another place, some other features which militate against this theory. Provisionally, therefore, I shall stick to the name Khotanī suggested by Professor Kirste.[4]

[1] "Buddhist and other Legends about Khotan": JASB., vol. lv, pt. i, pp. 193 ff.

[2] *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, p. 67, Strassburg, 1912.

[3] "Die Śakas und die 'nordarische' Sprache": Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913, pp. 406 ff.

[4] *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. xxvi, p. 394.

The question now arises about the period when *Viśa-vāhaṃ-Vijayavāhana* lived. The historical information contained in the Tibetan list is so scanty that it is extremely difficult to arrive at any certain results, the more so because a comparison of the lists published by Messrs. Rockhill and Thomas on one side and by Sarat Chandra on the other shows that the Tibetan tradition is not quite certain. Still, we must try to arrive at some provisional result.

At the head of the Khotan dynasty the Tibetan texts place *Kustana* or *Salana*, who is said to have been born to the queen of Emperor Aśoka, and to have been carried off by Vaiśravaṇa to the king of China. Twelve years old, he then became king of Khotan 234 years after the Nirvāṇa. Though a similar legend is related by Hüan-tsang, and the story thus is evidently based on Khotan chronicles, it hardly deserves more credit than similar eponymous legends elsewhere. Kustana's son was *Ye-u-la*, who founded the capital of the kingdom, and he would consequently have to be dated at least two hundred years B.C. if the synchronism of Kustana and Aśoka could be accepted. The Annals of the Later Hans [1] inform us that, towards the end of the reign of Kuang-wu-ti (A.D. 25–57), the king of So-ch'e (Yarkand), having become very powerful, reduced *Yü-lin*, the king of Khotan, to the position of *li-kuei*. Now if we remember that both *Ye-u-la* and *Yü-lin* are not indigenous Tibetan and Chinese words, but attempts at rendering the sounds of foreign names, the striking similarity between the two words makes it extremely probable that they represent one and the same Khotanī name, and in that case Ye-u-la would belong to the first half of the first century A.D. This supposition is further supported by what the Chinese

[1] See for this and other statements in what follows Abel Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*, pp. 3 ff., Paris, 1820, and Stein, loc. cit., pp. 166 ff.

and Tibetan sources tell us about the successors of Ye-u-la and Yü-lin respectively.

The Han Annals tell us that during the period Yung-phing (A.D. 58–75) the Khotan general *Hiu-mo-pa* revolted and assumed the title of king of Khotan. He must accordingly be considered as the founder of the national Khotan dynasty. According to the Tibetan annals, on the other hand, Ye-u-la's son *Vijayasaṃbhava*, who was born 165, or according to Sarat Chandra 65, years after the establishment of the kingdom, succeeded him. With Vijayasaṃbhava begins a long series of Khotan kings whose names all begin with *Vijaya*. If there is any truth in the Chinese statement that *Wei-chih-Vijaya* was the family name of the kings, it is of interest to note that this Vijaya dynasty, according to Tibetan tradition, begins where the Han Annals place the foundation of the national Khotan kingdom. This constitutes one point of analogy between the Chinese and Tibetan sources. We hear of Vijayasaṃbhava that in his fifth year Buddhism was introduced in Khotan. The Ārya Vairocana became the spiritual guide of the inhabitants and taught the ignorant cattle herders in the Li (i.e. Khotan) language and invented the characters of Li. Now there does not seem to be any reason for doubting that Buddhism, and I may add Indian civilization, was introduced in Khotan during Vijayasaṃbhava's reign. It is therefore quite natural that his predecessors have names which are not Indian. It seems also necessary to infer that Vijayasaṃbhava or Saṃbhava is the translation of some Khotanī name which the king used before the introduction of Buddhism. If we remember that Khotanī *haṃphuta* corresponds to Sanskrit *saṃbhūta* and *o* to *ava*, we would infer a Khotanī name *Hampho*, and the Chinese *Hiu-mo-pa* can, so far as I can see, very well be an attempt at rendering such a name. I therefore think that we can put down as almost certain

that Buddhism was introduced in Khotan in the third quarter of the first century A.D., i.e. about the time when the power of the Kuṣaṇas, who spoke the same language as the Khotanese, was consolidated under Kadphises. I do not think that this coincidence is a mere matter of chance.

After Vijayasaṃbhava follow eleven generations, only two of which are mentioned by name. No historical information is given which allows us to settle their date. Then comes king *Vijayadharma*, who is said to have been a powerful king, who was constantly engaged in war. Later on he became a Buddhist and retired to Kashgar. We know from Chinese sources that Kashgar had formerly developed great power, but that it became dependent on Khotan during the epoch of the three kingdoms (A.D. 220–64). It is then probable that this was the time of the powerful king Vijayadharma. He was succeeded by *Vijayasiṃha*, and he again by *Vijayakīrti*, who is said to have carried war into India and to have overthrown Sāketa, together with King Kanika, or the king of Kanika, and the Guzan king.[1] Guzan here evidently stands for Kuṣaṇa, but we have no means for establishing the identity of the Kuṣaṇa king alluded to.

No historical information is given about the next ten or eleven generations. We are only told that Khotan was frequently invaded by enemies. Thus the Drug-gu king A-no-śos invaded Khotan and destroyed the vihāras as far as 'Ge-u-to-śan. Drug-gu can hardly be anything but Turks. It is evident that these generations of kings ruled during the years when Khotan was oppressed by the T'u-yü-hun (A.D. 445), the Juan-juan (*circa* A.D. 470), the Hephthalites (*c.* A.D. 500–56), and the Western Turks (*c.* A.D. 565–631). Then the Khotan king *Vijayasaṃgrāma* is introduced, of whom we hear that he carried war into

[1] See Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii, p. 349.

the territory of the Drug-gu and caused great slaughter. That can only mean that he lived when the empire of the Western Turks fell to pieces about A.D. 630. We are thus reminded of a passage in T'ang-shu which has been translated by M. Chavannes: "The family name of the king (of Khotan) is *Wei-chih*; his personal name is *Wu-mi*. Originally he was subject to the Tu-küe. In the sixth year Cheng-kuan [632] he sent an envoy with presents [to the Chinese Court]. Three years later he sent his son." Now I am unable to see any way of identifying the names *Wu-mi* and *Saṃgrāma*, though I think we must identify the two kings. We will have to assume that Vijayasaṃgrāma had another Khotanī name which the Chinese have rendered Wu-mi.

After Vijayasaṃgrāma follows *Vijayasiṃha*, of whom we hear that he was a contemporary of an Arhat Dharmapāla. If his predecessor was Wu-mi, Vijayasiṃha would be identical with *Fu-tu Sin*, who sent his son to China in A.D. 648 and later on went there himself. Dr. Hoernle, who has been good enough to consult Professor Bullock and Mr. Parker about the word *Fu-tu*, informs me that the correct transliteration is probably *Fu-ch'a*, which seems to be another rendering of *Vijaya*, or, rather, of *Viśa*. *Sin* I take to be the Chinese rendering of the Khotanese pronunciation of *Siṃha*. But then Vijayasiṃha must be the king who ruled in Khotan during Hüan-tsang's stay there in A.D. 644, and Dharmapāla can very well be the famous teacher in Nālandā of whom we hear in the Si-yu-ki, and whose fame Hüan-tsang could have propagated in Khotan.

We are further introduced to some generations of whom I cannot make anything. We are only told about the religious buildings erected during their rule. Then we hear of another *Vijayakīrti*, during whose reign Khotan is said to have been conquered by the Tibetans. Sarat Chandra Das states that this happened under the

Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (died 650). That must, however, be a mistake, as the first Tibetan invasion of Khotan took place in A.D. 665. Vijayakīrti must therefore be the king whom the Chinese call *Fu-tu Hiung*, who went to China about A.D. 674 and was honoured on account of his merits in fighting the Tibetans. There is not, however, any similarity between the two names. Chinese *hiung* is said to mean "masculine".

Vijayakīrti's son *Vijayasaṃgrāma*, or, according to Sarat Chandra Das, *Vijayagrāma*, was killed by the Drug-gu during a visit to China. Fu-tu Hiung's son, on the other hand, was *King*. During his times there was some trouble with the Turks, A.D. 705–6, when the Turkish chief K'iü-ch'uo attacked Khotan. Also, the Tibetans began to be troublesome. We hear about envoys from King during the period K'ai-yün (713–41), and especially in A.D. 717. If the Sanskrit form *Vijayagrāma* is the correct one, we might expect a popular from *Gāṃ*; cf. the name *Puña-gāṃ* occurring in the Iranian documents, and *King*, which is elsewhere used to denote Skr. *gaṅ*, might well be a rendering of this *Gāṃ*.

On Vijayasaṃgrāma's death his son *Vijayasaṃgrāma* or *Vijayavikrama* was a minor, and the minister A-mala-ke-meg ruled as a regent for twelve years. During this regency we would have to date the king T'iao, who was in secret alliance with the Western Turks, and was, therefore, executed by the Chinese in A.D. 725. We have seen that Vijayasaṃgrāma is said to have been killed by the Drug-gu. It seems natural to infer that T'iao entered into alliance with the Turks in order to remove Vijayasaṃgrāma, and that he actually succeeded in bringing about his death, but was prevented by the Chinese from ascending the throne. We are told that in A.D. 728 the Chinese court placed *Fu-shih Chan* on the throne, and he is then probably identical with Vijayasaṃgrāma's son.

Dr. Thomas kindly informs me that Chinese *chan* can be a rendering of *saṃgrāma*. It is therefore probable that the name of Vijayasaṃgrāma's son was likewise Vijayasaṃgrāma. The name Vijayavikrama, however, also seems to be used about him, and it may be assumed that he adopted that name when he became king.

Fu-shih Chan's successor was *Fu-tu Ta* (about A.D. 736), and he is evidently identical with *Vijayadharma*,[1] who built a vihāra together with a Chinese minister or envoy Ser-the-śi. Then, we are told, the Chinese minister or envoy Ka-the-śi and King *Vijayasaṃbhava* built a vihāra and a stūpa called Su-stoṅ-ña. Then *Vijayabohan* the great rebuilt this stūpa. This is the last king in Sarat Chandra Das' list, and it is just possible that the next entries in Dr. Thomas' list refer to the queens of the kings already enumerated. And, at all events, every mention of China now disappears from the lists. It is, then, a curious coincidence, which adds support to the chronology here adopted, that the Chinese notices about Khotan only carry us down to the same point. We hear that Fu-tu Ta was succeeded by *Wei-chih Kuei*, whose wife *Ma* was granted the title of princess in A.D. 740. Kuei cannot have ruled long, for his successor *Sheng* assisted China on an expedition in A.D. 747. He married a Chinese princess, and in 756 he left Khotan for good in order to assist the Chinese. He died in China, and his brother *Wei-chih Yao*, who began his rule in A.D. 756, was still on the throne in 786. One of these kings must then be identical with *Vijayabohan*, who must further be the King *Viśavāhaṃ* of the documents. Document No. 12 is dated in his 20th year. Neither Kuei nor Sheng ruled as much as twenty years, and we are thus necessarily led to the conclusion that *Yao* must be identified with *Viśavāhaṃ*. That would mean that we would have to account for two kings Kuei and Sheng, where the Tibetan list only

[1] The Khotanese for *dharma* is *dā*.

mentions one, Vijayasaṃbhava. Dr. Thomas informs me that Chinese *sheng* means "to be adequate", "to sustain", "to be worthy". It can therefore well be a translation of *saṃbhava*, and we would have to infer that Kuei is not mentioned at all in the Tibetan lists. I do not think, however, that this difficulty is great, because the Tibetan list only mentions such kings as built Buddhist sanctuaries. It is possible that the designation *chen-po*, the great, used of Vijayabohan in the Tibetan list, is a translation of a Khotanese surname, which the Chinese have rendered with *yao*, glorious. He seems to have been the last Khotan king who asserted his independence against the Tibetans. After his time Khotan passed under the rule of the king of Tibet, as mentioned in a "prophecy" handed down in Tibetan literature.[1]

My analysis of the Tibetan lists of Khotan kings has thus led to the result that the documents of the 17th and 20th years of *Viśavāhaṃ* belong to the same time as the Chinese documents found together with them, as was supposed by Dr. Hoernle. It is probable that the remaining documents are about contemporaneous, as the same personal names occur in many of them. Thus, *Añjāṃ* in No. 4 is evidently identical with *Añjai* in No. 9; *Arsäli* in No. 9 with *Arsalaṃ* in No. 12; *Brīyāsi* in No. 1 with *Brīyyāsī* in No. 9; cf. further *Budaśāṃ* and *Hatkaṃ* in Nos. 1 and 13; *Jsajsakä* in Nos. 9, 11, 13; *Mahvetari*, No. 9, and *Mahvittarä*, No. 18; *Maiyadatä*, No. 9, and *Mayadattä*, No. 13; *Ñuhadattä*, Nos. 13 and 17; *Pheṃkruki*, Nos. 9, 13, 15, 17, 48; *Puñagāṃ*, Nos. 1, 9, 15, 48; *Śalā*, No. 9, and *Śalāṃ*, No. 17. We can, therefore, safely conclude that the remaining documents which mention a year (*salī*) also belong to the reign of *Viśavāhaṃ*. These are[2] the years 1 in No. 15, 5 in

[1] Sarat Chandra Das, JASB. vol. lv, pt. i, p. 199 f.

[2] Dr. Hoernle has been good enough to give me revised readings of the dates occurring in the documents. No. 15, which was originally

No. 14, 11 in No. 2, 17 in No. 1, 20 in Nos. 10, 12, 13, and 22 in No. 9. If *Viśavāhaṃ's* reign is dated from A.D. 756, these dates would range from 756 to 778, while the dated Chinese documents cover the period 768–90.

Some documents are not dated in years, *salī*, but in *kṣāṇas*, and one was originally said to be dated in both, viz. in the 19th *kṣāṇa*, and the 20th year. Dr. Hoernle, however, now informs me that this was a mistake, and that the following is the state of affairs :—

No. 8 is dated *17mye kṣāṇä ṣauṣacū salya*, where *ṣauṣacū* cannot be a numeral, and does not look like any Khotanī word which I know.

No. 10 consists of two parts: The first is dated "on the 20th day of the month Ñāhaja, in the 20th year", and the second "*kṣāṇa* in the 20th year".

No. 11 is dated "on the 23rd day of the month Khaysāja, in the 19th *kṣāṇi*".

It will be seen from No. 10 that the two dates are referred, one to the 20th year and the other to *kṣāṇi* the 20th year. It here seems as if *salī* and *kṣāṇi salī* denote one and the same thing. In No. 11, which is dated in the 19th *kṣāṇi*, a person *Jsajsaka* is mentioned, who is evidently the same person who occurs in No. 9 from the 22nd year (*salī*) and No. 13 from the 20th. It therefore seems as if *kṣāṇi* in No. 11 signifies the same thing as *salī* in Nos. 9 and 13. It becomes impossible to think, as originally suggested by Dr. Hoernle, that *kṣāṇa* means some greater period, a kind of cycle.

Now it seems evident that *kṣāṇa* means the same thing as the word *kṣuṃ* which occurs in a series of documents

said to be dated in the 6th year, has the date *ṣṣauṣacū salya paḍauyse*, i.e. in the first year *ṣṣauṣacū*; No. 3, which was said to mention the third year, gives month and day and then goes on *Hvaṃ[n]ä rrāṃdä* (i.e. *rruṃdä*) *Väśavāhaṃ ṣṣauṣanīrä salya*, in the *ṣṣauṣanīrä* year of the Khotan king Viśavāhaṃ, where *ṣṣauṣanīrä* must be connected with *ṣṣauṣacū* in No. 15.

hailing from the neighbourhood of Kuchar and written in the language which most scholars have hitherto called Tokharī B, but which we now will have to designate Kucharī. In a masterly paper Professor Lévi has shown[1] that this *kṣuṃ* denotes regnal years, counted from the beginning of the reign of a Kuchar king. The ordinary word for "year" in Kucharī is *pikul*, and *kṣuṃ* does not seem to be a Kucharī word at all. Its use, however, seems to be exactly similar to the use of *kṣāṇa* in the Iranian documents, and this word must accordingly have a similar meaning. A suitable etymology, then, at once presents itself. *Kṣāṇa* must be derived from the base in Zd. *χšāy*, from which we have Soghdian *χšāvan*, might; *χšēvanē*, king,[2] Persian *šāh*. As pointed out by Professor Reichelt,[3] Iranian *χš* is often written in the Indian way, *kṣ*; f.i. *kṣīra*, Zd. *šōiθra*. *Kṣāṇa* might be an ordinary present participle, just as we find *ṣṭāna*, standing, being, from *ṣṭa*. But in that case we would expect an oblique singular *kṣāṇye*. It is, therefore, more likely that *kṣāṇa* is a noun meaning "rule", "reign", and *kṣāṇä salī* would then mean "year of the rule", "regnal year".

This reckoning by regnal years in a Chinese dependency is probably an imitation of the Chinese regnal periods, the *nien-hao*. It is also possible that we find traces of the use of devices of these periods as in Chinese. Thus we hear that the year A.D. 940 is designated as the 29th year T'ung-ch'ing, and Sir Aurel Stein[4] has maintained that this designation relates to the use of some local era. It is, however, more likely that T'ung-ch'ing was the device of the period of the then ruling king Li Sheng-t'ien. Similarly the word *ṣauṣacū* in No. 8, which also occurs in No. 15, and the word *ṣṣauṣanīrä* in No. 3,

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, pp. 311 ff.
[2] See Staël-Holstein, p. 84, n. 2, above.
[3] *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, vol. i, p. 27.
[4] Stein, loc. cit., p. 179.

which is evidently connected, may have been the device of Viśavāhaṃ's reign. I offer this explanation with considerable diffidence, the more so because I am unable to suggest any explanation of the words *ṣṣauṣacū* and *ṣṣauṣanīrä*. It seems, however, probable that *kṣāṇa* does not denote a cycle of any definite length, but "reign", "rule", and refers itself to regnal periods in imitation of the *nien-hao*. But if that is so the word is Iranian, and Kucharī *kṣuṃ*, which is apparently used in the same way, is borrowed from *kṣāṇa*. This is not in itself improbable, for there are apparently also other instances of loans by Kucharī from Khotanī. Thus Kucharī *ṣamāne*, a *śramaṇa*, has probably come to Kuchar through a language of the same kind as Khotanī, where *ṣ* regularly corresponds to Aryan *śr* and where the word *ṣamana* is common, be it that this language was Khotanī itself or the language of the Yüe-chi, from whom the Chinese are said to have received or heard of Buddhist sūtras in 2 B.C.[1]

[1] See Franke, "Zur Frage der Einführung des Buddhismus in China": Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Jahr. xiii, Abt. i, pp. 3 ff.

# XII

## THE KALAS

By Dr. A. VENKATASUBBIAH and E. MÜLLER

The present article was originally intended to be a supplement to Dr. Venkatasubbiah's dissertation on the Kalās, presented to the philosophical faculty of the University of Berne in 1910 and printed at Madras in 1911. Considering, however, the possibility that a certain number of European Sanskritists may not be acquainted with this dissertation, we believe it necessary to repeat here the most important points which have been discussed there, hoping that in this form the article may be understood by all scholars interested in these matters.—E. M.

THE word *kalā* has been translated in different ways in Sanskrit dictionaries, and, in fact, it is difficult to find in European languages an equivalent which corresponds exactly to this *terminus technicus*. Monier-Williams gives "any practical art, any mechanical or fine art"; the St. Petersburg dictionary has "Kunst, Kunstgriff, Kunstfertigkeit, Handwerk"; Böhtlingk in Hemacandra, 900, simply "Handwerk". In the same passage we find that, according to Hemacandra, *kalā* is identical with *çilpaṃ* and *vijñānaṃ*, and this is confirmed with regard to *çilpaṃ* by the *Amarakosha*. The article on the *kalās* in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 32 ff. (quoted by Aufrecht in his Catalogue of the Oxford MSS., p. 217*a*), terminates thus: *iti catuḥshashṭir aṅgavidyāḥ kāmasūtrasyāvayavinyaḥ*. *Kalā* is considered here as identical with *vidyā*. After all it seems that the translation "arts and sciences" is the most suitable. Cf. Hemacandra's *Pariçishṭaparvan*, transl. by Hertel, p. 52.

In the *Ṛigveda* the word *kalā* means "the sixteenth part", and is only used in this sense. But *Ṛigveda*, vii, 18. 15, we have *prakalāvid*, and this occurs also

*Nighaṇṭu*, iv, 3. 25. Yāska, in his commentary *Nirukta* (vi, 6), says: *prakalavid vaṇig bhavati kalāç ca veda-prakalāç ca.* From this and from Durga's comment on this it does not clearly appear that the word *kalā* here refers to the arts and sciences. Devarāja's comment on this word in the *Nighaṇṭu* runs thus: *prakalavid prakarsheṇa kalāḥ mānonmānapratimānādivishayāḥ prakṛishṭāçvagaṇitaratnaparīkshādikā veda vijānāti.* This seems distinctly to refer the word *kalā* to the arts. And if, as it appears, the Vedic Aryans were much advanced in civilization, it is not improbable that they might have been acquainted with the *kalās* in this sense and that certain arts were already definitely grouped together as *kalās*.

The next passage to be mentioned here is in the *Mahābhārata* (Kumbhakonam edition, pt. xli, p. 86, çloka 38), where Garga says that Çiva instructed him in the sixty-four *kalās*.

Other passages about the *kalās* are the following:—

muniveçapraticchannās tatra gacchantu yoshitaḥ ।
upāyajñāḥ kalājñāç ca vaiçike parinishṭhitāḥ ॥
*Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 9. 5.

ahorātraiç catuḥshashṭyā saṃyattau tāvatīḥ kalāḥ ।
gurudakshiṇayācāryaṃ chandayām āsatur nṛpa ॥
*Bhāgavata*, x, 45. 36.

ity evam ādyāsu sarvakarmakalāsu bodhisattva eva viçishyate sma. *Lalitavistara*, p. 179.

catuḥshashṭi kāmakalitāni cānubhaviyā
nūpuramekhalā abhihanī vigalitavasanāḥ ।
kāmasarāhatāḥ samadanāḥ prahasitavadanāḥ
kiṃ tava āryaputra vikṛtaṃ yadi na bhajase ॥
*Lalitavistara*, p. 417.

aparokshabuddhir vividhakalpāçrayāsu kalāsu.
*Jātakamālā*, p. 105.

mātṛvad asyāḥ kalā santi na santi.
*Mahābhāshya*, i, 1. 57, quoted in
*Ind. Studien*, xiii, 471.

catuḥshashṭikalāgamaprayogacaturaḥ.
*Daçakumāracarita*, ii, 21.

Usabhe lehāiyāo gaṇiyappahāṇāo sauṇaruyapajjavasāṇāo bāvattariṃ kalāo causaṭṭhiṃ ca mahilāguṇe uvadisai. *Kalpasūtra*, 211.

Jacobi (SBE. xxii, p. 282) translates this: "Ṛshabha taught seventy-two sciences, of which writing is the first, arithmetic the most important, and the knowledge of omens the last, and the sixty-four accomplishments of women."

The sixty-four arts of the courtezans, as given in the fourth chapter of the *Kalāvilāsa*, by Kshemendra, correspond most probably with the sixty-four accomplishments of women as taught by Ṛshabha. The German equivalents of these are given by J. J. Meyer in the introduction to his translation of Kshemendra's *Samayamātṛkā*, pp. xlvii–ix, and in a somewhat different way by Richard Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, p. 569 f.

Another difficult question is about the antiquity of this *terminus technicus*. Venkatasubbiah (p. 62 f.) quotes a passage from the Kālikāpurāṇa (ii, 28, 29) which narrates the origin of the *kalās* at the same time and under the same circumstances with the forty-nine *Bhāvas* and the *Hāvas*. The earlier *Purāṇas*, however, like the *Vishṇu* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, and also the *Muṇḍaka* and *Chāndogya Upanishads* do not mention them.

The number of the *kalās* is fixed at sixty-four by Vātsyāyana, while the Jaina texts uniformly mention seventy-two and the *Lalitavistara* even eighty-six. The number sixty-four is the original one, as it follows the subdivisions of the ten *maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛigvedasaṃhitā*

and must have been fixed before the Jaina sūtras at a time when this division of the *Ṛigvedasaṃhitā* was felt as recent (p. 9).

## I

Venkatasubbiah gives ten lists of *kalās*, which, however, are not arranged chronologically. The first is taken from the *Samavāyasūtra*, which was composed before 300 B.C. (Jacobi, SBE. xxii, p. xl). The list, as it is given by Weber, *Indische Studien*, 16, pp. 401 ff., contains eighty-seven items, and in the Berliner *Verzeichniss*, ii, 409 ff., even ninety-five, but this is a mistake, as Nos. 44–7 and 66–7 are missing in the latter. Three similar lists are given in the *Nāyādhammakahā* (ed. Steinthal, Leipzig, 1901), p. 29, in the *Aupapātikaṃ* (ed. Leumann, Leipzig, 1881), p. 77, and in the *Rājapraçnīyaṃ* (Calcutta edition, Samvat, 1933), p. 290; but they contain only seventy-two items, leaving some of the items given in the *Samavāya* list and adding a few fresh ones.

Some remarks may be inserted here in addition to those given in the dissertation, pp. 9–18.

*Ad* i, 3: *rūvaṃ* = *rūpaṃ*, "sculpture, painting, cutting forms in cloth, gold, wood," etc. Bühler, in p. 5 of his *Indische Palaeographie* (Grundriss), says that the word *rūpa* is used in the sense of "applied arithmetic", i.e. of the reckoning of money, interests, and debts, as well as that of elementary mensuration.

*Ad* i, 66: *hiraṇṇavāda* (v.l. *hiraṇṇapāga*) in the *Samavāya* list, and *hiraṇṇajutti* in the *Nāyādhammakahā* list. The word *hiraṇṇa* has been translated by Hoernle in the *Uvāsagadasāo* by the term "unwrought gold", chiefly relying on the authority of the Gujarathi paraphrase of Megharāja. But the same Megharāja explains the term *hiraṇṇa* in the *Samavāyasūtra* by "silver".

*Ad* i, 79: *vaṭṭakheḍḍa*. Morris in his note on the Pāli word *aṅgulaka* (Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1885,

p. 50) says that both these words refer to an old game of whirligigs.

## II

The second list is that of the *Lalitavistara* (Calcutta edition), p. 178. The date of the *Lalitavistara* being very uncertain, we can only say that this list is younger than No. I. It contains eighty-six items, most of which correspond with items in the synonymic dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti* (especially §§ 216, 217, and 245).

The translation, as given by Venkatasubbiah, does not agree throughout with that by Rājendralāla Mitra (*Lalitavistara*, pp. 213 f.). We will mention here a few points.

No. 25. *akshuṇṇavedhitvaṃ*. Venk. "art of throwing a spear so as to graze the mark". Mitra, "guessing." The parallel passage, *Jāt.* v, 129. 17. 26, is translated by Francis "men who pierce like lightning" (v, 67). Kern has "target cleaving" (*Bodhicaryāvatāra* comm., ed. Poussin, p. 124 note). Both translators are in favour of Venk.

No. 26. *marmavedhitva*. Venk. has "shooting so as to hit the vital parts". Mitra, "divining other's thoughts". The first rendering is supported by the substantive *amarmavedhitā*, Hemacandra, 69 (translated "Schonung" by Böhtlingk).

No. 27. *çabdavedhitvam*. Venk. "shooting an arrow correctly at any invisible person or beast by the sole clue of the sound produced by them". Mitra, "explaining enigmas." The translation of the parallel passage, *Jāt.* v, 129, "men who are able to shoot at a sound (without seeing)," agrees with Venk. Cf. also *Mahāvastu*, ii, 213.5, and Senart's note.

No. 57. *miçritalakshaṇam*. Venk., following Foucaux, corrects *meṇṭhalakshaṇam*, and translates "marks of rams". Mitra, "marks of eunuchs."

No. 58. *kaiṭabheçvaralakshaṇam.* Venk. quotes Monier-Williams' translation, "a kind of script," which seems to be guesswork. Mitra, "demonology." This translation seems to be preferable.

No. 74. *veçikam.* Venk. translates "the *veçika* philosophy", and quotes passages from the *Nandīsūtra* (p. 391) and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* (p. 92). Mitra, "dress." The St. Petersburg dictionary wants to make out that it is a mistake for *vaiçikam*, "harlotry," but this is certainly wrong. If it really is a mistake for *vaiçikam*, then it must be the *vaiçikam* in *Mahāvyutp.* 216. 2, which is a synonym of *vārttā*, "profession of a vaiçya" (= agriculture, breeding of cattle, etc.).[1] But it may also be a philosophical *terminus technicus*, and then it would agree with *kāvilaṃ, logāyataṃ, saṭṭhitantaṃ* in the Jaina texts. In this case the translation of Venk. would be correct.

## III

The third list is given in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 32, 33, and, with slight variations, in the commentaries of Çrīdhara Jīvagosvāmin, Vallabhācārya, and Çukadeva on *Bhāgavata*, x, 45. 36. According to Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, p. 11, Vātsyāyana belongs to the first centuries of the Christian era, but it is impossible as yet to determine his date exactly. The list contains sixty-four items (see above, p. 357). The interpretations in Venkatasubbiah's dissertation follow those given by Yaçodhara in his commentary *Jayamangala* on the *Kāmasūtra*.

In the present additions we have made use besides of the following commentaries:—

(1) Giridharji (Giri) in his edition of the *Bhāgavata*.

(2) Bhāskara Nṛisiṃha (Bhās.), the scholiast of the

[1] Jacobi, "Kultur Sprach- und Literarhistorisches aus dem Kauṭilīya" in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1911, p. 956.

*Kāmasūtra*, as represented in a manuscript copy of his scholium (MS. of the Mysore Oriental Library).

(3) Kāçīnātha's abridgment of Sadānanda's *Toshinī*, commentary on the *Bhāgavata* (K.S.).

(4) Rājendralāla Mitra's translation and reading of List III, which he has given in pp. 186–7 of his translation of the *Lalitavistara* (Mitra).

No. 5. *viçeshakacchedyaṃ*, "cleverness in making marks on the forehead" (Giri) or "tattooing" (Mitra).

No. 6. *taṇḍulakusumabalivikārāḥ*, "the making of different kinds of ear-ornaments" (Bhās.).

No. 9. *maṇibhūmikākarma*, "the making of dolls" (Bhās.). Mitra's translation "setting jewels" seems preferable.

No. 12. *udakaghātaḥ*, "striking water so as to make it go in different ways (downwards, upwards, and contrariwise)" (Val. and Çuka.). Jīva. and K.S. explain this term by *jalastambha* (suspending the properties of water).

No. 13. *citrāç ca yogāḥ*, "means or methods of producing all sorts of wonders" (Val. and Jīva.), "pictorial art" (Bhās. and Mitra). Both translations are equally good. Cf. *citrayogaḥ* (*Vyutp.* 223. 95).

No. 16. *nepathyaprayogāḥ*, "skill in dressing" (Bhās. Yaçodhara), "scenic representation" (Mitra). The first translation is supported by Böhtlingk's rendering (Putz), Hemac. 635. Cf. *nepaccaṃ* (*Vyutp.* 281. 100).

No. 22. *hastalāghavaṃ*, "readiness of hand" (Jīva and Giri). Bhās. explains it as "stealing things under the very eyes of the owners". I prefer the first translation.

No. 26. *sūtrakrīḍā*, "making dolls and figures, etc., move by pulling strings" (Jīva., Giri, Bhās.), "embroidering, knitting of figures with string" (K.S.), "making artificial flowers with thread" (Mitra). It is difficult to decide which is the best of these translations.

No. 29. *pratimālā*, "making replicas of all things" (Jīva.), "making substitutes of all things" (Val. and Giri),

"assumption of various forms" (Bhās.), "making images" (K.S. and Mitra). Wilson's dictionary has "an exercise analogous to capping verses, reciting verse for verse, as a trial of memory". With regard to the following item, I consider this the best rendering.

No. 30. *durvacakayogāḥ*, "means of expressing ideas which cannot be expressed" (Jīva., Giri, K.S.), "writing in cipher" (Bhās.), "mimicry" (Mitra). I prefer the first of these translations.

No. 35. *takshakarmāṇi*, v.l. *tarkakarmāṇi* and *tarkukarmāṇi*. Most probably the reading *takshakarmāṇi* is wrong, as No. 36 is *takshaṇaṃ*, and it is not likely that two items following each other should contain the same word. Giri, Çuka, and Val. read *tarkakarmāṇi*, and translate "the knowing of all things as well as making all things by means of logic". Jīva., Bhās., and Mitra read *tarkukarmāṇi*, and translate "making thread or yarn of cotton by means of a spindle or distaff". The context is in favour of the second reading and translation.

No. 44. *utsādane saṃvāhane keçamardane ca kauçalaṃ*. Jīva. and Giri explain *utsādanam* as "the separation of enemies by sowing suspicion in their minds by means of charms". We stick to the explanation as given by Venk., "proficiency in massaging, shampooing, and anointing (the hair." Cf. Hemacandra, 635.[1]

No. 48. *pushpaçakaṭikā* is explained by Giri as "making carts, *vimānas*, etc., of flowers". Jīva. and K.S. explain it as "knowledge of omens by means of the *pushpaçakaṭikāvidyā*". This latter meaning seems preferable.

No. 50. *yantramātṛikā*, and No. 51, *dhāraṇamātṛikā*, are considered as one term by Çrī., Giri, and Val., and explained as "making *yantras*, or metallic plates engraved with characters for worshipping". Bhās. explains it

[1] The Çabdakalpadruma reads *keçamārjanakauçalaṃ*. *Keçamārjana* is "a comb". Hemac. 688.

as "the means for floating on the air", and Mitra as "exercises in enigmatic poetry". I prefer the first of these explanations.

No. 52. *sampāṭhyam*, in Çrī., Jīva., Çuka., Val., and Giri, *saṃvācyam* in Bhās. Jīva. translates his reading "the lapidary art, i.e. the sawing of hard substances like diamonds, etc." Bhās. explains his reading as *samyag jñānam*, i.e. "knowing well". Jīva.'s translation is certainly to be rejected, even if we adopt his reading. The best translation which suits both readings is "the art of conversation" in the commentary to the *Bhāgavata*, 10. 45. 36.

No. 53. *mānasī*, "knowing what passes in other minds" (Jīva., K.S., and Bhās.). Molesworth, following Çrī., Çuka., Giri, and Val., takes 53 and 54 as one term, *mānasī kāvyakriyā*, and translates "poetic creation and invention". We prefer this reading and translation.

No. 56. *kriyākalpaḥ*, v.l. *kriyāvikalpāḥ* (Çrī., Jīva., Val., Giri, Bhās.), "disregarding the usual way of doing things, and doing those things in other ways." Max Müller, *India what can it teach us?* p. 363, suggests that this may be meant for Jaiminīya.

No. 58. *vastragopanāni* (Jīva., Giri, K.S., and Mitra), "changing the appearance of fabrics, such as making cotton cloth appear like silk." Bhās. has the v.l. *vastugopanāni*, and explains it as "cleverness in concealing things which are in close proximity".

No. 60. *ākarshakrīḍā*. This is most probably identical with *ākarshaṇaṃ*, "an art by means of which one person compels another to come to him." Cf. List VII, 32, and *Vyutp.* 197. 25; Weber, *Berliner Verz.*, i, 270.

No. 62. *vainayikīnām vidyānām jñānam*, "the means which take us to our destination quickly," as *jalaplavana* (vii, 37), *pādukāsiddhi* (vii, 38), etc. (Bhās.).

No. 63. *vaijayikīnāṃ vidyānāṃ jñānaṃ*, "the means of obtaining victory," as *ghaṭikāsiddhi* (vii, 40), etc. (Bhās.).

No. 64. *vyāyāmikīnāṃ vidyānāṃ jñānam*, "knowledge of the sciences connected with physical exercise." Çrī. and Çuka. have the v.l. *vaitālikīnām*, "sciences of a bard or panegyrist." Cf. *Mahāvastu*, iii, 113. 2.

## IV

The fourth list is given in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, p. 75. This is the shortest, containing only forty-eight items. Most of them are contained in one or two of the preceding lists. Only a few new ones are added, namely (3) *pramāṇaṃ*, "the system of pūrvamimāṃsa propounded by Jaimini."

No. 4. *dharmaçāstraṃ*, "treatises on law."

No. 15. *turagavayojñānaṃ*, "judging of the age of horses."

No. 19. *pustakavyāpāras*, "handling of books, i.e. reading the çastras."

No. 22. *gandharvaçāstrāṇi*, "sciences of Gandharvas," i.e. singing, etc.

No. 29. *āyurvedaḥ*, "the science of medicine."

No. 32. *suruṅgopabhedas*, "tunnelling."

No. 37. *ratiratnāni*, "book on erotics."

No. 46. *sarvasaṅjñāḥ*, "all names." This remains doubtful.

No. 47. *sarvaçilpāni*, "all technical arts." Cf. *çilpādhyāyaḥ* (*Vyutp.* 221. 10).

## V

The fifth list (Pañcāla's) seems to be very old, as, according to tradition, it was composed before the Jaina sūtras, and at a time when the division of the *Ṛiksaṃhitā* into sixty-four chapters was felt as recent. This list is given and explained in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 96–176, under ten headings. As all these terms are intimately connected with erotics, they are not translated by Venkatasubbiah.

## VI

The sixth list is considerably younger. It is given by Yaçodhara in his commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 31. To judge from the extracts and quotations given by Yaçodhara, he must have lived in the eighth century A.D. Most of the items given in this list correspond with those in Lists I–IV. There are, however, some new ones.

No. 13. *raṅgaparijñānam*, "knowledge of the stage."

No. 18. *māyākṛitaṃ pāshaṇḍasamayajñānam*, "knowledge of the tenets of heretical systems, which are produced by illusion."

No. 20. *lokajñānam*, "knowledge of the world."

No. 21. *vaicakshaṇyaṃ*, "cleverness."

## VII

This list is given in Rāmacandra's commentary on the first verse in Lakshmaṇakavi's continuation of the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* by Vidarbharāja. It is given in the form of nine anushṭubh verses, and consists of sixty-four items. A large number of the *kalās* in this list are concerned with occult arts and alchemy. I shall only mention some of them which are particularly interesting.

No. 14. *sāmudrikam*, "the science of finding out a person's fortune by the lines of his hands, feet, and body; chiromancy." This word must be derived from *mudrā*, not from *samudra*. Cf. *sāmudralakshaṇaṃ* (*Vyutp.* 221. 14).

No. 23. *khanyāvādaḥ*, "location and acquirement of buried treasure." Cf. *khanyavādī* (*Vyutp.* 186. 83).

No. 31. *vaçyam*, "an art by means of which one person can bring another completely under his influence." Cf. *sarvavaçyam* (Weber, *Verz.* i, 270).

No. 32. *ākarshaṇaṃ*, "an art by which one person compels another to come to him." Cf. *Vyutp.* 197. 25, and Weber, *Verz.* i, 270.

No. 33. *vidveshaṇaṃ*, "an art by which one person is made to hate another" (Weber, *Verz.* i, 271).

No. 34. *uccāṭanaṃ*, "driving away a person from any locality." Cf. *Vyutp.* 197. 28, and Weber, i, 270.

No. 35. *māraṇam*, "killing by means of black art" (Weber, i, 270).

*Kalās* 26–35 are technically known as *shaṭkarma*. Cf. Oxford Cat. 100*a*, 38: *çāntir vaçyaṃ stambhanañ ca dvesham uccāṭamaraṇe.*

No. 38. *pādukāsiddhi*, "an occult art by means of which one can transport oneself instantly to any desired place." Cf. Oxford Cat. 99*a*, 109*a*, and *pādukāsādhana*, Weber, i, 270; Wassiljew, 191–6.

No. 39. *mṛtsiddhi*, "an art by means of which a person can produce anything he likes out of clay."

No. 40. *ghaṭikāsiddhi*. Most probably this is a mistake for *guṭikās*°, "success in pills by means of which one can produce all sorts of wonders." Cf. Oxford Cat. 99*a*, 9; 109*a*, 8, f. 6.

No. 45. *maṇisiddhi*, "success in precious stones."

No. 46. *mantrasiddhi*, "success in mantras." Cf. Oxford Cat. 94*a*, 20.

No. 47. *aushadhasiddhi*, "success in drugs and medicines."

In the variant of this list given in the *Çivatantra-ratnākara*, Nos. 46 and 47 form one item—*mantrau-shadhasiddhi*. In order to fill up the gap a new item, *vāksiddhi*, "success in speech," is introduced. Cf. *vāk-siddha* (*Pañcar.* ii, 8. 4).

Tāranātha in his History of Buddhism, translated by Schiefner, p. 74, mentions eight *siddhis*, of which the *guṭikāsiddhi* is the first. The other seven are given in the note to this passage on p. 304. In the same note Wassiljew tells us that there are other *siddhis* besides the eight mentioned above, viz. *pādukāsiddhi*, etc. An accurate description of the *siddhis* is also

given in Wassiljew's *Buddhism* (St. Petersburg, 1860), pp. 191–6.

Jacobi, in his translation of Umāsvati's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* (Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. Ges., 60, p. 544), tells us that the commentary to this sūtra gives a detailed list of all the *siddhis* according to the Jaina doctrine. Evidently there must be a larger number than those mentioned by Tāranātha and Wassiljew.

## XIII

# THE NAME KUSHAN

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

IN a paper at p. 79 above, it is sought to show that the name of the race to which Kanishka and his connections belonged was Kuśa or Kusha; not Kushan or Kushān, as is believed at present. I would invite closer attention to some of the evidence, which hardly seems to bear out such a view: other parts of it are being dealt with by Mr. Allan.[1]

In the accompanying plate, the coins are figured from casts which Mr. Allan has kindly supplied: the Māt inscription is illustrated from an inked squeeze for which I am indebted to Dr. Vogel: the Panjtār inscription is reproduced from General Sir A. Cunningham's original figuring of it: the word *Gushaṇa* in the Māṇikiāla inscription is reproduced from the facsimile given with M. Senart's paper on the record. Mr. Cousens has been so kind as to make the photographs from which the plate has been put together.

### The Māt inscription

As a result of the Kharōshṭhī alphabet not marking long vowels,[2] and of the Greek alphabet not distinguishing between *a* and *ā*, there has been a doubt as to the quantity of the vowel in the second syllable of the name: some writers have used the form Kushān; others of us have preferred Kushan; others have used Kuṣana, Kushana. The doubt has now been removed, and the Indianized form of the name has been shown, by the inscription, mentioned in footnotes on pp. 80, 87, above,

[1] See farther on in this number of the Journal.

[2] At any rate, as we have this alphabet in inscriptions and on coins.

which was discovered in 1911–12 by Pandit Radha Krishna at Māt near Mathurā.[1]

The inscription consists of four lines, in the Mixed Dialect and Brāhmī characters, on the pedestal of a colossal figure of a Kushān king seated on his throne, and registers the building of a temple with a cloister, a reservoir, and a well. It is not dated; and the king's name is illegible: all that can be said is that it is not a name already known to us, and that the record seems to belong to a period later than the time of Vāsudēva. The king's titles, however, are quite clear; the words are Mah[ā]rājo, Rājātirājo, D[ē]vaputro, and—

Kushāṇa-putr[o]:
"son *or* descendant of the Kushāṇas."

In the form *Kushāṇa* thus given, three points for comment present themselves. In the first place, if the name had a long *ū* in the first syllable at that time, the writer of this record, using the quite precise Brāhmī alphabet, would have had no difficulty in presenting the name accordingly. But he has given the short *u*.[2] And this is borne out by the Greek transliterations, in which we always have *o* = *u*; not *ou* = *ū*. We may take it, then, that the long *ū* which we have in the expressions *Kūšān šāh* and *Kūšān šāhān šāh*, traceable elsewhere from about A.D. 300 (see p. 79 above), is a later development.

Secondly; in the second syllable the long *ā* attached to the *sh* is unmistakable.

Thirdly; in respect of the third syllable it may be noted first, as regards something which has been said in note 1 on p. 87 above, that there is distinctly not a subscript *u*: the plate, indeed, shows below the *ṇ* some small

[1] See the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31 March, 1912, p. 2, para. 5.

[2] The vowel is somewhat blurred, owing to damage to the stone: but it is distinctly recognizable as the short one.

detached marks which an enthusiast might claim to be remnants of an obliterated *u*; but the back of the squeeze makes it absolutely certain that they are only due to damage to the surface of the stone, and that a subscript *u* was not contemplated. The vowel, therefore, is *a*. The consonant is distinctly the cerebral *ṇ*. This, in an Indian record, is the natural result of the preceding *sh*, which must turn a dental *n* into *ṇ*: it does not bind us to accept the same nasal as belonging to the word in its native form. It is to be added that we cannot find an *anusvāra* and read *Kushāṇaṁ*, and still less *Kushāṇāṁ*:[1] the word is nothing but the base *Kushāṇa*, in composition with *putro*, just like *dēva* in *dēvaputro*.

This record, therefore, presents the name as *Kushāṇa*, in three syllables. The final *a*, however, again, would be a natural Indian feature, for purposes of declension: and the Chinese *Kuei-shuang* and the Tibetan *Gu-zan* (see p. 381 below) mark the name as being in its native form dissyllabic, and as ending with a nasal the nature of which is not exactly determinable: and the later form *Kūšān* is itself in agreement with this. Accordingly, we may take this Indianized Brāhmī form as representing an original *Kushān*, and may now agree to adopt the form Kushān, with the long *ā*, for all general purposes.

It may be added here that the Kharōshṭhī alphabet does not always, if indeed ever, distinguish clearly between the cerebral *ṇ* and the dental *n*. But the dialect recognized both these nasals. And, in view of the clear spelling *Kushāṇa* which we have in this Brāhmī record from Māt, I think we must take it that the Kharōshṭhī presentations of the name, whether in inscriptions or on coins, always intend the cerebral *ṇ*, even if they do not mark it distinctly; just as much as they imply, though they do not show it, the long *ā* in the preceding syllable.

[1] The marks above the *ṇa* are only due to damage to the stone; compare similar marks in other places in this record.

**The Panjtār inscription**

This is a Kharōshṭhī record from the Yūsufzai country, on the banks of the Indus: it seems to have been actually found at a place named Salīmpūr, near Panjtār; but it has come to be known as the Panjtār inscription. The original stone being now not forthcoming, we are dependent on the two figurings of the record given by Cunningham in JASB, vol. 23 (1854), plate at p. 705, and *Reports*, vol. 5 (1875), plate 16, No. 4. A reference is made to this record in note 1 on p. 81 above, but in a way which hardly does justice to it; as the result, apparently, of the writer not knowing the earlier figuring of it, reproduced herewith.

The important part of the record is line 1, which gives the dating: this begins —

Saṁ 100 20 2 Śravaṇasa masasa di prathamē 1.

Then comes the word *maharayasa*. This is followed by *Gushaṇasa*. And there comes next, at the end of the line, a word of three syllables: here, the first two syllables are unmistakably *raja*; and the original figuring makes it a moral certainty that the third, which is damaged, was *mi*, giving the quite natural and appropriate word *rajami*. Accordingly we have—

maharayasa Gushaṇasa rajami.

In the reference to this record, the suggestion is implied that we might perhaps find in *Gushaṇasa* an equivalent of the expression *Kūšān šāh*, mentioned above (p. 370). To apply the word in that way, however, we must take it as a base in composition with *rajami*. But the words *maharayasa* and *rajami* prevent that. *Gushaṇasa* cannot be accepted as anything but the genitive singular of *Gushaṇa*, in apposition with the genitive singular *maharayasa* and dependent on the locative *rajami*. And thus line 1 says:—

"The year 122, the first day, 1, of the month Śrāvaṇa, in the reign of the great king the Gushāṇa."

### The Māṇikiāla inscription

This inscription, to which reference has been made in the note on p. 80 above and on p. 84, is another Kharōshṭhī record, from the Rāwal Piṇḍī District: it has been edited by M. Senart, with a facsimile, in JA, 1896, i, p. 8, and by Professor Lüders in JRAS, 1909, p. 666.

In the opening passage of this record we have the expression—

Gushaṇa-vaśa-saṁvardhaka:
"an increaser of the Gushāṇa race."[1]

The first term presents matter for comment. And in the first place I would observe, in passing, that the use of *g* instead of *k* in the first syllable seems to connect this record in time with the Panjtār inscription, and so to give another reason for looking on it as a somewhat late record: for other remarks on the point of date see JRAS, 1913, p. 105.

But the syllable in which we are interested here is the third, which both M. Senart and Professor Lüders have read as *na*, with the dental *n* and the inherent vowel *a*.

As regards the consonant, I think that, for a reason stated on p. 371 above, we must take it as the cerebral *ṇ*.

As regards its vowel, the position is as follows. The vertical stem of the *ṇ* has at the bottom a strong turn to the left. No special value was attached to this feature by M. Senart and Professor Lüders: both of them read the syllable as *na*. It has, however, now been proposed, on p. 84 above,[2] to take this detail as meaning the vowel

[1] For the general bearing of this expression compare *Aṁgiya-kula-vadhana*, "an increaser of the Aṁgiya family," in the Nānā Ghāṭ inscription, ASWI, vol. 5, p. 60, line 3. I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for reminding me of this.

[2] The turn to the left is there spoken of as a "hook": but it does not amount to that, being not in any way curved or bent upwards. The mark which M. Senart (loc. cit., pp. 10–11) dismissed, along with some more or less similar marks attending other letters, as being either a carelessness of the engraver or an accidental mark on the stone, is not this turn to the left, but is the less well defined wedge-shaped mark,

*u*, and so to find here the form *Gushanu*, = *Gushānu*, and to treat it as the genitive plural of *Gusha*, = *Kusha*. But, even apart from the point that the language of the record requires not a genitive but a base in composition with the following term *vaśa*, an inspection of the *u* of *gu*, —with which we may compare also the clear and certain *u* in *budhēhi* and *budhilēna* farther on in this same record,— will show at once that we have no *u* in this syllable: to express that, the turn to the left at the bottom of the vertical stem of the letter would have been continued up and back in a loop to the right to meet the vertical again.[1] We cannot hesitate to agree with M. Senart and Professor Lüders that the vowel of this syllable is *a*; and so we have the name here as *Gushaṇa*, = *Gushāṇa*. The turn to the left at the bottom of the vertical stroke is nothing but a slight exaggeration of the slope to the left with which the Kharōshṭhī *ṇ* often ends, and is quite in agreement with the general sloping character of the writing of this record. It may be noted that the *sha* also is formed here somewhat exceptionally, in respect of the turn to the left and the bend downwards at the bottom of the vertical stem.

### The Shaonano shao coin-legend

The obverses of the coins of Kanishka, other than those which have a Greek legend in uncial letters, give two legends in cursive Greek letters. One legend,

point downwards, which runs on in continuation of the vertical stem from the point where the turn to the left begins. Professor Lüders, also, attached no value to this mark. It is due, in my opinion, to the surface of the stone splintering and flaking off before the push of the engraving tool. There are marks of the same class, coming down from the line above, over the *sha*: and there is something of the same kind on the left of the *u* of the *gu*.

[1] See also the *u* of *gushaṇasa* in the Panjtār inscription: the earlier figuring, reproduced in the accompanying plate, shows the loop not made completely: the later figuring shows a complete loop, and is perhaps more correct in this detail; but either form is admissible.

apparently found on only the copper coins, is a quite short one:—

Shao Kanēshki:
"King Kanishka."

The other legend, apparently confined to the gold coins, is read and understood thus:—

Shaonano shao Kanēshki Koshano:
"King of kings, Kanishka, the Kushān."

This latter legend is also found on the coins of Huvishka and Vāsudēva, both gold and copper, with only the difference in the proper name. As regards the names, it may be noted that in the case of Vāsudēva the word is presented sometimes as *Bazodēo*, quite correctly, and sometimes as *Bazoaēo*, with the mistake of *a* for *d*, and sometimes there are other corruptions: in the other cases we have the forms *Kanēshki* and *Kanēshko*, and *Ooēshki*, *Ooēshko*, *Ooēshke*, and *Ouoēshki*.

The proposal has now been made, on p. 83, to take this legend as beginning (or ending) with the proper name, so as to place *Koshano*, in either case, before *shaonano*, and to treat the word, not as a nominative singular in apposition with the proper name, but as a genitive plural dependent on *shaonano shao*, and thus to find here the equivalent of the expression *Kūšān šāhān šāh*, mentioned above (p. 370). An examination of the coins, however, will soon show that any such alteration of the order of the words of the legend cannot be admitted.

The legend runs round the edge of the coins: and there are two arrangements of it, A and B. In A, which is by far the more common one, the legend begins at the bottom of the coin: in B it begins at the top.[1] Some clear typical instances are as follows:—

[1] This arrangement, B, which seems to have become the prevailing one with the Later Kushāns, is in fact very rare among the earlier coins. There, in addition to B, 1, I find it only on (1) gold coins of Kanishka, in Gardner, plate 26, figs. 16, 17, 18; but the last of these probably

**A, 1**: a gold coin of Kanishka: Gardner, *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 132, No. 27.[1] The word *shaonano* begins down on the left, beside the king's right foot, below the altar: and *Koshano* ends on the right, with the final *o* close to the left foot.

**A, 2**: a gold coin of Huvishka: Gardner, plate 27, fig. 16. *Shaonano* begins down below, as in A, 1, on the left of the clouds from which the upper part of the king emerges: and *Koshano* ends on the right of them.

**A, 3**: a gold coin of Vāsudēva: Gardner, plate 29, fig. 10. *Shaonano* begins, again, as in A, 1 and 2, down below, on the left, beside the altar: and *Koshano* ends on the right, close to the king's left foot.

**B, 1**: a gold coin of Kanishka: Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 17, fig. 12. *Shaonano* begins up on the right, behind the king's helmet: and *Koshano* ends up on the left, in front of the helmet.

**B, 2**: a gold coin bearing the name and legend of Kanishka but not belonging to the original king of this name: Cunningham, plate 17, fig. 8.[2] *Shaonano* begins here, again, up on the right, beside the top of the spear in the king's left hand: and *Koshano* ends up on the left, over the front of the nimbus.

Thus, the words *Koshano* and *shaonano* are regularly separated by substantial parts of the general design of

belongs to the later series: also Cunningham, plate 16, fig. 8 (his fig. 13 = Gardner, fig. 16): (2) copper coins of Huvishka, in Gardner, plate 29, figs. 2, 4, and Cunningham, plate 19, figs. E, F: (3) coins bearing the name of Vāsudēva; gold, in Cunningham, plate 24, figs. C, D, and 12 (legends very corrupt, and probably Later Kushān); copper, ibid., fig. 10.

[1] This has been figured in preference to Gardner's plate 27, fig. 7, because there is a doubt as to the genuineness of the latter coin.

[2] In the right field there is the Brāhmī syllable *pa*; and for this and other reasons the coin is assigned to one of the Later Kushāns, the first successors of the Kanishka—Vāsudēva group: see Cunningham in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. 13 (1893), pp. 115, 119; the coin is figured again there in plate 8, fig. 1. I am indebted to Mr. Allan for drawing my attention to this disposal of the coin.

the obverse.[1] And any such separation of the other complete words of the legend is very rare: in fact, the published obverses do not give any instance of separation between the proper name and *Koshano*, whether by part of the general design or even by a blank space; and only two cases can be cited in which there happens to be a separation between *shaonano shao* and the proper name.[2] On the other hand, the proper name of the king is almost always divided, and so is subjected to a treatment which could never be given to the first word of a legend. This happens not to be the case in B, 1, where enough margin was made to carry the legend round unbroken. But in A, 1 *Kanēshki* is divided by the king's helmet and the top of the spear between *a* and *n*: in A, 2 *Ooēshki* is divided by the helmet after the first *o*: in A, 3 *Bazoaēo* (for *Bazodēo*) is divided by the diadem and the top of the spear between *a* and *z*: and in B, 2 *Kanēshki* is divided between *a* and *n* by the king's feet and the altar.

[1] But it is said that every rule has its exceptions: and the remark applies here in a few cases. See, for instance, two gold coins of Vāsudēva: Cunningham, plate 24, figs. A and D. Here we have the usual standing king, with splayed feet and altar. The arrangement of the legend is that of class A above. *Shaonano* begins down on the left, beside the altar. The *n* of *Koshano* stands on the right, beside the king's left foot: but there was no room there for the final *o*; and it was inserted on the left, below the altar, beside the right foot.

See also two other gold coins of the same king: Gardner, plate 29, fig. 9; Cunningham, plate 24, fig. 3. The arrangement of the legend is the same. Here, again, the final *o* is on the left, below the altar, beside the king's right foot. The letters *oshan* are missing.

See also another gold coin of the same king: Cunningham, plate 24, fig. 4. The arrangement of the legend is again the same. The king's name is presented as *Bazoa*, with the mistake of *a* for *d*, and with omission of *ēo*. The final *o* of *Koshano* stands below the space between the king's feet.

Even in these instances, however, it is clear that the legend begins with *shaonano shao*.

[2] One case is the coin of Huvishka figured farther on, C, 2: here, something which projects from the top of the king's head-gear lies between *shao* and *Ooēshko*. The other is the coin of Vāsudēva mentioned last in the preceding note: here, again, there is a separation between *shao* and the proper name, due to the king's diadem.

In this way, the legend is marked distinctly as beginning always with *shaonano*. And *Koshano* stands in such a position that it is difficult to think of any rule for the order of words in a prose sentence according to which it can be a genitive dependent on the term *shaonano shao*, or even on the proper name.

The evidence, so far, both under this head and in the other lines, is all against the view which is put forward in the paper mentioned above. Now, however, we come to something, overlooked by the writer of the paper, which might certainly be held to bear it out, though not exactly in the form in which it is urged. We find it on two types of Huvishka, which belong to class A above, but add another word at the end of the legend.

**C, 1**: a gold coin of Huvishka: Gardner, plate 28, fig. 10. *Shaonano* begins down on the left, beside the clouds on which the king is seated. On the right, *Koshano* is followed by another *shao*, which ends on the right of the clouds.

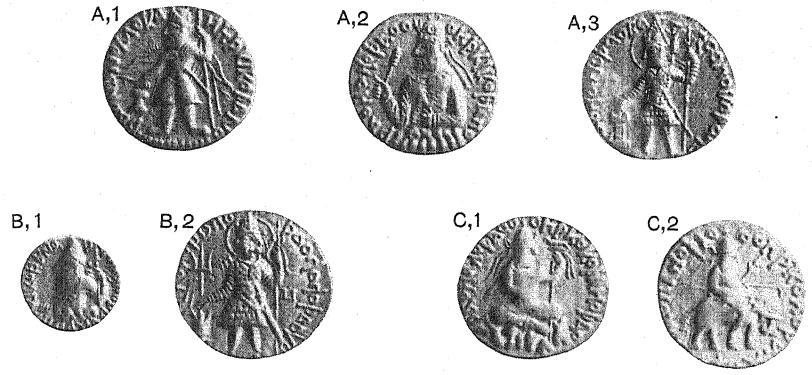
**C, 2**: a gold coin of Huvishka: Gardner, plate 27, fig. 12. Except for the separation of *shaonano shao* and *Ooēshko* by something which projects from the top of the king's head-gear (mentioned in note 2 on p. 377 above), the legend runs all round the coin. *Shaonano* begins down on the left, behind the elephant's right hind foot. *Koshano* ends at the bottom, below the animal's right fore foot, and is followed, as on C, 1, by another *shao*.[1]

Thus, these two coins give the legend in the amplified form :—

Shaonano shao Ooēshko Koshano shao.

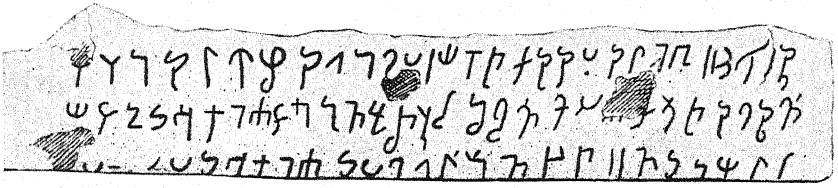
[1] This last word was overlooked by Gardner in this case: but Cunningham recognized it; and it is unmistakable. The bottom and part of the body of the *sh*, with part of the *a*, can be seen clearly below the two hind feet of the elephant. The final *o* perhaps fell outside the coin, along with the top parts of those two letters and of some others on both sides, or perhaps was inserted in miniature close behind the right hind foot.

The Shaonano shao coin-legend

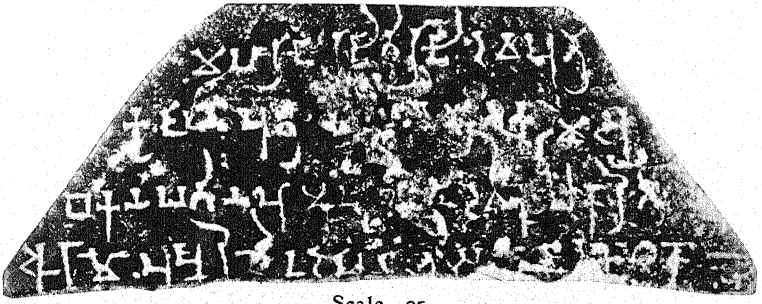



From the Manikiala inscription

The Panjtar inscription: the year 122



The Mat inscription



Scale .25

Here, indeed, in *Koshano shao* we have an exact equivalent of *Kūšān šāh*. But we do not take either *Koshano* as a genitive plural dependent on *shao*, or *Kūšān* as a similar genitive dependent on *šāh*. Though *shaonano*, = *shāunānu*, is evidently a genitive plural and the case-ending seems to be *ano*, = *ānu*, and not *nano*, = *nānu*, still, even if that word is not a borrowed one but belongs to the same language with *Koshano*,[1] it can hardly follow that every word in that language ending in *ano*, *ānu*, must be a genitive plural. All the other evidence is in the direction of taking *Koshano*, *Kushānu*, as a nominative singular: and there cannot be any difficulty about treating it as such in this case also; regarding it here, however, as being in apposition with the following word *shao*, instead of with the proper name. We thus render this legend by:—

"King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushān king."

On the same lines we render the later expressions *Kūšān šāh* and *Kūšān šāhān šāh* by "the Kūšān king: the Kūšān king of kings."

**General remarks**

The ultimate basis of this new proposal about the name of the race is plainly as follows (see p. 86):—

1. The Chinese translation of the Sūtrālaṁkāra of Aśvaghōsha contains a passage which says:—"In the Kusha race there was a king named Kanishka."[2]

2. In the Tibetan version of the Mahārājakanikalēkha of Mātṛichēṭa there is an expression by which Kanika (Kanishka) is addressed as "born in the Kuśa race."[3]

We are supposed to have thus a name which was written as Kusha or Kuśa, indifferently. It is claimed that we have on the coins, in the *Shaonano shao* legend,

[1] It seems to be admitted that this is a moot-point.
[2] JA, 1896, ii, p. 457: and see *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 385.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 356, verse 49.

the genitive plural of that same name in the form *Koshano*, = *Kushānu*. And it is proposed to find this genitive plural in at any rate one inscription, where we have been reading, and still can only recognize, the base *Gushaṇa*, = *Gushāṇa*.

But the claim based on the coins falls to the ground at once: it necessitates taking the words of the legend in an order in which they were not intended to be taken. What we really have there is, not *Kush-ānu* as the genitive plural in *ānu* of a base *Kush*, *Kusha*, but *Kushān-u* as the nominative singular in *u* of a base *Kushān*: compare the forms *Kanēshko* = *Kanēshk-u*, and *Ooēshko* = *(H)uwēshk-u* (see p. 375 above).

As regards the expression in the Chinese translation of the Sūtra, M. Sylvain Lévi has suggested that it had its origin in the translator having read *Kushāṇāṁ vaṁśē*, "in the race of the Kushas", by mistake for *Kushaṇa-vaṁśē*, "in the Kushaṇa race".[1] This explanation has been objected to in favour of regarding Kuśa, Kusha, as a shortened form of Kushaṇa.[2] And another view might be that the word *kuśa*, already well established in Sanskṛit,[3] would easily recommend itself as a substitute in Sanskṛit writings for the foreign name. I venture to think, however, that M. Sylvain Lévi's explanation, which is now supported by the actual occurrence of the name as Kushāṇa in the Māt inscription, is the most likely one for the Sūtra; and that it ultimately accounts equally well for the expression in the Letter.

In any case, the Chinese translation and the Tibetan version seem to furnish poor grounds on which to rely against all the indications which are opposed to the proposition that the name was Kusha or Kuśa. And we

[1] JA, 1896, ii, p. 457, note: and see *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 386.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 348.

[3] In ordinary use, as another term for the sacred *darbha*-grass; and as a proper name, in the case of a son of Rāma, and in various other instances.

have from both sources, Chinese and Tibetan, something which is much better than what is deducible from a translation and a version.

From the Chinese we have the transliterated form *Kuei-shuang*:[1] and in one of the Tibetan works dealing with Li-yul or Khotan we have the name *Gu-zan*, which can only be a transliteration of Gushān, Kushān:—"The king Kanika and the king of Guzan and king Vijayakīrti, lord of Li, and others . . . ."[2]

These actual transliterations are much more to the point than translations and adapted versions. They indicate a word of two syllables, ending with a nasal, the nature of which is not exactly determinable. And the same is indicated by the nominative *Kushān-u*, which we have in the *Shaonano shao* coin-legend. From the Māt inscription we have the trisyllabic form *Kushāṇa*. This, however, is easily reducible, as stated above, to *Kushān*; in which shape it matches exactly the Chinese and Tibetan transliterations and the form given by the coins.

In these circumstances it cannot be held that a case has been made out for regarding the name of the race as being anything except Kushān.

[1] See the passage quoted on p. 80 above.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 349.

## XIV

# NOTES ON THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

By F. W. THOMAS

IN these notes I propose to deal as compendiously as possible with a number of points in the Edicts to which even after the publications of Kern, Senart, and Bühler more or less obscurity still attaches, or upon which additional light may be thrown by the aid of subsequent discoveries, such as that of the *Arthaśāstra* by Kauṭalya. However anxious we may be to avoid the fault of *punarukti*, it will be impossible in some cases not to recur to passages which have already been frequently discussed.

### 1. Prādeśika

M. Senart, in his masterly account of Aśoka's administrative system, has followed Kern and Bühler in understanding (pp. 279–80) this official designation to denote local governors or local chiefs: "the ancestors of the Thākurs, Rāos, Rāwals, etc., of the present day" (ZDMG. xxxvii, 106); and Mr. Vincent Smith, whose excellent translations were published in 1909, understands by the term "District Officers" (p. 51). The word occurs only in the third Rock Edict, where the functionaries in question are included with the *Yuktas* (*Yutā*) and *Lājūkas* in the ordinance of the Quinquennial Circuit.[1] It will be admitted that this circumstance favours rather the view that royal officials rather than territorial nobles are mentioned.

The derivation of *Prādeśika* from *pradeśa*, in the sense of a division of a larger area, is, of course, flawless. Nevertheless, if the word had been employed substantively

[1] *Savate vijite mama yutā ca rājūke ca prādesike ca paṃcasu paṃcasu vāsesu anusaṃyānaṃ niyātu* (Girnar version; all the others seem to omit the first *ca*).

to denote a grade in the administrative hierarchy, we should have expected to find more evidence of the fact. As it is, we seem to have only one passage where the form occurs in substantive[1] use, the *Kauśika-Sūtra* (§§ 94, 120, 126) grouping together the terms *brāhmaṇa, vaiśya, prādeśika, rājan*; and this is obscure (the word apparently denoting local rulers of the place in question) and certainly less than is required.

On the other hand, we have excellent testimony to the employment of a rather similar term *pradeṣṭṛ* to designate certain officers having fairly well-defined functions. The *pradeṣṭṛ* is mentioned in a list of ministers occurring in the *Tantrākhyāyika* (p. 109, l. 2 of Dr. Hertel's edition); it is found in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, where the interpretation given by Böhtlingk & Roth (no doubt from the Tibetan version, which I have been unable to consult) is "judge"; and the *Mahābhārata* has it in a list to be found in ii, 5, 38.[2] All these sources depend, no doubt, upon the *Arthaśāstra*, which in the work ascribed to Kauṭalya supplies rather more explicit information. The passages which I have noted (in addition to the list of officials on p. 20) are the following :—

p. 142. *gopasthānikasthāneṣu pradeṣṭāraḥ kāryakaraṇaṃ balipragrahaṃ ca kuryuḥ.*

"In the stations of the *Sthānika* and *Gopa*[3] the *Pradeṣṭṛs* are to execute orders and attend to the collection of taxes."

p. 200. *pradeṣṭāras trayo vā 'mātyāḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanaṃ kuryuḥ.*

"The *Pradeṣṭṛs*, or three councillors, are to attend to the suppression of offenders."

[1] As an adjective joined to *rājan, īśvara*, in the sense of a local king, it occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, iv, 126; cf. *Vinaya-piṭaka*, iii, p. 47 (= *Pārājika*, ii, 3), *rājāno nāma paṭhavyā rājā padesarājā*, etc.

[2] Quoted by E. W. Hopkins, JAOS. xiii, p. 129, note.

[3] Heads respectively of a *Sthānīya*, "Thānā," and of a group of five or ten villages.

p. 209. *dharmastham pradeṣṭāraṃ vā viśvāsopagataṃ sattrī brūyāt.*

"A spy should say privately to a judge or a *Pradeṣṭṛ* [or 'a judging *Pradeṣṭṛ*']."

p. 215. *sagopasthāniko bāhyaṃ pradeṣṭā coramārgaṇaṃ kuryāt . . .*

"In the country districts the *Pradeṣṭṛ* along with the *Sthānika* and *Gopa* should attend to the tracking of thieves."

p. 220. *samāhartṛpradeṣṭāraḥ pūrvam adhyakṣāṇām adhyakṣapuruṣāṇāṃ ca niyamanaṃ kuryuḥ.*

"In the first instance the *Samāhartṛ* and the *Pradeṣṭṛs* should hold in check the superintendents and their subordinates."

p. 223. *dharmasthaḥ pradeṣṭā vā hairaṇyam adaṇḍyaṃ kṣipati kṣepadviguṇam asmai daṇḍaṃ kuryāt.*

"If a judge or *Pradeṣṭṛ* [or 'a judging *Pradeṣṭṛ*'] inflicts an unmerited fine in gold, he shall be mulcted in double the amount of the fine."

p. 226. *uttamāparamadhyatvaṃ pradeṣṭā daṇḍakarmaṇi . . . kalpayet.*

"The *Pradeṣṭṛ* should in punishments distinguish highest, lowest, and middle."

These passages are sufficient to prove that the *Pradeṣṭṛ* was an officer attached to the several grades of councillors and of local governors, and charged with executive duties of revenue collection and police, a combination so constant in India. No doubt they were all subject to the orders of a chief having the same title, the *Pradeṣṭṛ* who is named as a member of the royal ministry.

It will be conceded that officials having duties so defined would be appropriately mentioned by Aśoka as accompanying the Lājūkas and their suites in the quinquennial circuits. But, no doubt, the linguistic form which he employs calls for some justification. That *deśika* would be a probable equivalent for *deṣṭṛ* needs no

demonstration: the two suffixes are commonly associated as equivalents (e.g. in *Pāṇini*, ii, 2, 15, *tṛjakābhyāṃ kartari*). The long vowel in the first syllable of *Prādeśika* might be explained, like that in *vānaprastha*, as occasioned by the technical application of the term: or we might suppose that the modification in form is due to the intrusion of the preposition *ā* (as in *ādeśa*, "command") without affecting the equivalence in sense.

This proposed explanation is dependent upon the generally accepted interpretation of *Rājūka* as derived from *rajju* and meaning some kind of high official. If, after all—which is so improbable as to be practically impossible (see Bühler's article in ZDMG. xlvii, 466–71)—the word should prove to be derived from *rājā* and denote minor (subordinate) *kings*, then in that context the explanation as a derivative from *pradeśa* and equivalent in meaning to *maṇḍalīka* would have a preference. In any case the functions of the *pradeṣṭṛ* deserved to be considered.[1]

## 2. Mahāmātra

That the term *mahāmātra* is, as M. Senart has stated (pp. 279 sqq.), a generic designation for high officials,[2] may be taken as an accepted fact. It belongs to the order of polite periphrases (*mahatī mātrā yasya* = "a person of high standing"), and is quite analogous to *priyadarśana* and the like. But there seems to be still room for providing against misunderstanding, since Dr. Neumann, while furnishing the exact rendering "Grosswürdenträger", adopts as equivalent the term "Marschall" (*Dīghanikāya*, trans. ii, p. 219), and explains the meaning as "königliche Minister". That the *mahāmātras* of the Edicts are not, in fact, "councillors", but officials, such as "governors",

[1] The *Praśāṣṭṛ* of *Arthaśāstra*, p. 20, etc., is perhaps the *Śāsanādhikārin*, superintendent of correspondence, of c. 28.

[2] "Fonctionnaires de tout ordre, mais de rang élevé." Bühler gives "verschiedene hohe Beamten" (ZDMG. xxxvii, p. 267).

may be taken as self-evident, since they are generally provincial and local authorities; moreover, in the "separate Edicts" of Dhauli and Jaugada we have certain of them distinguished by the term *viyohālaka* = *vyavahārika*, "legal *mahāmātras*"; and these are nothing but judges. It will be worth while to adduce some further evidence in substantiation of these facts.

In the *Arthaśāstra* I have noted the following occurrences: p. 16 (perhaps = "minister"); p. 20 (probably "local official"); p. 58 (*pṛthag dharmasthīyaṃ mahāmātrīyam . . . bandhanāgāram* = "a prison with separate places for judges and officials"); p. 213 (uncertain); p. 235 ("local official"); pp. 236–7 ("local official").

In the books of the Pali canon the word *mahāmatta* is of quite common occurrence; and, as the Pali Text Society's editions of these texts are furnished with indexes, it seems unnecessary to dwell at length upon the fact. The *vohārika mahāmatta* ("legal officials") are mentioned several times, for example in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, which has also *gaṇakamahāmatta* ("financial official"), *senānāyakam*° ("military official"), *upacārakam*° ("court official"), and *sabbatthakam*° ("Prime Minister"). Here the general sense seems to be that of "minister"; but the matter is open to doubt.

In consideration of these facts it seems expedient still to prefer the general term "official" or "dignitary" to any limiting translation, such as "councillor" or "marshal".

### 3. Yukta (Yuta)

That *yukta* denotes a subordinate official I endeavoured previously (JRAS., 1909, pp. 466–7) to prove by the aid of the *Arthaśāstra*. A passage in the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (viii, 34) might also have been quoted:—

*pranaṣṭādhigataṃ dravyaṃ tiṣṭhed yuktair adhiṣṭhitām|*
*yāṃs tatra corān gṛhṇīyāt tān rājēbhena ghātayet||*

"Lost property when come by should remain in charge of the *yuktas*: any of them (*tatra*; or 'in that respect') detected in theft the king should put to death by an elephant."

The similarity of this passage to the caution against thievish *yuktas*, which was quoted from the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 70, *yuktās tathā kāryavidhau niyuktā jñātuṃ na śakyā dhanam ādadānāḥ*), is surely unmistakable. Chapter xxvi of the *Arthaśāstra* is entitled "Recovery of funds embezzled by Yuktas".

The reason for returning to this topic is that Dr. Neumann in dealing with a familiar passage of Rock Edict III (ZDMG. lxvii, pp. 345–6) reverts to the view of M. Senart and Bühler, according to which the *yutā* are "the faithful" (Senart, i, p. 78) or "the dutiful" (Bühler, ZDMG. xxxvii, pp. 106–8). The passage and the three translations are as follows:—

*parisā pi yute āñapayisa[ṃ]ti gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto ca vyaṃjanato ca.*[1]

Senart: "Then to the clergy to instruct the faithful in detail as regards substance and expression."

Bühler: "Also (the teachers and monks of all) schools shall in the service give point to what is proper, both as regards the text as also with reasons."[2]

Neumann: "The Boards shall give the proper orders among the people, according to the reality and according to the terms"[3] (loc. cit.).

[1] It is unnecessary to quote the other versions.

[2] "Auch die (Lehrer und Mönche aller) Schulen werden beim Gottesdienste das Geziemende einschärfen, sowohl dem Wortlaut nach als auch mit Gründen." Here Bühler takes the word adjectivally, as meaning what is proper, whereas in the earlier passage of the same inscription it is "loyal", "earnest", or "dutiful". Bühler's own English version may be seen in *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, pp. 466–7.

[3] "Die Behörden aber werden das Gebührende veranlassen unter den Leuten, der Wirklichkeit nach und dem Worte nach."

But if, as seems to be now the general consensus (Bühler, ZDMG. xxxvii, pp. 107–8; Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 50), the quinquennial *anusamyāna* mentioned at the beginning of this Edict is a tour or circuit, it is clear that neither "the faithful" nor "the people" can accompany the Rājūkas and Prādeśikas on such tours. Therefore, in the earlier part of the Edict, and consequently in this passage also, *yuta* cannot bear either of these senses. Let us then turn to *gaṇanāyaṃ*. M. Senart (i, pp. 84–5) interprets the word as equivalent to "going into detail", and he quotes *Jātaka*, i, 29, *gaṇanāto asaṃkhiyā*, which, however, we should naturally interpret "as regards counting, numberless". Bühler's view (ZDMG. xxxvii, p. 108) is that the word is a synonym of *kīrtana* in the sense of "recitation". Dr. Neumann's interpretation is not perhaps quite clear; but apparently he would understand the word as meaning the assigning to each person or thing its due weight.

But surely the facts are too strong for any such expedients. The primary and regular sense of *gaṇanā* is counting; *gaṇanāpati* is a "reckoner"; *gaṇakamahāmatta* (Vinaya-piṭaka, Mahāvyutpatti) is "Finance Minister"; *gaṇanaṃ sikkheyya* (Vinaya-piṭaka) is "learn reckoning"; in the *Arthaśāstra* the chapter dealing with the establishment of the Treasury is entitled *Akṣapaṭale gāṇanikyādhikāra*. Moreover, it is clear that the functions of the *yuktas* were prevailingly clerical. Let us add that the previous sentence in the Edict recommends *alpabhāṇḍata* and *alpavyayatā*, "economy in furniture and expense" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 20–1). How, then, can we resist the conclusion that the true translation is "let the (religious) parishads also appoint clerks for keeping accounts"?

As regards the *yutāni* or *yutā* (n.pl.), which in some of the versions is substituted for *yute* (acc. pl. masc.),

there is no difficulty in understanding it as a collective neuter = "clerical staffs".[1]

Now, if here the word follows the usage of the *Arthaśāstra* in denoting subordinate, chiefly clerical, officials, it can hardly mean anything else in the earlier passage (quoted above, p. 388) of the same inscription. And in particular it cannot be adjectivally applied to such dignitaries as the *Rājūka* and *Prādēśika*. Therefore *yutā ca rājūke ca prādeśike ca* cannot mean "the faithful, the *Rājūka*, and the governor of the district" (Senart), nor "the loyal Rājūkas and vassals" (Bühler). We shall translate "the secretariat staffs, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādeśika*".

The use of the root *yuj* to denote "employing" is not confined to the form *yukta* (or *āyukta*). In the *Arthaśāstra* we have both *yogapuruṣa*—

p. 245: *yathā ya yogapuruṣair anyān rājādhitiṣṭhati*,

"And as by his employees (agents) the king governs others,"

and *yugyapuruṣa*—

p. 334: . . . *yudhyeta na parikṣīṇayugyaparuṣaṃ*,

"Let him not fight one whose servants are wasted away,"

in the sense of "servants". *Yoga* is, in fact, "practical work," and *Sāṃkhya-yoga* is the Sāṃkhya view put into practice.[2]

The order of mention of the *yukta*, *rājūkas*, and *prādeśikas* is somewhat surprising; it is certainly not order of dignity. Perhaps it may be explained by supposing

[1] I leave this as it was written. But the reader should consult an important article by Professor Lüders in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, 1913, pp. 988 sqq., where it is proved that *yutā* is nom. and *yutāni* acc. pl. *masc.*

[2] Part v of the *Arthaśāstra*, cc. 89–94, dealing with the personnel of the administration, is entitled *Yogavṛtta*; and the last chapter in the book, entitled *Tantrayukti*, contains directions for using the book (*tantra*).

the *yuktas* to belong to the imperial establishment, while the *rājūka* is the Governor. Then we should have "the secretariat staff, the Governor, and the *Prādeśika*".

As concerns the concluding words of the edict, *hetuto ca vyaṃjanato ca*, which previously (*Indian Antiquary*, xxxvii, p. 21) I rendered by "with regard to the dictates of reason and the prescriptions of actual texts", treating the word *vyaṃjaneṇa* in another occurrence (Rūpnāth inscription) as denoting "with the text of a royal instruction" or simply "according to a royal intimation, or command", I observe that, while this last view has been followed by Professor Hultzsch (JRAS. 1912, pp. 1058–9), who adopts the former of the two alternatives, Dr. Neumann applies the same sense to the former passage. It will be seen that the difference is very slight, since Dr. Neumann speaks of the definite prescriptions of the king, whereas I had thought of the definite prescriptions of religious books. Perhaps, however, it is neither of these, but definite prescriptions generally. In any case the *hetu* is the general reason for a proceeding (cf. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 28, where the abilities of ministers in giving reasons is mentioned), and the *vyaṃjana* is the special circumstance, whether royal order or other stimulus to action.

### 4. Aṭhabhāgiya

Aśoka, when in the 21st year from his coronation he visited the Lumbinī Garden, made the village of Lumbinī *ubalika* and *aṭhabhāgiya* (*Lumminī-gāme ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye ca*). That *ubalika* = (*ud* + *bali* + *ka*) means free from *bali*, which last word means "tax", or especially religious cess, we have already seen (JRAS. 1909, pp. 466–7). It is proposed by Dr. J. F. Fleet (ibid., p. 761) to take *bhāga* in the sense of the proportion of the grain harvest accruing to the king, and *aṭhabhāgiye* accordingly as = *aṣṭabhāgya*, not *arthabhāgya*.

It seems to me that the view of Dr. Fleet must in the main be accepted. Since *bhāga* is a regular technical term for the royal portion (note, for instance, in the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 60, the list of sources of revenue, beginning with *sītā* (harvest of royal demesnes), *bhāgo, baliḥ, karo*, etc.), it can hardly here, by the side of *bali*, be taken in any other sense; on the other hand, if *bhāga* is used in the technical sense, the first member of the compound *aṭhabhāgiye* can be nothing but *aṣṭa*, "eight." Dr. Neumann's argument to the contrary (*Dīghanikāya*, trans. ii, p. 238) seems to me quite invalid.

Where I am unable to follow Dr. Fleet is in regarding the "eighth part" as relinquished in the case of the village of Lumbinī (JRAS. 1908, pp. 479–80). When we remember that according to the Brahmanical books the king is *ṣaḍbhāgin*, his share being a sixth—the testimony of Megasthenes (see E. W. Hopkins, JAOS. xiii, pp. 86–8; Vincent Smith, *History of Ancient India*, p. 134) fixes it in his day at one-fourth—we can see that what Aśoka did was to remit *half of* the *bhāga*, or share-tax, of the Lumbinī village, and thereby to fix its contribution as one-eighth.

### 5. Samāja

As the uncertainty with regard to *samāja* (Edict I) does not seem even yet to have quite disappeared, a further attempt may be ventured, even though in some small part it involves a conjecture.

The word is interpreted as denoting a "festival" (*festins*, Senart, i, p. 50), or "fair" (*melā*, Bühler, ZDMG. xxxvii, pp. 93–4), or "merry festival" (Vincent Smith, *Edicts of Aśoka*, p. 48); and the difficulty is to explain why the thing denoted should be condemned in an edict directed against the slaughter of animals. M. Senart conceives that *samāja* may have acquired the sense of *prāṇārambha*, while Bühler suggests that the fairs might be attended by a certain amount of riotousness.

Now, since the two words *utsava* and *samāja* are commonly found in combination (e.g. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 45, *yātrāsamājotsava*; inscription of Khāravela, l. 5; *Rāmāyaṇa* (Görresio), ii, 48, 21, etc.), it follows that the latter has a sense akin to, but not identical with, that of the former. If we consult the dictionary (B. & R.) we shall see further that a *samāja* is a thing to be viewed by spectators, since we have the word *prekṣāsamāja* also *samājamañca*, "a platform for a *samāja*," and *sāmājika*, "a spectator"; further, that it has an enclosure, *samājavāṭa*. Moreover, if we turn to actual passages, we find that the *samāja* of *Mbh.* i, 185. 29, is the bow contest of the Pāṇḍavas, which accompanied the marriage of Draupadī, while in the *Harivaṃśa*, 4537 sqq., 8189 sqq., it is attended by wrestling contests.

It is, I suppose, needless to consult further passages, such as will be found numerously cited in Böhtlingk and Roth's dictionary. The *samāja* is plainly a celebration of games, or rather contests (in view of the derivation; cf. *āji*), taking place in an arena (*samājavāṭa*), or amphitheatre, surrounded by platforms (*mañca*) for spectators (*prekṣā°*-). And, if we inquire what there may have been in them to offend the humanity of Aśoka, we have only to call to mind the contests of animals descripted by the Greeks and implied in the Sanskrit literature (see E. W. Hopkins, JAOS. xiii, pp. 122, 124; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 120).

As regards those *samājas* of which Aśoka expresses in the same edict his approval, we may doubtless think of the edifying shows (*vimānadaśana*, etc.) mentioned in Edict IV.

If it is asked why the Pāli literature fails to shed light upon the meaning of the word *samāja*, we are fortunately able to render a satisfactory answer. The fact is that the thing is well known, but under a synonym, namely, *samajjā*, *samajja*, often in the phrase *giraggasamajja*.

It is unnecessary to quote passages, as a considerable number of them has been cited by E. Hardy in a paper contributed to *Album Kern* (pp. 61–6).[1] Most of them deal with dramatic and musical entertainments; but in *Jātaka*, iii, 541[20], we have a club-fight—

*daṇḍehi yuddhaṃ pi samajjamajjhe.*

The most telling passage is, however, one from the *Dīghanikāya*, i, 1, 14 (not mentioned by Hardy), where we have actual mention of fights between elephants, buffaloes, etc. We can easily, therefore, see why attendance at such gatherings (*samajjābhicaraṇa*) is in the *Dīghanikāya* (iii, 182) stigmatized as a sin.

It will be noted that the *samajja* is frequently regarded as taking place on the top of a hill (*giragga*), concerning which it will be sufficient to refer to the paper of Hardy and the writers whom he quotes. As Hardy remarks (p. 65), the sense of *giri* eventually evaporated. Curiously enough, a theatrical meaning of the word may be traced in comparatively late times: for commenting upon an anthology verse from the *Mālatīmādhava* (*Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, p. 185), while still ignorant of the history of the matter, I have remarked, "Has this word also a theatrical signification?"

Very possibly in *giriguḍaka*, "polo," the same weakened force (="theatre", "arena") of the word is to be traced.

## 6. Agniskandha

Some doubt concerning this word seems still to be felt by Professor Hultzsch (JRAS. 1913, pp. 651–2), although previously (ZDMG. xxxvii, 555) he had himself quoted the explanation of Bühler (ZDMG. xxxvii, 260), according to which it denotes illuminations or "fire-trees" ("Feuerbäume"), such as are sometimes represented in modern temples. M. Senart had thought (i, p. 101) of lamps,

[1] Cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, pp. 7–8, n. 4.

torches, or feux de joie, accompanying a festival. Professor Hultzsch now considers that the word may denote "radiant beings of another world".

That *agniskandha* means simply a "mass of fire" can be proved by a considerable quantity of evidence. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (ed. Kern & Nanjio), pp. 72–3, it denotes a conflagration: so also in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, iv, p. 128, and *Paṭisambhīdāmagga*, p. 125. And, if this sense is sufficient for the passage, it is hardly necessary to go further.

That a "mass of fire" was in India an auspicious object we can see from the fact that one of the dreams of Triśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra, was of just such an object: "And a fire. She saw a fire in vehement motion, fed with much shining and honey-coloured ghee, smokeless, crackling, and extremely beautiful with its burning flames. The mass of its flames, which rose one above the other, seemed to interpenetrate each other, and the blaze of its flames appeared to bake the firmament in some places" (*Kalpasūtra*, trans. Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, xxii, p. 238; cf. the article of Dr. Hüttemann in the *Bässler Archiv*, iv, 2, where the dreams are illustrated from miniatures).

Another of the dreams was of an elephant. We can hardly, therefore, go wrong in rendering Aśoka's *Aggikhaṃdha* by "bonfire". Another use of fires, namely for signalling ("beacon-fires"), is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 141; this perhaps is the origin of the famous *Nyāya* illustration *vahnivyāpyadhūma°*.

(*To be continued.*)

# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## Supplementary Note on a Tamil Inscription in Siam

After frequent reconsideration of my original reading and rendering of this ancient record, and thanks to communications received from Mr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, Bangalore, I am now able to correct my remarks in this Journal, 1913, pp. 337–9, in several respects.

In the first line the letter following . . . *ravarma* is not *t*, but *n* with *virāma*, and the next *akshara*, *ku*, is perhaps followed by an obliterated *ṇa*. At the end of l. 2 I now read *Naṅgūr* = *a*[*ḍ*]*ai* . . . After *śrī* in the next line there are traces of a Grantha *a* and of a *va*: I feel tempted to supply the word *avani*. The first word of the last line is perhaps [*muḷu*]*dārkkum*. If this reading is correct, the first *m* would be due to Sandhi, and the participial noun *uḷudār* would be used in the sense of *uḷavar* or *uḷunar*, "cultivators."

As regards the actual purport of the inscription, Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar recognized that my tentative rendering of l. 3 was wrong, and that the Tamiḷ symbols in the middle of this line have to be divided into *kuḷam pēr* (instead of *kuḷamb*=*ēr*). He further told me that the relative participle *toṭṭa*, which precedes *kuḷam*, "a tank," must have in this connexion the meaning "dug", as in Tiruvaḷḷuvar's *Kuṟaḷ*, verse 396, where *toṭṭu* . . . *kēṇi* means "having dug . . . a well or tank". Finally, he pointed out that the word following *pēr*, "a name," is not, as I thought, the designation of a Vaishṇava temple, but is the actual name of the tank, which is placed under the protection of the Maṇigrāmattār, etc.

I now subjoin an improved transcript and translation of the document—

**Text**

1 . . . ravarman Ku[ṇa] . . .
2 [m]ān tān Naṅgūr=a[ḍ]ai [1] . . .
3 =[t]toṭṭa kuḷam pēr Śrī-[Ava][ni*]-
4 Nāraṇam Maṇikkirāmattār[k*]-
5 [k]um śēṇāmugattārkkum-
6 [m=uḷu]dārkkum [2] aḍaikkalam

**Translation**

"The tank, (by) name Śrī-[Avani]-Nāraṇam, which was dug [near] Naṅgūr by . . . ravarman Gu[ṇa] . . . [m]ān himself, (is placed under) the protection of the members of Maṇigrāmam and of the men of the vanguard and of the cultivators."

The builder of the tank, whose first name ended in *ravarman* (perhaps Bhāskaravarman?), evidently was a person of royal descent, and [Avani]-Nārāyaṇa, "a Vishṇu on earth," was a surname of his, after which he called the tank dug by himself. Naṅgūr seems to have been the Tamiḻ name of the old Hindū settlement, the existence of which has been proved by Colonel Gerini (above, 1904, p. 245).

E. HULTZSCH.

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## THE FIVE HUNDRED AND NINE HUNDRED YEARS

In *T'oung Pao*, ser. II, vol. v (1904), pp. 269 ff., Dr. Takakusu gave a translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu, in the course of which he has made two statements regarding which a question has been raised:—

1. On p. 276 he has said: "In the sixth century after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa there lived an Arhat," etc. And

[1] Read perhaps =*aḍaiya*, "to border upon", or =*iḍai*, "(in) the middle of".

[2] For the doubling of a final *m* before an initial vowel see, e.g., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 385, text-lines 76–95, where the *m* of *um* is doubled before *iḍaṇ* in twenty-three instances.

to this he attached a footnote in which, giving the four Chinese characters which express the number, he has said that the phrase means "in the five hundred years, i.e. at a time in 500–599 years A.B., therefore the sixth century".[1]

2. On p. 281 he has said: "In the tenth century after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa there was a heretic," etc. And to this he attached a footnote in which, giving the four Chinese characters expressing this number, he has said that the meaning is "in nine hundred years, i.e. at a time in 900–999 years, A.B., therefore the tenth century".[2]

In the discussion of the date of Kaniṣka in this Journal for 1913 there has been a difference of opinion as to the application of the first of these two statements. Following Dr. Takakusu, Dr. Thomas has taken it (pp. 646, 1031) as meaning the years 500–599. On the other hand, Dr. Barnett has urged (p. 943) that it means most naturally the fifth century, the years 401–500. Dr. Fleet has asked for my opinion as to what the two expressions really mean, remarking that the question involves more than simply the bearing of the first of them on the date of Kaniṣka.

I have looked up the two passages in the Chinese text of the Life of Vasubandhu from which Dr. Takakusu made his translation. In the first passage the four Chinese characters, with their transliteration, are—

五 百 年 中

wu pai nien chung

*Wu* = "five"; *pai* = "hundred"; *nien* = "year"; *chung* = "in the middle of, within". In the other passage the four characters, with their transliteration, are—

九 百 年 中

kiu pai nien chung

[1] Cf. JRAS., 1905, p. 52: "in the 'five hundreds' (a time between 500–599 years, i.e. sixth century) after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa."

[2] Cf. JRAS., 1905, p. 51, "the 'nine hundreds', i.e. tenth century:" cf. also BEFEO., iv, p. 56, n. 5.

*Kiu* = "nine": the other words are as before. In both cases *chung* is put quite correctly at the end of the phrase, as is always done: it refers to what precedes it.

Both phrases and their translations by Dr. Takakusu have already been made the subject of a lengthy discussion by M. Noël Peri in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, xi (1911), p. 356. M. Peri thinks that chronological statements of this kind, which are not seldom found in the Chinese Buddhist books, may mean, if taken purely grammatically, the "terminus a quo" as well as the "terminus ad quem": but he personally believes that, unless some indication points to the contrary, it is generally the "terminus ad quem" that is to be understood. This, he adds, is in fact the only meaning possible when the first century after the Nirvāṇa is in question; then *yi pai nien chung* can only mean the years from 1 to 100. It is therefore necessary to take similar expressions of 200, 300 years, etc., in the same way, i.e., as meaning the years from 101 to 200, from 201 to 300, etc.; otherwise, if *yi pai nien chung* meant the second century, there would be no means of marking off the first.

As to myself, I quite agree with M. Peri, but I go farther than he does. I cannot admit that, even purely grammatically taken, expressions like *wu pai nien chung* can ever mean "in the sixth century", or *kiu pai nien chung* "in the tenth century". Their meaning can only be: "within five (nine) hundred years", i.e., purely grammatically taken, at a time within a period the limit of which is five (nine) hundred years, at a time not later than 500 (900) years, after the Nirvāṇa. In fact, of course, "during the fifth (ninth) century" is meant. If any further proof were wanted it is given by M. Peri's researches into the date of Vasubandhu. Dr. Takakusu makes the latter live between A.D. 420 and 500, i.e., in the tenth century A.N. (*kiu pai nien chung*). But M. Peri

shows, on quite different grounds, that Vasubandhu did live in the first half of the fourth century A.D. (loc. cit., p. 384), i.e., in the ninth century after the Nirvāṇa. Consequently, *kiu pai nien chung* means "the ninth century", and *wu pai nien chung* "the fifth century".

O. FRANKE.

HAMBURG.

[The tradition which mentions the five hundred years, that is, as we see now, the fifth century, after the Nirvāṇa, places in that period the Arhat Kātyāyanī-putra, and also Aśvaghōsha, whom it presents as contemporaneous with him. Another tradition represents Aśvaghōsha as a contemporary of Kanishka. Thus, the two traditions combined, as they have been, on both sides, in the discussion mentioned above, have the effect of placing Kanishka in the fifth century after the death of Buddha, that is, in the period B.C. 83 to A.D. 17. Perhaps this tradition, also, will now be rejected, as unreliable, by those who have used it, with the wrong application of the meaning of the five hundred years, towards fixing a later date for Aśvaghōsha and Kanishka ?—J. F. F.]

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## A SEAL OF SRI-VADRA

This seal is now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, London, the Director of which, Sir Cecil H. Smith, has kindly sent me an ink-impression, from which the accompanying figuring of it has been made.[1] It bears the number 07764, I.S. The material is copper. In shape it is oval, measuring from top to bottom $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches and from side to side $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches. Its provenance is fortunately known: it was found in excavating the Ganges Canal between Hardwar and Cawnpore.

[1] Dr. Coomaraswamy has recently published a facsimile in his *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 77, where it is styled "Seal of the Court of Vadrāntapa".

The figures occupying the greater part of the face are the goddess Lakshmī standing on a lotus, and two elephants, one on each side of her, performing the *kumbhābhiṣēka*, with a *chaitya* at each corner. Under this is an inscription in Brāhmī script of the sixth or seventh century—

Śrī-vadr-āntapa-viṣa-
y-ādhikaraṇasya

"[Seal] of the office of the district of the Warden of the Frontier of Śrī-vadra."

Śrī-vadra is evidently a place-name, in which *vadra* is from *padra*, 'a village or settlement.' The name does not appear to be found elsewhere. If conjecture is permissible, the similarity of the names *Śrī-vadra* and *Śrī-nagara*, and the comparative nearness of Srinagar in Garhwal to the place where our seal was found, suggest a possible connexion.

L. D. Barnett.

## A Note on the name Kushan

In his paper entitled "Was there a Kushana Race?" at pp. 79–88 above, Baron A. von Staël-Holstein seeks to show that the name of the people of whom Kaniṣka is the most celebrated representative was Kuṣa or Kuśa, and not Kuṣana as has hitherto been accepted.

There are important objections to this view, which seems to have been suggested by the late title *Kūšān šāh* (کوشان شاہ), which can only be translated, as Persian, by "*šāh* of the Kūšas" by one unacquainted with the earlier history of the word *Kuṣan*. Perhaps the most remarkable statement to which the writer of the article commits himself is to be found on p. 83, where, in discussing Kaniṣka's coin-legends, he says: "It is difficult to think of any reason why we should not consider KANHÞKI the first (or the last) word of the legend, and KOÞANO ÞAONANO ÞAO as his title." It must be obvious to anyone who has ever seen one of the coins in question that the legend cannot be taken in the order in which Baron von Staël-Holstein thus takes it so as to get an equivalent of کوشان شاہ on the coins. This point has been so fully discussed by Dr. Fleet (pp. 374 ff. above) that I need only say that it seems to me as certain that the legend begins with *shaonano* as it is that the corresponding Greek legend begins with BACIΛЄYC. The coin-legends of the period begin either at the bottom on the left, or (more rarely) at the top on the right; certainly only in a position where one naturally begins to read and at once recognizes the beginning.

There are other points in the paper open to objection. By confining his attention chiefly to expressions of the form *Kūšān šāh*, in which *Kūšān* is in the genitive sense and therefore seems also to be genitive in form, Baron von Staël-Holstein makes out a very plausible case. We must, however, concentrate our attention on

the word *Kuṣān* alone. In the first place, there is considerable ancient evidence to show that the name of the people in question did not end in a vowel but had a nasal at the end of its second syllable. The Chinese form of the name, *Kuei-shuang*, must be the equivalent of a base, and not of the genitive plural of an Indian or Iranian form. In the passage quoted by Baron von Staël-Holstein it might possibly be thought, particularly in view of his translation, that in *Kuei-shuang wang* ( = *Kūšān šāh*)[1] *Kuei-shuang* could be the equivalent of a genitive plural, although it is unlikely that one part of the phrase would be transliterated and the other translated; it is therefore necessary to examine other occurrences of the name *Kuei-shuang* in cases where they cannot possibly be genitive; such an example is found a few lines above the quotation from the *Hou-Han-Shu*, given by Baron von Staël-Holstein (p. 80), in the list of tribes of the Ta-Yue-Che.[2] The name reproduced by the Chinese *Kuei-shuang* must therefore have contained a final nasal and have been a form like Kuṣān rather than Kuṣa. Similar testimony to the existence of this form is given by other languages, e.g., the Syriac *Qušani* or *Qasani* given as a gloss on *Βάκτροι* in the *Spicelegium Syriacum* (ed. Cureton, London, 1855, pp. 20–2). Ammianus Marcellinus says (xvi, 9. 4.) that Sapor II spent the winter of A.D. 356 on the frontiers of the Chionitæ and *Euseni*: we need have no hesitation in accepting Tomaschek's[3] emendation of

[1] It must be remembered that we do not actually know that *wang* corresponds to *šāh*.

[2] We may here note that Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 191, translates the passage "he elected himself king; the name of his kingdom was *Kuei-shuang*", and not "he used the dynastic title king of the *Kuei-shuang*". It certainly can be translated "he used the dynastic title king of *Kuei-shuang*" as de Groot does. It is impossible to tell from the Chinese whether the name is of a people or their country.

[3] *Centralasiastische Studien I*, in *Sitz. Ber. d. Wien. Akad.*, 1887, vol. 87, pp. 155–156; it is accepted by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 36, note 5.

*Euseni* to *Cuseni* or *Cusani*; and we thus have evidence that the Romans also knew that the name contained an *n* and was not *Kuṣa*. The Armenian *Kusank* and the Tibetan *Guzān* point in the same direction.

Incidentally Baron v. Staël-Holstein suggests (p. 81, note 2) that the legend *sasasa* found on coins of Gondophernes = genitive of *sa(n)sa* ( = *šāhān šāh*). But, in the first place, there is no question of the legend being anything more than *sasasa*; there is no nasal in the word; it is unlikely that in a Kharoṣṭhī legend an equivalent of *šāhānušāhi* would be degraded to *sasa* at this early date; and it is no analogy to quote the *saansaan* of Ammianus Marcellinus—a Roman author of the fourth century. There is already an equivalent of *βασιλευς βασιλεων* in the *rajadirajasa* of the legend on these coins,[1] and there is no reason to expect another. The legends are Greek and Indian, and there is no reason to expect an Iranian form. Finally, *Sasasa* is simply what it appears to be,—the genitive of *Sasa*,[2] which is a well-known Scythian name: it is of common occurrence in the Greek form *Σάσας* in Scythian inscriptions.[3]

With regard to the title كوشان شاه itself, it seems to mean "king of Kūšān" rather than "king of the Kušāns (*or* of the Kušas)". It seems that the name Kūṣān was soon transferred to the kingdom itself, if indeed it did not have this meaning even in ancient times also,[4] and was used as a synonym for Bactria,[5] notably in Armenian. In Persian this transference was readily made, being facilitated by the analogy of numerous Persian place-names in

[1] Gardner, p. 206, No. 29 ff.

[2] Cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v.

[3] Cf. B. Latyschew, *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxeni*, 1885, etc.; Indices.

[4] *Kuei-shuang-wang* is, equally, "king of Kuei-shuang" and "king of the Kuei-shuang".

[5] Marquart, op. cit., p. 208.

ان.[1] The references to *Kūšān* are rare in the Arab geographers. Ibn Khurdādbih[2] gives a list of kings who have the title شاه, among them is the *Bazurg Kūsān šāh*: there is no reason to doubt that Kūšān is the name of a kingdom here, as in the other titles quoted (*Kirmānšāh*, *Mervšāh*, etc.). The only reference I can trace to the use of Kūšān alone is Yāḳūt's[3] statement that كوشان is a town in the land of the Turks. كوشان شاه, then, most probably means "king of Kūšān", and not "king of the Kūšas". With regard to the title *wazurg Kūšān šāh* on certain coins of Firoz, the inscriptions, like the types, are copied from Sassanian models, and *Kūšān šāh* so clearly corresponds to the *šāhān šāh* (*malkān malkā*) *Irān u Anirān* of the Sassanian emperors, that it is probably even at this early date a territorial designation modelled on this legend, to be translated "king of Kūšān" and not of "the Kušas".

I am unable to appreciate the difficulties found by Baron v. Staël-Holstein in translating the title *Kuṣana-yavuga sa* of the Kadphises I coins and the *Khuṣanasa yaüasa* of the Kadaphes coins either as synonyms ("(of) the Kuṣan *yavuga*" or "*yavuga* of Kuṣan"), or the former legend "the *yavuga* of the Kuṣan" or "of Kuṣan", and the latter as "the Kuṣan *yavuga*". He assumes the identity of Kadphises I and Kadaphes, which is of course not absolutely certain (but it may be assumed for the present), and regards the coins bearing the former legend as issued after Kadphises had become "king". He proposes to read the legend as one compound, *Khusanasayaüasa*, and to translate "king (*sa* = *šāh*) and *yavuga* of the Kuṣan"; this, in the first place, is an

[1] Some at least originally genitive plurals; e.g., Gīlān, cf. *Gelæ*, Γῆλαι; but this was soon lost sight of; and it must be remembered that, when an Arab geographer talks of the گيلان شاه he means "king of Gīlān" and not "king of the Gēls".

[2] Ed. de Goeje, p. 17.

[3] Ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, p. 320, l. 15.

unnatural construction of the legend, and while *šāh* might be represented in Greek, even in this period, by *σα* as in Sapor, there is no reason to suppose it would be so in Kharoṣṭhī, which, for one reason, has an *ṣ* to represent *š*; an equivalent of *šāh* would only be found if the legend were in the language to which *šāh* belongs. We might possibly have had *maharaja*, but *yavuga* is a sufficient regal title. Further, the Chinese authorities say that Kadphises changed his title from *yavuga* to "king" (*wang* = *šāh* ?); and so we may not expect to find an equivalent of *Kuei-shuang wang* on coins which bear the title *yavuga*. If Kadphises–Kadaphes ruled territories where the dialect found on Kaniṣka's coins was spoken, he certainly did not issue a special coinage for them, and we therefore need not expect to find an equivalent of شاو on his coins.

As to the remarks on pp. 82–3, it seems most unlikely, on philological grounds, that CY can be a Greek genitive of the contemporary form of *šāh*. The Greek legends on the coins of Zeionises are very corrupt, and the form CATPAΠY can hardly be taken as evidence of the contraction of OY to Y; particularly as we have the usual OY in the king's name on the same coin. In any case, this only takes us to COY, and we are still a long way from *šāh*.[1] In the legend XOPANCY ZAOOY KOZOΛAKADAPHES, even if we allow that XOPANCY= XOPANCOY, or, as Dr. Fleet suggests, XOPANOY, it cannot be a genitive of *Kūšān šāh*, for the simple reason that, if it were an equivalent of *Kūšān šāh*, it would be in the nominative like the rest of the legend and not in the genitive. KOZOΛAKADAPHES is an undoubted nominative. ZAOOY looks at first sight like a genitive, till we transliterate it, when it is seen to

[1] CY is supposed to be genitive of a form *sα*, but the form شۊ, with *ă*, for شاو, is of quite modern origin.

be *yawu* or *jawu* (جبغو),[1] which is nominative, as might be expected, in apposition to Kadaphes. XOPANCY is an adjective qualifying ZAOOY, as in the Prakrit legend. The legend *Kūšān šāh*, therefore, is not known to have been used by Kadphises I—Kadaphes; nor, of course, by Kadphises II, whose coin-legends are Greek and Indian only.

We now proceed to examine the legend of the other group of Kuṣan coins. Three different legends are found on Kaniṣka's coins:—

1. On his coins (in gold and copper) with Greek legends—

ΒΑCΙΛЄΥC ΒΑCΙΛЄѠN ΚΑΝΗÞΚΟΥ.

2. On his copper coins with Iranian legend—

ÞΑΟ ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ.

3. On his other gold coins—

ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ,

which can only mean "the king of kings, Kaniṣka, the Kuṣān."

Even if it were possible to take the words in the order suggested by Baron A. v. Staël-Holstein, KOÞANO ÞAONANO ÞAO could only mean "king of kings, the Kuṣān", and not "king of kings of the Kuṣas *or* Kuṣāns". This latter is an impossible title, as the very title "king of kings" implies other peoples than the Kuṣāns, for Kaniṣka's empire must have included much more than the five tribes of the Ta-Yue-Che, to which the name Kuṣān was transferred from one of them. As Kadphises—Kadaphes does not call himself "king of kings", it is unlikely that Kaniṣka's title could refer to the five tribes of the Kuṣāns, who must by this time have

[1] For Z = *y*, cf. KOZOΛΑ = Kuyula, AZOY = Ayasa; = *j*, KOZOYΛO = Kujula; ZEIONISOY = Jihuniasa, and for OO = *w*, cf. OOHMA = Wima.

been merged into one people. And if we assume *wang* = *šāh*, the rulers of the other four tribes were not of the importance of kings. It must also be remembered that the title is a borrowed one, and that titles like the later "king of kings of Iran and Aniran" were not then in vogue; so that it is unlikely that Kaniṣka adopted a title of this territorial form. There is, then, no title of the form *Kūšān šāh* on Kaniṣka's coins; and any argument from it that KOÞANO is a genitive plural must fall to the ground.

The legend on 208 of the 212 gold coins of Huviṣka in the British Museum, and apparently on the copper coins also, is ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO,[1] which can only mean, as on the coins of Kaniṣka, "king of kings, Huviṣka, the Kuṣān." On the remaining four coins—(one specimen of B.M. Cat. No. 18 and three of No. 81: one of each of the two types is figured by Dr. Fleet, C, 1 and 2 in the plate at p. 378 above)—it is

ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKO KOÞANO ÞAO.

These coins differ from all the others in obverse type,—in the form OOHÞKO, and in the ending KOÞANO ÞAO instead of simply KOÞANO. Here, then, for the first time we have an apparent equivalent of *Kūšān šāh*. But when we remember that on ninety-nine per cent of Huviṣka's coins no such expression occurs, we must be careful how we regard it. I am inclined to find a clue in the form OOHÞKO, and perhaps in the fact that in one type the king is riding an elephant; OOHÞKO, with final O, is an Indian form in distinction to the OOHÞKI of the majority of the legends (cf. BOΔΔO = Buddha) and the ÞAO is an equivalent of *mahārāja*, which Indian usage required in addition to ÞAONANO ÞAO, which would be considered the equivalent of *rājādirāja* only. It is not impossible, however, that it should be translated

[1] A few have the form OYOHÞKI; OOHÞKE is also found.

"the emperor Huviṣka, the Kusān king", in which case it would be analogous to our "King of Great Britain and Emperor of India". In any case, the evidence of these few coins cannot be used to overthrow the evidence of all the others where KOϷANO is clearly used alone and is not a genitive plural. Vāsudeva similarly called himself either "king of kings, Vāsudeva, the Kuṣan", or simply "king Vāsudeva" (ϷAO BAZOΔHO).

We will discuss only one more occurrence of Kuṣan on a coin-legend, but it is an important one in this connexion. There are certain coins of Sassanian fabric, attributed to the Kidāra Kuṣans, which have an obverse legend read by Cunningham as *Kidāra Kuṣāna Ṣāhi*.[1] The legend runs round the head. *Kidāra Kuṣāṇaṣa* (not °*naṣa*) is quite clear: and Cunningham thought he could read *hi* beside the head. There is a faint blur on fig. 1 beside the head; but there is certainly no letter there on No. 2; nor on other coins in the British Museum. The correct legend is certainly *Kidāra-Kuṣāṇaṣa* in the genitive, and not *Kidāra-Kuṣāna-Ṣāhi*. The name of the Kidāra Kuṣana then was certainly Kuṣaṇa, and not Kuṣa.

Baron von Staël-Holstein lays great stress on the form *Kuṣānu* as evidence in his favour. Whether KOϷANO is the equivalent of *Kuṣāna* or of *Kuṣānu*, does not matter much for his purpose; for the former might equally well be a genitive plural of a Prakrit form: nor, indeed, is it necessary to go to an "unknown language" for a genitive plural in *ānu*, as the Jain Prakrit form *devāṇuppiya* shows. When he comes to deal with coins and inscriptions, the Baron takes no notice of the fact that in the overwhelming number of instances the form used is clearly *Kuṣana*. The hook in the *n* is a well-known feature of Kharoṣṭhī epigraphy, quite without significance; it is much commoner on the coins of an

[1] N.C., 1893, pl. xv, figs. 1, 2; p. 199.

earlier period, and if stress were laid on it we should have such impossible forms as *maharujusu, rujutirujusu,*[1] etc.

With regard to the Baron's evidence for the form Kuṣa from Aśvaghoṣa, — if it is actually an Indian form, it is a pandit's etymology. But more probably the Tibetan translator made the very mistake into which Baron von Staël-Holstein would now lead us (see also p. 380).

As to his note 2, p. 86, we cannot deny that كوشان شاه, if it only occurred in Persian, could be translated "king of the Kuṣas". But many Persian place-names end in ان which are not genitives. The form *Σεγανσαά* in Agathias is of course = *Sakān-sāh,* "king of the Śakas," which is itself known to occur (Pai-kuli inscr.). But this and other analogies quoted by the Baron merely amount to saying that ان was a genitive plural termination in Persian.

J. ALLAN.

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## BRAHMANIC AND KSHATRIYA TRADITION

At p. 118 Dr. Keith has criticized my paper on "Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha", and I may offer a few remarks on the salient points of his criticism.

I take the two propositions that he disputes (p. 118). The first, "the course of all tradition is from the simple and natural to the extravagant and marvellous," is a commonplace in the criticism of ancient legends. Euhemerism has of course been practised, but has any euhemerized legend gained popular currency? Does the kṣatriya tradition, that I set out from six Purāṇas, read like a euhemerized version of the brahmanical stories?

The second proposition is, "it is impossible to treat brahmanic tradition as a critical standard, when notoriously the brahmans had little or no notion of history."

[1] Whitehead, *Cat. Coins in Panjab Museum,* i, p. 156, n. 2.

The disregard shown by the brahmans for history is a commonplace, and Professor Macdonell has stated and explained it in his *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11. That being so, can brahmanic tradition be treated as a critical standard ? If Dr. Keith maintains that it can, the burden is on him to prove it. Satyavrata Triśaṅku was a king of Ayodhyā often mentioned in tradition. I quoted six long passages and cited two others; and there are more besides. Triśaṅku the religious teacher is mentioned in one brief passage in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad. To assert on the strength of this single allusion "the worthlessness of the supposed epic tradition" mentioned in many genealogical and other passages in various books is indeed to make brahmanic tradition a critical standard of supreme authority. Triśaṅku the religious teacher was manifestly different from and later than Triśaṅku the king, unless Dr. Keith can show that he belongs to the same ancient period as the first Viśvāmitra, to which king Triśaṅku belongs. The parallel of Saul the king and Saul the religious teacher is strictly apposite in considering the two similar Triśaṅkus.

The difference between kṣatriya and brahmanic tradition has been noticed on pp. 901–2 of my paper, and is paralleled by the difference between tales of chivalry and legends of saints.

Dr. Keith's reference to Sudās on p. 123 concerns a later Viśvāmitra and a later Vasiṣṭha, probably the fourth Vasiṣṭha mentioned in note 2 on p. 901 of my paper. I have there pointed out that there was rivalry between the later Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras.

For the rest it would ill become me to occupy valuable pages of this Journal with points of detail, and those interested in this matter can compare what I have said with Dr. Keith's criticisms.

F. E. PARGITER.

## MĀLAVA-GAṆA-STHITI

Two of the oldest inscriptions dated in the Vikrama Era have long been known to contain variations of this phrase; and in what is perhaps the most recent of the discussions devoted to it (JRAS., 1913, pp. 995–8), Dr. J. F. Fleet refers to a recently discovered record (Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 161) in which the phrase is replaced by *mālavagaṇāmnāta*. It would be otiose to repeat the facts, as set forth by Dr. Fleet, who had previously translated *mālava-gaṇa-sthityā* by "the tribal [*gaṇa*] constitution [*sthiti*] of the Mālavas": he now prefers "the usage [*sthiti*] of the Mālava tribe [*gaṇa*]".

Curiously enough, the use of the word *gaṇa* in the sense of "corporation" has long been known (see Hopkins, JAOS. xiii, p. 82); and the fact to which it refers in connexion with a national name, such as Mālava—for it has other similar, but not quite identical employments, e.g. in the *gaṇa*, *gaṇin*, *gaṇācārya* of the Buddhists and Jains—is also familiar. This fact is the existence in ancient India of cities and tribes not ruled by kings, but having a republican, or rather oligarchical, constitution, the *αὐτόνομοι πόλεις* of Megasthenes, xxxii, 4, etc. (see Hopkins, op. cit., p. 136, and especially Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 17 seqq.). Professor Rapson, also, in his work on *Indian Coins* (see § 60 and pl. iii, 14) gives a coin of the Yaudheyas bearing the legend *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jaya dvi*.

These facts do not detract from the merit of Mr. Kashi-Prasad Jayasval, who in his papers entitled "An Introduction to Hindu Polity" (*Modern Review*, May to September, 1913; see pp. 3 sqq. of the reprint) has thrown much fresh light upon the subject. We only demur to his pressing the idea of "republic", whereas the various descriptions seem to point rather to an oligarchical form of government.

I do not claim to be able to advance the matter further. My point is that in this connexion *sthiti* will most reasonably be taken in the sense of "continued existence", as in the *kulasya sthitaye* of *Kumārasambhava*, i, 18 (where Himālaya marries Menā "for the continuance of his family"), or in that of "constitution", as in *rājyasthiti* (see B. & R., s.v. *sthiti*), justifying the substance of Dr. Fleet's original rendering, "the continuance [*sthiti*] of the tribal constitution [*gaṇa*] of the Mālavas." *Mālavagaṇāmnāta* is, of course, "according to the tradition of the Mālava tribal constitution."

The upshot of this is that, according to the earliest available information concerning the connexions of the Vikrama Era, it dates from the foundation of the tribal independence of the Mālavas.

F. W. THOMAS.

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## "KUSA" CAKRAVARTINS

In his article at p. 79 above, proposing the substitution of "Kuṣa" for "Kuṣana" as the generic designation of Kaniṣka's race, Baron von Staël-Holstein supports his thesis by citing (p. 88) the occurrence of the names *Kuśa*, *Mahā-kuśa* and *Upa-kuśa* in the list of Cakravartin emperors in the Buddhist catalogue *Mahāvyutpatti*. That list, however, consists almost entirely of mere mythological and legendary individuals, and excepting Buddha's father and son (neither of whom certainly was a Cakravartin) and one or two other petty kings, none are even historical personages. In particular, the three "Kuśas", from the position they occupy in the list, were presumably suggested by the site of Buddha's death, namely Kuśinagara or "Kuśā-vatī", and fabricated by the Buddhist monks to give importance to that sacred spot. For these three names immediately precede that of Mahā-Sudarśana, a mythical king of Kuśa-vatī, who

is apologetically introduced by Buddha (according to the *Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta*) when Ānanda expostulates with his Master for dying in such an obscure village—

> "Say not so, Ānanda . . . that this is but a small wattle-and-daub village, a village in the midst of the jungle, a branch township! Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king by name Mahā Sudassana . . . This Kusinārā, Ānanda, was the royal city . . . under the name Kusāvatī." (Davids' *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, iii, 161; Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 136.)

Now this paragraph, of doubtful authenticity in itself, is generally and with reason considered to be the source whence was expanded or invented the large *sutra* bearing the name of this king "Mahā-Sudassana" forming book No. xvii of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

In the era of still further expansion which followed in the scholastic period, about the beginning of our era, were evolved those extravagant lists and categories of names which make up the bulk of the *Mahāvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit work which was only published about the ninth century A.D. These lists, I find, are largely made up by separating out elements of names, and artificially duplicating and triplicating them by the prefixes *Mahā*, *Upa*, etc. Thus we find in the list of *Cakravartins* (St. Petersburg ed., 1911, p. 52; cf. also Csoma's ed., Calcutta, 1910, p. 26, which differs somewhat in spelling: I give the former form)—

> 8 Cārū, 9 Upa-cārū, 10 Cārū-manta, 11 Muci, 12 Muci-linda, 13 Śakuni, 14 Mahā-Śakuni, 15 Kuśa, 16 Upa-kuśa, 17 Mahā-kuśa, 18 Sudarśana, 19 Mahā-Sudarśana, 20 Vāmakah, etc.

It seems clear, therefore, that these are not historical personages at all, and have certainly nothing to do with either Kaniṣka or Aśoka.

L. A. WADDELL.

## Steros Su

Some of the coins of Hermaeus have on the obverse a legend which runs—

ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡ□Σ ΣV ΕΡΜΑΙ□V

The syllable ΣV has always been a puzzle,[1] interest in which has been revived by some remarks on p. 83 above, where it seems to be suggested that we have here, as in one other supposed instance, a barbaric genitive of a word **sa* = *šāh*. That suggestion, however, decidedly cannot be accepted.

It is perhaps difficult to propose a solution which will be taken as convincing. But *stēros* certainly stands for *sōtēros*: and I venture to suggest that ΣV is a die-sinker's blunder for MV as an abbreviation of *megalou*. This would give the quite reasonable and appropriate—

s(ō)tēros m(egalo)u,

the genitive, according to the construction of this legend, of the *sōtēr megas* which we have on the obverses of the slightly later coins of "the Nameless King," Sōtēr Megas.

In support of my suggestion there is the fact that the mistake of ΣΕΓΑΛΟV for ΜΕΓΑΛΟV is actually found on a Parthian coin referred to the time of Mithradates III, B.C. 57–54: see Wroth's *Coins of Parthia*, p. 61, No. 5.

J. F. Fleet.

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## The Originality of the Ramayana of Tulasi Dasa

I read with great interest Sir George Grierson's article headed "Is the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasī Dāsa a translation?" in the number of the JRAS. for January, 1913. I have gone through the Sanskrit Rāmacarita Mānasa as published by Paṇḍit Balbhadra Prasād, and have no hesitation in saying that the claims of the book to be the original on which Tulasī Dāsa based his translation

[1] See JRAS, 1897, p. 319.

are exceedingly weak. To a student of Sanskrit who has studied Tulasī Dāsa carefully, the book appears, as Sir George Grierson has shown by extracts, to be a clumsy forgery. The editors quote a Sanskrit verse printed at the end of the Indian press edition and some other Rāmāyaṇas to show that Tulasī Dāsa compiled a Bhāṣā version of the book written by Śambhu Kavi. This verse does not appear in my father's copy of the Rāmāyaṇa which was printed in Lucknow in 1907, Samvat, sixty-four years ago. But even if the verse is a composition of Tulasī Dāsa, it only means that the Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa was based on the works of the Sukavi (सुकवि) and Śambhu (शम्भु), not Sukavi Śambhu, or Śambhu the great poet. Tulasī Dāsa's work was the *first* attempt to give to his countrymen a Rāmāyaṇa in their own vernacular. He can gain nothing by saying that *his* version is authoritative because it is based on a certain Rāmāyaṇa by Śambhu or Śiva. He had no rivals in the field, and he does not mean that his book is better than others. He only refers to two authors whose works are standard authorities on the subject—the Rāmāyaṇa of Sukavi Vālmīki and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, which is said to be based on a conversation between Śambhu and his consort Pārvatī, this latter book being to the Vaiṣṇava what the Bible is to the Christian and the Qur'ān is to the Muhammadan. But the editors ignore the Sanskrit verses, which appear in *all* editions of the Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa. In these verses Tulasī Dāsa pays homage in the first instance to the authors of the various Rāmāyaṇas after the usual invocation of Sarasvatī and Gaṇeśa, and includes among them his own guru, as the immediate source of his knowledge of the story. I take up these verses in order, omitting the first:

भवानीशंकरौ वन्दे श्रद्धाविश्वासरूपिणौ ।
याभ्यां विना न पश्यन्ति सिद्धाः स्वान्तःस्थमीश्वरम् ॥
(i, 2)

Growse's translation—

"I reverence Bhawānī and Śaṅkara, the incarnation of faith and hope, without whom not even the just can see GOD, the Great Spirit." These are, I need hardly say, the authors of the Adhyātma, the Umā-Maheśvara Saṁvāda.

वन्दे बोधमयं नित्यं गुरुं शंकररूपिणम् ।
यमाश्रितो हि वक्रोऽपि चन्द्रः सर्वत्र वन्द्यते ॥

(i, 3)

Growse's translation—

"I reverence, as the incarnation of Śaṅkara, the all-wise Guru, through whom even the crescent moon is everywhere honoured." With all my imperfect knowledge of English I would submit that the word "crescent" here conveys very imperfectly the idea of the original **वक्र**, crooked, and "through whom" is hardly an equivalent for **आश्रित**, dependent. The "crooked" and therefore bad article is Tulasī Dāsa himself, who is, as he says in the Kavittāvalī,

जाति के कुजाति के सुजाति के पेटागि बस
खाये टूक सब के विदित बात दुनी सो ।
मानस बचन काय किये पाप सतिभाय
राम को कहाय दास दगाबाज पुनी सो ।
रामनाम को प्रभाउ पाउ महिमा प्रताप
तुलसी सो जग मानियत महामुनी सो ।
*  *  *  *  *

(vii, 72)

"It is a well-known fact that I have eaten (and thereby degraded myself) the pieces of bread given to me by men of my caste, by men of castes inferior to mine and superior to mine. Calling myself a votary of the Lord I have in all sincerity committed sins by mind, word, and deed. Yet the glory of the holy name of Rāma is so great that Tulasī is regarded by the world as a great sage." Here Tulasī Dāsa ascribes his greatness to his being an **आश्रित** of his Guru. The Guru, as I have said above, is

the immediate source of Tulasī Dāsa's knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa.

सीतारामगुणग्रामपुण्यारण्यविहारिणौ ।
वन्दे विशुद्धविज्ञानौ कवीश्वरकपीश्वरौ ॥

(i, 4)

"I reverence the king of bards and the monkey king, of pure intelligence, who ever lingered in delight in the holy forest land of Rāma and Sītā's infinite perfection."

The **गुणग्राम** is another way of expressing their authorship of Rāmāyaṇa. Kavīśwara is Vālmīki whose work is the first Rāmāyaṇa, and the king of monkeys is the reputed author of the Hanuman-nāṭaka, a favourite book with Vaiṣṇavas, which in its modern shape has been very much disfigured by interpolations. The author then proceeds to salute Sītā and Rāma, and sums up the sources of his information in the last Sanskrit verse—

नानापुराणनिगमागमसम्मतं यद्
रामायणे निगदितं क्वचिदन्यतोऽपि ।
स्वान्तःसुखाय तुलसी रघुनाथगाथा-
भाषानिबन्धमतिमञ्जुलमातनोति ॥

(i, 7)

Growse's translation—

"In accord with all the Purāṇas and different sacred texts, and with what has been recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa and elsewhere, I, Tulasī, to grátify my own heart's desire, have composed these lays of Raghunātha in most choice elegant modern speech."

The Rāmāyaṇa alluded to may be the work of Vālmīki or it may also be the Adhyātma. Of the "elsewheres" one is the Prasanna Rāghava, popularly supposed to have been written by Jayadēva, the author of the Gītagovinda, who also, like Tulasī Dāsa, was a great *Bhakta* of the Lord. Jayadeva preceded Tulasī Dāsa by several centuries, and Tulasī Dāsa need not be ashamed of borrowing

a passage or two from a book much in request among Vaiṣṇavas of his time, which was believed to have been composed by a famous Vaiṣṇava. One of these passages is the conversation between Rāvaṇa and Sītā in the Sundara Kāṇḍa. I quote it *in extenso*. The verses of Tulasī Dāsa (V, ix, 4 ff.) are given on the left and extracts from Jayadeva's work, Act vi (p. 152 of Poona edition, 1894), to the right.

| | |
|---|---|
| कह रावनु सुनु सुमुखि सयानी । | रावणः । मां जीवय नयनामृतेन . . . |
| मन्दोदरी आदि सब रानी ॥ | मन्दोदरीमपि विमुञ्चति राज्यमेत- |
| तव अनुचरी करउँ पन मोरा । | दप्युन्मदं तव पदाब्जतले करोति । |
| एक बार बिलोकु मम ओरा ॥ | . . . |
| . . . कहति बैदेही । | सीताः । |
| सुनु दसमुख खद्योतप्रकासा । | यदि खद्योतभासापि समुन्मीलति |
| कबहुँ कि नलिनी करइ बिकासा॥ | पद्मिनी । |
| आपुहि सुनि खद्योतसम | रावणः । |
| रामहिँ भानुसमान । | आः पापे! यावत् किल तपनखद्यो- |
| परुष बचन सुनि काढि असि | तयोस्तावदन्तरं रामरावणयोः । |
| बोला अति खिसियान ॥ | तदियं हन्यसे । (इति खड्गमुत्पा- |
| सीता तैँ मम कृत अपमाना । | टयति) । . . . |
| कटिहउँ तव सिर कठिन कृपाना ॥ | |
| नाहिँ त सपदि मानु मम बानी । | तदिदानीमपि दशकण्ठभुजाश्लेषभे- |
| सुमुखि होत न त जीवनहानी ॥ | षजमनुजानीहि । . . . |
| स्याम सरोज दाम सम सुन्दर । | सीता । रघुपतिभुजदण्डादुत्पलश्याम- |
| प्रभुभुज करिकर सम दसकंधर ॥ | कान्तेर्दशमुख भवदीयान् निष्कृ- |
| सो भुज कंठ कि तव असि घोरा । | पाद्वा कृपाणात् । . . . |
| सुनु सठ अस प्रमान पन मोरा ॥ | |
| चन्द्रहास हर मम परितापं । | चन्द्रहास हर मे परितापं |
| रघुपति बिरह अनल संजातं ॥ | रामचन्द्रविरहानलजातम् ॥ |
| सीतल निसि तव असि बर धारा । | त्वं हि . . . |
| कह सीता हर मम दुखभारा ॥ | धारया वहसि शीतलमम्भः |

Of the last four lines the first is evidently Jayadeva's. In the second of these रघुपति has been put in for Rāmacandra and सं added to complete the verse. In the fourth line "(cold) water", the attributive of Jayadeva, has been omitted as useless, and in the third the words "cold night" have been substituted by Tulasī Dāsa without much reason. Jayadeva's metaphor has been maintained in his verse. He would extinguish the fire by cold water (शीतलमम्भः). Tulasī Dāsa's "cold night" (सीतल निसि) is unpoetic. A cold night in Hindī poetry does not bring comfort. Yet the Sanskrit Rāmacarita Mānasa has copied not only the beauties but the faults of Tulasī Dāsa also, and made it worse by adding a निशित (sharp) after निशा.

This conversation does not occur either in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki or in the Adhyātma. If, therefore, the claims of the Sanskrit Rāmacarita Mānasa hold water the first plagiarist would be Jayadeva. We are not in possession of the date of this extraordinary work, but it is incredible that both Jayadeva and Tulasī Dāsa would borrow without acknowledging from a little-known work which has been raked up from oblivion in Etawah. I would in all sincerity advise the editors to consign it again to the abyss of oblivion, and assure them that readers of Tulasī Dāsa refuse to be startled with the revelation that the melodious verses of Tulasī Dāsa are but literal translations of a Sanskrit original.

SĪTĀ RĀM.

ALLAHABAD.
*November 13, 1913.*

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## LES GROTTES DES MILLE BOUDDHAS

J'ai lu en son temps la note du JRAS. de juillet 1913 (pp. 696–8), où Mr. F. Legge contestait qu'on connût un évêché babylonien de Kaškar autrement que par les *Acta Archelai*. C'est moi qui avais signalé à Mr. Denison Ross la rectification dont Mr. Legge n'admet pas le bien-fondé.

En l'absence de Mr. Ross, permettez-moi donc de renvoyer les lecteurs de votre *Journal* à n'importe quel manuel de littérature syriaque ou, s'ils le préfèrent, au *Synodicon orientale* publié en 1902 par M. Chabot. Ils y verront que l'évêché de Kaškar, correspondant à l'actuel Al-Wasiṭ entre Bagdad et Bassora, a toujours joui, dans l'église nestorienne, d'une célébrité spéciale et d'une situation privilégiée. Le texte même de M. Cumont qu'invoque Mr. Legge eût dû le mettre en garde, car on comprend que Théodore bar Koni ait pu savoir le mandéen si son Kaškar était dans le bassin du bas Euphrate, au lieu qu'il serait absurde de parler de mandéen pour la région de Kašgar au Turkestan chinois.

Je voudrais aussi dire quelques mots à propos de la note de Mr. Amedroz qui précède celle de Mr. Legge, et où il s'agit des manuscrits trouvés dans les grottes de Touen-houang. Que la grotte aux manuscrits ait été fermée au xi$^{e}$ ou au xiv$^{e}$ siècle, je vous prie de croire qu'à Sir Aurel Stein comme à moi-même, cela nous est, en tant qu'hommes, bien indifférent. Nous nous sommes trouvés en présence d'une situation de fait ; nous avons cherché quelle était l'hypothèse qui pouvait le mieux rendre compte de cette situation ; la vérité nous a seule importé dans le passé, comme elle nous importe seule dans le présent. Or les faits, les voici.

En 1900, une cachette de manuscrits est découverte par hasard, en un coin perdu où nul érudit indigène ne se trouve passer pendant plusieurs années. Sir Aurel Stein achète en bloc une partie de la trouvaille en 1907 ; j'en prélève un autre lot en 1908. Sur mon conseil, à la fin de 1909 ou tout au début de 1910, le gouvernement chinois fait ramener à Pékin tout ce que je n'ai pas emporté.

Ces manuscrits sont rédigés dans les écritures et les langues les plus diverses, mais Sir Aurel Stein est indianiste ; je suis sinologue ; nous savons l'un et l'autre notre métier.

L'antiquité manifeste des manuscrits en écriture indienne frappe Sir A. Stein ; les manuscrits chinois me fournissent immédiatement des repères certains. Dès le premier jour, je suis en présence de plusieurs rouleaux dont le type d'écriture est forcément antérieur au viie siècle ; je trouve aussi des textes que je sais disparus en Chine dès le xie. Mais il y a plus. Beaucoup de manuscrits sont datés : toutes les dates s'arrêtent au seuil du xie siècle. Pour les époques antérieures, cette bibliothèque ne renferme guère que de vrais ouvrages, appartenant d'ailleurs à toutes les branches de la littérature ; mais pour le xe siècle, je recueille en abondance des pièces éphémères, comptes, baux, actes de ventes, notes journalières, autant de documents détachés que leur nature même vouait à une prompte disparition. Enfin, alors que manuscrits proprement dits et pièces détachées sont empaquetés et ficelés, je ramasse hors des liasses non plus un rouleau, mais un cahier ouigour, entremêlé de caractères chinois, et d'une écriture qui, malgré le peu d'expérience que nous avons alors de la paléographie turque, me paraît vraisemblablement plus tardive. Or il y a, tout au nord de ces grottes dont la décoration même s'arrête au xe siècle, une petite série de grottes lamaïques aménagées à l'époque mongole. Deux d'entre elles ont été déblayées récemment par le moine. Je dégage les autres, et, sur le sol, je recueille, au milieu de fragments divers, *si-hia* et autres, un cahier ouigour du même type que celui que j'ai trouvé dans la grotte aux manuscrits hors des liasses. Dès lors, mon opinion était faite : le moine, en déblayant les grottes de l'époque mongole, avait négligé les fragments, mais avait trouvé, lui aussi, un cahier complet qu'il avait joint à la grosse masse des manuscrits découverts en 1900. Parmi les milliers de textes qui me sont alors passés par les mains, je ne trouvais aucune date postérieure au début du xie siècle. Nous savions par ailleurs que les Si-hia s'étaient emparés de Touen-houang—à un an près—en 1035. Les

Si-hia s'étaient en outre créé une écriture nationale ; or aucun spécimen d'écriture *si-hia* ne figurait dans nos manuscrits. C'est pourquoi j'ai proposé alors de placer en 1035, au moment de l'invasion *si-hia*, la fermeture de la cachette par les moines épouvantés. Indépendamment, Sir A. Stein, que je n'avais pas vu, avec qui je n'avais pas correspondu, datait du xie siècle le murage de la grotte. Les mêmes faits nous avaient très simplement amenés aux mêmes conclusions.

Ces conclusions, des faits nouveaux nous obligent-ils à les modifier ? Je ne le crois pas. Mr. Amedroz veut tirer des récits de voyage de Sir A. Stein que la grotte était si pleine qu'il n'y avait plus place pour y ajouter quelques minces cahiers. En vérité, est-ce sérieux ? Et à qui fera-t-on bien admettre l'idée de ce bourrage hermétique ? Jamais Sir A. Stein n'a pensé, jamais il n'a rien dit de pareil. S'il fallait cependant opposer un texte à Mr. Amedroz, je lui ferai respectueusement observer qu'un espace libre " for two people to stand in " suffit pour loger quelques " loose documents ".

Lorsque Mr. Denison Ross me fit connaître le colophon du manuscrit ouigour de 1350, c'est moi encore qui lui signalai le cas de mes deux textes similaires recueillis l'un dans la grotte aux manuscrits hors des liasses, et l'autre dans les déblais de la grotte mongole ; et je lui suggérai que sans doute le manuscrit de Sir A. Stein avait été, comme le mien, apporté dans la grotte par le moine depuis 1900. Mr. Amedroz suppose que Sir A. Stein ne manquerait pas aujourd'hui de reprendre la question, et pourrait bien arriver, pour la date de la fermeture, à une autre conclusion que celle qu'il avait admise jusqu'ici. Je suis en mesure de le renseigner. Avant de venir à Paris, où pour la première fois il me parla du colophon de 1350, Mr. Denison Ross en avait écrit à Sir A. Stein. La réponse lui parvint des Indes quand la note parue dans votre *Journal* était déjà sous presse.

Dans cette réponse, datée du 2 février 1913, Sir A. Stein faisait remarquer que la date de 1350 n'aurait d'importance pour la fermeture de la grotte que s'il était sûr que le manuscrit eût fait partie du dépôt original. Et Sir A. Stein ajoute : " On this point unfortunately some doubt remains in my mind because the bound Uighur booklets were not found by me mixed up in the usual bundles of Chinese texts, etc., but lying loose on the top of what I remember looked like one open assortment of miscellaneous stuff brought out by the Tao-shih from his cave." Autrement dit, une fois de plus, les circonstances de fait se révélaient conformes à l'hypothèse que mes expériences personnelles m'avaient amené à formuler.

Naturellement, il ne s'agit pas de dire que la présence d'un document de 1350 vienne à l'appui de la fermeture en 1035; mais de cette présence nous pouvons rendre compte. Si j'écarte toute solution différente, ce n'est pas que j'aie contre elle aucune prévention, mais parce qu'elle me paraît se heurter à des difficultés insurmontables. De nombreux textes provenant de Touen-houang ont été publiés depuis 1908 à Londres, à Paris, et surtout en Chine et au Japon. Tous les manuscrits rapportés à Pékin ont été examinés par les érudits chinois et par une mission de savants japonais spécialistes de l'histoire et de la littérature chinoises; tous ces savants se sont ralliés à nos conclusions. Si on veut faire descendre au-dessous du xi^e^ siècle la fermeture de la grotte, comment expliquer l'hiatus de trois cents ans qui sépare les derniers documents des environs de l'an 1000 et les deux ou trois textes du xiv^e^ siècle ? Comment justifier la présence des innombrables pièces comptables qui ne commencent guère avant l'an 900 et s'arrêtent brusquement vers l'an 1000 ? Comment admettre que tant de textes aient été encore usuels à Touen-houang vers 1350, quand toute la Chine les considérait comme perdus depuis plus de trois siècles ? Enfin, quand les quelques grottes de l'époque mongole

fournissaient en abondance des documents *si-hia*, quand les visiteurs Si-hia ont tracé nombre de *graffiti* sur les parois des grottes demeurées accessibles, comment justifier, parmi ces milliers de manuscrits qui sont aujourd'hui à Londres, à Paris et à Pékin, l'absence du moindre spécimen de cette littérature *si-hia* qui, du xi^e^ au xiv^e^ siècle, posséda la plupart des classiques chinois et à peu près tout le *canon* bouddhique ?

P. PELLIOT.

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## CAVES OF A THOUSAND BUDDHAS

The above remarks ignore the fact that the document bearing the date A.D. 1350 is depicted on plate No. 192 of Sir A. Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (facing p. 180 of vol. ii), where it is marked "4". The document constitutes good prima facie evidence that its date is the remotest point assignable for the walling up of the repository, and to rebut this something more is needed than an *ipse dixit*.

H. F. AMEDROZ.

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## CAVES OF A THOUSAND BUDDHAS

I gladly note that it is M. Pelliot who was responsible for the so-called correction for which Mr. Denison Ross stood godfather. When accusations of "grosses inexactitudes"[1] are flying about, it is only fair that one should know their real author.

Thanks, doubtless, to a want of perfect familiarity with our language, M. Pelliot makes me say something I did not say. He taxes me in effect with denying that we had any knowledge of a Babylonian bishopric of Kaškar otherwise than through the *Acta Archelai*, my contention

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, sér. xi, tom. i, No. 1, p. 100, n. 1.

being (*vide* JRAS. 1913, pp. 697–8) that there was no record of any place in Babylonia likely to be called Kaškar when Bar Khōni wrote, i.e. in the year A.D. 792. The last witness that M. Pelliot calls into court goes some way towards proving my point. In M. Chabot's *Synodicon Orientale*, to which he refers me, there are indeed frequent references to bishops of Kaškar, which diocese occupied a distinguished position in the Nestorian Church, its incumbent being once spoken of as the right arm (read suffragan or coadjutor) of the Catholicos. There is even mention of a bishop of Kaškar named Theodore. But this cannot possibly be Bar Khōni, for the synod at which he of Kaškar attended was called in 605, or 187 years before Bar Khōni says that he wrote. On the other hand, when recording the last synod in the book (p. 518), the author thinks it necessary to explain that "Quant à Kaškar, c'est cette Delasar qui formait dans l'antiquité depuis des siècles le royaume de Bat Senn'ar au témoignage du fils d'Amram", and that there were even at an earlier date Nestorian bishops of places in Turkestan. M. Pelliot himself points out that Kaškar is now called Al Wasit "entre Bagdad et Bassora", and a town of that name is mentioned by Al Bīrūnī who wrote in A.D. 1000. As Bassora was founded by the Moslems immediately after the Arab conquest in 636, it is unlikely that Kaškar would be allowed to retain its former name much after that event; and therefore Bar Khōni, if he had had occasion to mention it, would probably have called it Al Wasit.

M. Pelliot's remarks about the language are, of course, beside the point. If Mandaite were the native tongue of Bar Khōni he would probably write in it, no matter in what country he was "Doctor" or Bishop. So Cardinal Lavigerie's Algerian successor probably writes in French and the (Anglican) Bishop of Jerusalem in English.

F. LEGGE.

## NOTES ON "LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS PAR AUREL STEIN DANS LES SABLES DU TURKESTAN ORIENTAL", BY ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES

The last sentence of the Preface of this work (reviewed in another part of the Journal) runs: "Je me suis rendu compte mieux que personne des risques que j'encourais en assumant la tache que M. Stein m'avait dévolue; aussi n'est-ce point par présomption que je m'en suis acquitté; j'ai simplement fait ce que j'ai pu et je me réjouirai de toutes les rectifications qui seront proposées par les érudits soucieux de collaborer au développement de nos connaissances sinologiques."

These truly modest and scientific words encourage me to offer the following suggestions noted down on my way through the pages of this invaluable work.

Document No. 37. The character doubtfully identified by M. Chavannes as 奉 *fêng* in this and Nos. 65, 115, 117, 140, 598, and 705, is, I feel confident, 承 *ch'êng*, though the author has, on the whole, decided against it. The term 承弦 *ch'êng hsien* would seem to signify "cord-holder", but the exact object meant remains obscure.

No. 64. I suggest, instead of "(arbalète) . . . présentant sur la droite une ébréchure ancienne" for the characters 傷右古一所 *shang yu ku i so*, the rendering "having the right side (lit. thigh) damaged". I suppose that the character 古 has been carelessly written for the vulgar form 肉 *jou*, plus 古 *ku*, rightly written 股 *ku*.

No. 67. Instead of "Le soldat de (la compagnie) Ling-hou (nommé) K'ouan Mien, le jour *Ki-mao* sortira de la barrière", for 淩胡卒寬免以己卯日出塞 I suggest "The men of the Ling Hu Company are excused from leaving the Barrier on the day *Ki-mao*".

No. 91. I believe the peculiar character which M. Chavannes concludes on the whole must be 起 *ch'i* is really 走 *tsou* both here and in all the other cases where

the same scription is found, e.g. in Nos. 92 (twice), 93, 155, 158, 397.

Hence, instead of "Le jour *Keng-wu* . . . dans le service on ne travaillera plus à la délimitation. Le jour *Keng-wu*, Ko Heou," where the author says the last two words appear to be the name of the officer giving the order (葛 侯), I suggest reading "Starting from the day *Kêng-wu*, no delimitation work will be carried out. On the day *Kêng-wu* there will be relief from look-out duty". This involves substituting 歇 *hsieh*, for 葛 *Ko*, perhaps written in error.

No. 92. Besides the above-mentioned 走 *tsou* for 起 *ch'i*, I am sure the character here transcribed as 覓 *mi*, to seek, is really 負 *fu*, to carry on the back. Hence, instead of "ont été chercher" I suggest "have carried on their backs, etc." The same change should be made in Nos. 95, 96, 225. In No. 280 M. Chavannes, in fact, has transcribed this character as *fu*. Also "155 *li*" should be "455 *li*".

No. 136. I think that the last six characters in the sentence 奉 書 行 事 下 當 用 者 如 詔, which M. Chavannes renders "Dès que vous aurez reçu cette lettre, agissez en conséquence, et dans la conduite que vous aurez à tenir ultérieurement, conformez-vous au texte de l'édit impérial", really mean "Issue to those under your control orders as directed by the Edict". Similarly in Nos. 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 291, 450.

No. 158. Reading here also 走 *tsou* for M. Chavannes 起 *ch'i*, I propose instead of his wording "Keng Kouang . . . sera un homme dispensé de service" (不 起 人) to render the passage "K. K. has not marched out any men". I suggest also that 田 何 侯 *T'ien Ho Hou* is not "le nom de l'officier qui donne cet ordre", but means the T'ien Ho watch-tower.

No. 199. The words 所 坐 不 同 *so tso pu t'ung* left untranslated by M. Chavannes seem to be "the punishments incurred are not the same".

No. 255. The two characters left blank before 到官 *tao kuan*, "est arrivé à son poste," are 乙酉 *i yu*, "on the day *i yu*."

No. 263. This ends with the words 戍令積浦八人完爲城旦, which give occasion for a most valuable note by the author. He translates the passage "le chef des soldats (nommé ?) *Tsi-pou*; huit hommes sont condamnés aux travaux forçés en conservant l'intégrité de leur corps". I suggest that 浦 *p'u*, river-bank, is carelessly written for 捕 *pu*, to arrest, and that we should translate "the officer arrested altogether eight men who, etc."

No. 307. On the reverse side the only characters are 兵完折傷簿, "List of arms perfect, broken, and damaged," instead of the author's "Liste des objets endommagés parmi les armes de guerre" (as corrected in the Errata). But the obverse differs in the equivalent passage by having a word inserted between the characters 完 and 折, otherwise the text is the same. This extra character M. Chavannes has transcribed as 望 *wang*, to face towards, reading the original as the variant composed of 臣 *ch'én* plus 月 *yueh* plus 壬 *t'ing*. It would be impossible to understand the passage if *wang* were really present. But I am confident the character is 堅 *chien*, strong, and this gives excellent sense, the obverse then reading, "List of arms perfect, in good condition, broken, and damaged at Tu Tsien tu, etc.", evidently four categories. It only requires a supplementary column as to "wooden cases for same" to remind us of our own War Office Returns.

No. 345. The 8th character of line 2 of the obverse, and the 7th of line 1 of the reverse, appear to me to be the same. But in the first case the translator transcribes it as 無 *wu*, not, and in the second as 甚 *shén*.

No. 398. The 1st character is misprinted, and should be 政 *chéng*, as should the 1st of the 6th column. I also

suggest that 政得長奉聞 at the head of the latter column, instead of being rendered "Moi, Tcheng, je peux toujours vous informer", should be "I have long had the honour of hearing [how strictly you bring up your family]".

No. 418. I suggest that 付養卒 *fu yang tsu* means "handed to the cook of the detachment", rather than "remis pour la nourriture du soldat, etc."

No. 429. In this calendar I have been able to decipher the following terms in the cramped scrawl which M. Chavannes has not noted. On the obverse, in the second register, 2nd line, the first two blank characters in the transcript are 初伏 *ch'u fu*, the first hot spell of ten days, the second two blanks are 中伏 *chung fu*, the middle hot spell. In the 3rd line the transcriber prints three blanks at the end, but I believe there are really only two characters, the last of which is certainly 伏 *fu*. We may safely insert 末 *mo* above it, thus reconstructing what is required, viz. 末伏 *mo fu*, the last hot spell, but I will not pretend that on the plate I can make out the former character. The last two characters left blank in line 4 are 秋分 *ch'iu fên*, the autumnal equinox. On the reverse side, in line 1, the characters 十三 *Shih san*, thirteenth, should be 廿三 *erh-shih san*, twenty-third, and 甲寅 *chia yin*, should be 甲子 *chia tzŭ*. In line 3, for the last five blank spaces left by M. Chavannes, I read (after 十 *shih*, tenth) the characters 日庚戌冬至 *jih kêng hsü tung chih*, "(tenth) day, *kêng hsü*, winter solstice," but the last character is actually illegible.

No. 430. The 1st character, judging by what is still visible, and as suspected by M. Chavannes, must be 元 *yuan*. It cannot be 太 *t'ai*. Consequently this fragment must date from A.D. 4 instead of 94 B.C. So also, in No. 593, I agree with M. Chavannes that the 1st character is 元 *yuan*.

No. 452. In the term *t'o-t'o*, camel, the 2nd character

is written 㐌 [*sic*] in the original, not 他, as in the transcription.

No. 460. I believe the last four characters are 以亭次行 *i t'ing tz'ŭ hsing*, not 不行 *pu hsing*, as transcribed. If I am right, the translation requires altering to "to visit the stations in order", in place of "c'est pourquoi le (bataillon du) *t'ing* n'est pas parti".

M. Chavannes in his note on this specimen corroborates the use of 吉羊 for 吉祥 *chi hsiang*, auspicious, from Han texts. It is common on the Honan bones also.

No. 467. The characters transcribed 然大文夫 should surely be 然土大夫 *jan t'u ta fu*. The 12th character in the 2nd line, left blank, appears to be an abbreviated variant of 憂 *yu*, to grieve, which is given in Couvreur's Dictionary.

No. 494. "300 pièces de monnaie" should be "3,000".

No. 524. A Chinese medical prescription nearly 2,000 years old is not exactly easy, and M. Chavannes gives a translation which he styles "fort hypothétique". I can only tinker at it, but venture on the following suggested emendations. In line 1 I read the 1st and 18th characters as the same, and neither 股 *ku*, thigh, as transcribed in the first instance, nor 脈 *mé*, pulse, as in the second, but 服 *fu*, to swallow, in both. In line 2, instead of 滿 *man*, full, for the 16th word, I read *ni*, an uncommon character formed of *shui*, water, *plus* the phonetic of 逆 *ni*, to oppose, and equivalent to the latter. The text of this passage will then be 服之廿日徵下三十日腹中毋積匈中不復手足不逆通利, etc. Accordingly, in place of the author's translation from the words, "On lui a tâté le pouls pendant vingt jours. Le trentième jour du traitement, le ventre n'a plus de constipation, mais dans la poitrine l'ordre n'est pas rétabli; les mains et les pieds ne fonctionnent pas parfaitement," I propose the following: "After taking the medicine for 20 days, the effects appear (徵下 *ch'êng hsia*); after the 30th

day the bowels are not constipated; there is no nausea of the stomach; the hands and feet are no longer not under control; there is a general improvement."

No. 525. Another and a worse prescription. The 4th character is not, I think, 逆 *ni*, but one with the same radical *plus* 羊 *yang* as phonetic. Kanghsi gives the sound as *yang* and defines it as "the action of advancing and retreating". Perhaps, then, *yang hsiung* means "palpitations of the breast". The 9th character is certainly not 心 *hsin*, heart. It seems to be 止 *chih*, to stop, and 止泄 *chih hsieh* may possibly be "to check diarrhœa".

No. 527. The second of the two characters left blank is 絕 *chüeh*, to cut off. The original of the 5th of the transcribed characters is, I think, certainly not 散 *san*, but some compound with the same phonetic as 穀 *ku*, grain, but what it can be I cannot discover. I suggest that the last two characters, 亭磨 *t'ing mo*, mean "stops (停 *t'ing*) the aching or pain".

No. 537. Obverse, line 2. The last two characters, not transcribed by M. Chavannes, I read 大寒 *ta han*, "the Great Cold," Solar term (about January 21).

No. 573. The 1st character, 息 *hsi*, is omitted in the transcript, as is another, which I cannot decipher, before 稱 *ch'êng*.

No. 596. The character at the top and on the left, which the author could not determine, seems to be 受 *shou*, to receive.

No. 607. The last three characters of line 2 are left blank in the transcript. The two latter are 幸甚 *hsin shên*, "very good news" or "fortunate indeed!" The preceding character is identical with the 6th of the transcript, read 可 *k'o* by the author. I do not think this can be so. It looks rather more like 奇 *ch'i*, unusual. The character transcribed 聞 *wên*, to hear, is 官 *kuan*, official. In view of the last words, *hsin shên*, the

transcription of 訃 *fu*, announcement of mourning, for the character following *kuan* seems difficult to accept.

No. 670. Here, again, I feel sure the character transcribed 起 *ch'i* by the author is 走 *tsou*, and the four words 定日徼走 will then mean "(list of) days fixed for going on tours of inspection". This text is not translated by the author.

No. 671. In a note to this specimen M. Chavannes, referring to a passage in the Shuo Wen, renders the words 母猴 *mu hou* by "les singes femelles". It is very natural to so render them, but it is an error. They mean only a monkey, male or female. Other ways of writing what must, I presume, be, or have been, some non-Chinese name, are 沐猴 *mu hou*, 獼猴 *mi hou*, and in modern times, 馬猴 *ma hou*. See Tuan Yü-ts'ai's edition of the Shuo Wen, under the word 嬰 *nao* (in its 198th radical), except as to *ma hou*, which is from another author.

No. 727. Here, I think, the *wu nien*, 5th year, of the transcript is in the original 元年 *yuan nien*, 1st year.

No. 728. In line 2 of Face A the character transcribed 起 *ch'i* is certainly that and not 走 *tsou*. So also in No. 740. Are we to suppose, then, that in the previous instances noted *tsou* was used as a mere abbreviation of *ch'i*? Or did usage differ in the Han and the Tsin dynasties, to the latter of which these two examples belong?

No. 754. The words 謹案文書前至樓蘭, here rendered "Je constate avec respect ceci; la lettre officielle a été envoyé auparavant à *Leou*-lan", should surely be, as previously in No. 750 the first four were, translated, "avec respect, conformément au texte écrit", and then continue "(Sie Ming) s'est rendu à Leou-lan, etc."

No. 758. The character transcribed 刃 *jên* is, I suggest, 及 *chi*.

No. 768. Line 3, after 書 *shu*, the same character is repeated in the original but omitted in the transcript.

No. 804. The character on Face B, left blank in the transcript, I read 黃 *huang*, yellow.

No. 932. In line 3, for 來 *lai*, come, read 年 *nien*, years.

No. 964. In line 4, for 桑 *sang* read 幸 *hsing*.

No. 967. I suggest that 張 *chang* may not be a man's name here, but a numerative referring to the purse or purses in question.

No. 969. Line 16 of this curious Buddhist temple account contains the passage 又請掏山水渠鄉原沽酒. Of this the author gives as a "hypothetical translation" the following: "pour acheter du vin destiné à la population de *T'ao chan chouei k'iu* et de *Hiang-yuan*." I suggest it should run, "to buy wine after requesting the digging out of the hill canals and the village springs." Similarly in line 17.

In line 21, instead of the character printed in the transcript as a compound of 工 *kung* plus 凡 *fan*, which M. Chavannes in note 7 on p. 212 thinks may perhaps mean a potter, I suggest with some confidence that in the first instance the character is 瓦 *wa*, tile, and that 瓦匠 *wa chiang* here used *is* a potter. In the second example I read 缸 *kang* the familiar "water-kong" or large jar, now written 缸.

No. 970. Line 3. I suggest that 廚子家欽 is rather "the cook (*ch'u-tzŭ-chia*) K'in" than "(au) cuisinier *kia-k'in*". Line 16. Here and in No. 971, line 11, the fruit romanized by the author as *wên-tch'e* should be 榅桲 *wên p'o*, probably that of *Cratægus pinnatifida*, according to Bretschneider, *Botanicon Sinicum*, p. 302. The character is here written with 木 *mu* plus 勃 *p'o*, and not as in the transcript.

No. 971. The remedy "*a-wei*" of line 10 is asafœtida.

L. C. HOPKINS.

## FURTHER LIGHT UPON THE SUMERIAN LANGUAGE

In the Journal of this Society for 1884, p. 301, under the title of "Observations upon the languages of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia", I gave a few details concerning the non-Semitic Sumerian (then called Akkadian) tongue used in early Babylonia. The points dealt with were the polyphony of the characters, the many homophones, the nominal and verbal compounds, the numerals, showing their composition, the case-endings (postpositions) of the nouns, and the prefixed pronouns and their postpositional infixes which form such a characteristic of the Sumerian verb. About fifty of these verbal particles were given, but in the present state of our knowledge they could be greatly increased.

One of the main objects of the paper in question was to attempt to analyse the groups of particles, and to show that, in addition to the 1st and 3rd persons, the 2nd person could also be, and was, expressed, the most noteworthy being the syllable *e*, "thou," "thee" (p. 323), though this was sometimes hidden in some other particle (the example given was *munnašub* for *muena*[*šub*]). Other particles expressing the 2nd person, it was pointed out, were *ib* and *ba*,[1] whilst the 1st person was sometimes expressed by *a* (in the prefixed group *aran-*).

Since the publication of those "Observations" more elaborate treatises upon Sumerian grammar have appeared, notably the late George Bertin's "Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian (= Sumerian) Pronouns" the following year (JRAS. xvii, pt. i), and his Sumero-Akkadian Grammar (Trübner's Simplified Grammars, 1888). A notice of Professor Langdon's Sumerian Grammar was published here in January, 1912. The latest upon the subject of the verbal prefixes and infixes, however, is M. Fr. Thureau-Dangin's "Un Texte Grammatical Sumérien" in the

[1] "Thou," "thee," "thy," are also expressed by *zu* and *za*, the usual root.

*Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1914, pp. 48–53. As a purely grammatical tablet, this is one of the oldest in existence, being apparently "anterior to the time of Ḫammurabi". As it is short, I give here the transcription and translation of the whole, according to M. Thureau-Dangin's copy :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Te - a - na* | *Ṭe - ḫi - šum* | Approach him. |
| *i[n] - na - te - e - en* | *[te-eṭ-ḫ]i-š[u]-u[m]* | Thou hast approached him. |
| *in - na - te - en* | *e - eṭ - ḫi - šum* | I approached him. |
| *na-an-na-te-ga-[de]-en* | *la te-ṭe-ḫ[i-š]um* | do not approach him. |
| *nam-ma-te-ga-de-en* | *[l]a te-ṭe-ḫi-a-am* | do not approach me. |
| *nu-mu-[r]a-te-ga-de-en* | *u-la e-ṭe-ḫi-a-kum* | I will not approach thee. |
| *ba - an - na - te* | *i - ṭe - ḫi - šum* | he will approach him. |
| *ba - an - na - te - en* | *e - ṭe - ḫi - šum* | I will approach him. |
| *in - na - te - e - en* | *te - iṭ - ḫi - šum* | thou hast approached him. |
| *in - da - ga - e - en* | *ta - ša - ka - aš - um* | thou settest for him. |

REVERSE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *gub - ba* | *i - zi - iz* | stand. |
| *ga - gub* | *lu - zi - iz* | let me stand. |
| *ḫe - gub* | *li - zi - iz* | let him stand. |
| *al - gub* | *i - za - az* | he stands. |
| *al - gub - bi - en* | *a - za - az* | I stand. |
| *nu - gub* | *u - la i - za - az* | he stands not. |

As M. Thureau-Dangin points out, the principal interest of the tablet is the distinction which it establishes between the three personal pronouns. But the Sumerian verb, be it noted, is impersonal in its character, and each pronominal element could serve for any of the others, like *on* in French and *one* in English. To this may also be added the probability that we have, in Sumerian, a language which had not a definitely-fixed series of

pronouns such as the majority of known languages possess, but a number of pronominal particles arrested half-way, and capable of being used either as demonstratives—their original force—or as pronouns. Owing to this, they are naturally wanting in that precision which attaches to pronominal particles which have finished their development.

The following are the examples of the infix *e* expressing the 2nd person which I noted thirty years ago :—

1. *um-ta-e-zi* = *tassuḫa*, thou removedst therefrom (WAI. iv, 22, 10–11).
2. *šu-ba-e-ri-ti* = *likî-ma*, take then (WAI. iv, 27, 2–16).
3. *in-ga-e-zu* = *tîdî*, thou knowest (WAI. iv, 22, 7).

To these M. Thureau-Dangin has been able to make a number of additions, both from old and recent sources, and he shows that *e* was used not only as subject, but also as object (direct regimen), and likewise could be followed by a postposition. The passage which he quotes for the former is as follows :—

*Umun* $^{d}$*Mullila anne kia nemmaḫdugga—Bêlu*$^{m}$ *Mullilla šamê û êrṣiti*$^{m}$ *liniḫḫu-ka* "Lord Mullilla, may heaven and earth appease thee" (Reisner, *Hymnen*, p. 132).

It also occurs, to all appearance, as the direct object of a verb in *Western Asia Inscriptions*, iv, 30*b*, lines 1–3 :—

1. *Dimmer anna, munlaḫlaḫgieš*
2. *me laḫlaḫgieš*
3. *mueššišiggieš.*

These are translated by *îlāni ša šame tašûr*, with the variant for the verb (*tašûr*) of *ana taḫāzi izzazzu-ka*, making the alternative renderings "thou resistest the gods of the heavens" and "(the gods of the heavens) in battle stand up against thee".

As, however, the verb, in all three cases, is in the plural, it seems evident that the former of the two renderings cannot be the right one, and it is likely that the variant *me*, "battle," is simply graphic, and possibly due to

a scribe's error or theory. The three variants would then imply that the words *ana taḫazi*, "to battle," are unauthorized, and that the readings are *munšušuġgieš*, *mešušuġgieš*,[1] and *muešišiggieš*, respectively, the rendering of the whole being "the gods of the heavens withstand thee". Incidentally, these three variants point to the probability that the hymn in which they occur may have been handed down by oral tradition.[2]

From the text published by the late George Bertin, and the fragments given in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, the following particles express the second person singular (and other pronouns):—

*Bi* (apparently) in the group *bi-ne*, translated in l. 15, col. iv of the tablet published by Mr. Bertin, by *atta šuati*, "thou that." For *bi* with the meaning of "thou", see *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, xi, pl. 42, 89–4–26, 965, obv. 13*c*. The particle is also translated by *anaku*, "I," *šu*, "he," *šuatu*$^{m}$, "that," etc., confirming the common opinion that the pronouns originated in more or less distant demonstratives.

In WAI. v, 20, l. 58, the Sumerian for "thou" is given as *bi*, and in pl. 27, l. 35, it is expressed by the character *ku*. On the other hand, pl. 20, l. 58 gives *ku* as equivalent to *anaku*, "I." As one of the values of *ku* is *ub* or *up*, the question arises whether this more usual demonstrative and pronominal syllable may not be the word intended. In WAI. iv, 11, 45*b*, we have *ennuna-ga ne-dur* (or *ennuna ga-ne-dur*) rendered by *ana maṣarti tušéšib* or *ûšib*, "thou settest" or "he sat at the watch", or the like, showing that the old Semitic translator saw in one of the prefixes (probably *ne*), a pronominal particle meaning either "thou" or "he".

[1] Better, perhaps, than *munlaḫlaḫgieš* and *melaḫlaḫgieš*.

[2] As the dialectic Sumerian for "sheep" is *eṣi*, it is probable that we have, in WAI. iv, 11, 43, the group *e-ni-in-gub* = *tušziz*, "(with the sheep), thou settest," in which case *e* is probably "thou".

The following, therefore, are some of the syllables used for the personal pronouns of the verb in Sumerian :—

"I": *a-*, *un-*, *an-*, *in-*, *en-*, *mu.*

"Thou": *e-*, (*ib-e-*, *ba-e-*, *be-*, *bi-e-*), *un-*, *an-*, *in-*, *en-*.

"He": *un-*, *an-*, *in-*, *en-*, *ub-*, *ab-*, *ib-*, *eb-*, *u-*, *a-*, *i-*, *e-*, *ba-an-*, *ni-*, *bi-*.

"We," "us," "to us": *mea*, *ma*, *ma-ra.*

"You": *ene*, *enea*, *menṣen-*, *unṣen-*, *anṣen-*, *inṣen-*, *enṣen-*.

"They": *enene.* Also the same prefixes as in the singular (see "he"), with the plural termination *-eš* (*-ieš*) suffixed to the root.

It will thus be seen that the Sumerian method of expressing the persons of the verb was very complex, and, in writing, made for considerable obscurity. In speaking, however, intonation must have played an important part, as it did in Chinese. As far as they go, therefore, the Sumerian pronouns support the late de Lacouperie's and the Rev. Dr. C. J. Ball's contention, that Sumerian and Chinese are closely connected.

Upon the language in general it will suffice to mention Dr. Stephen Langdon's *Sumerian Grammar* (Geuthner, 1912), already referred to.

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

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## NOTES ON THE BABUR-NAMA

I. Nagarahār and Nīng-nahār.
II. Dara-i-nūr.
III. The wines of Dara-i-nūr.
IV. Of Bihbūd Beg; and of Bābur's vassal-coinage.

### *I. On the names Nangrahār and Nīng-nahār*

Those who consult books and maps about the riverain tract between the Safed-koh (Spīn-ghur) and (Anglicé) the

Kābul-river find its name in several forms, the most common being Nangrahār and Nangnahār (with variant vowels). It would be useful to establish a European book- name for the district. As European opinion differs about the origin and meaning of the names now in use, and as a good deal of interesting circumstance gathers round the small problem of a correct form (there may be two), I offer about the matter what has come into the restricted field of my own work, premising that I do this merely as one who drops a casual pebble on the cairn of observation already long rising for scholarly examination.

*A. The origin and meaning of the names.*

I have met with three opinions about the origin and meaning of the names found now and earlier. To each one of them obvious objection can be made. They are:—

1. That all forms now in use are corruptions of the Sanscrit word Nagarahāra, the name of the Town-of-towns which in the *dū-āb* of the Bārān-sū and Sūrkh-rūd left the ruins Masson describes in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. But if this is so, why is the Town-of-towns multiplied into the nine of Na-nagrahār (Nangrahār)?[1]

2. That the names found represent Sanscrit *nawā vihāra*, nine monasteries, an opinion the Gazetteer of India of 1907 has adopted from Bellew. But why precisely nine monasteries? Nine appears an under-statement.

3. That Nang (Ning or Nung) -nahār verbally means nine streams, (Bābur's Tūqūz-rūd,) an interpretation of long standing (Section B *infra*). But whence *nang, ning, nung*, for nine? Such forms are not in Persian, Turkī or Pushtu dictionaries, and, as Sir G. A. Grierson assures me, do not come into the Linguistic Survey.

[1] Another but less obvious objection will be mentioned later.

*B. On nang, ning, nung for nine.*

Spite of their absence from the natural homes of words, however, the above sounds have been heard and recorded as symbols of the number nine by careful men through a long space of time.

The following instances of the use of "Nangnahār" show this, and also show that behind the variant forms there may be not a single word but two of distinct origin and sense.

1. In Chinese annals two names appear as those of the district and town (I am not able to allocate their application with certainty). The first is Na-kie-lo-ho-lo, the second Nang-g-lo-ho-lo and these, I understand to represent Nagarahāra and Nang-nahār, due allowance being made for Chinese idiosyncrasy.[1]

2. Some 900 years later (1527–30 AD.) Bābur also gives two names, Nagarahār (as the book-name of his *tūmān*) and Nīng-nahār.[2] He says the first is found in several histories (B.N. f. 131*b*); the second will have been what he heard and also presumably what appeared in revenue accounts; of it he says, "it is nine torrents" (*tūqūz-rūd*).

3. Some 300 years after Bābur, Elphinstone gives two names for the district, neither of them being Bābur's

[1] Julien notes (*Voyages des pélerins Bouddhistes*, ii, 96), "Dans les annales des Song on trouve Nang-go-lo-ho, qui répond exactement à l'orthographe indienne Nangarahāra, que fournit l'inscription découvert par le capitaine Kittoe" (JASB. 1848). The reference is to the Ghoswāra inscription, of which Professor Kielhorn has also written (*Indian Antiquary*, 1888), but with departure from Nangarahāra to Nagarahāra.

[2] The scribe of the Ḥaidarābād Codex appears to have been somewhat uncertain as to the spelling of the name. What is found in histories is plain, N : g : r : hār. The other name varies; on first appearance (fol. 131*b*) and also on fols. 144 and 154*b*, there is a vagrant dot below the word, which if it were above would make Nīng-nahār. In all other cases the word reads N : g : nahār. Nahār is a constant component, as is also the letter *g* (or *k*).

book-name, "Nangrahaur[1] or Nungnahaur, from the nine streams which issue from the Safed-koh, *nung* in Pushtoo signifying *nine*, and *nahaura*, a stream" (*Caubul*, i, 160).

4. In 1881 Colonel H. S. Tanner had heard, in Nūr-valley on the north side of the Kābul-water, that the name of the opposite district was Nīng-nahār and its meaning Nine-streams. He did not get a list of the nine and all he heard named do not flow from Safed-koh.

5. In 1884 Colonel H. G. McGregor gives two names with their explanation, "Ningrahar and Nungnihar; the former is a corruption of the latter word[2] which in the Afghān language signifies nine rivers or rivulets." He names nine, but of them six only issue from Safed-koh.

6. I have come across the following instances in which the number nine is represented by other words than *na* (*ni* or *nu*); *viz.* the *nenhan* of the Chitrālī Kāfir and the *noun* of the Panj-ābī, recorded by Leech,—the *nyon* of the Khowārī and the *huncha* of the Boorishki, recorded by Colonel Biddulph.

The above instances allow opinion that in the region concerned and through a long period of time, nine has been expressed by *nang* (*ning* or *nung*) and other nasal or high palatal sounds, side by side with *na* (*ni* or *nu*). The whole matter may be one of nasal utterance,[3] but

[1] Some writers express the view that the medial *r* in this word indicates descent from Nagarahāra, and that the medial *n* of Elphinstone's second form is a corruption of it. Though this might be, it is true also that in local speech *r* and *n* often interchange, *e.g.* Chighār- and Chighān-sarāī, Sūhār and Sūhān (in Nūr-valley).

[2] This asserts *n* to be the correct consonant, and connects with the interchange of *n* and *r* already noted.

[3] Since writing the above I have seen Laidlaw's almost identical suggestion of a nasal interpolated in Nagarahāra (JASB. 1848, art. on Kittoe). The change is of course found elsewhere; is not Tānk for Ṭāq an instance?

since a large number of tribesmen express nine by a word containing a nasal sound, should that word not find place in lists of recognized symbols of sounds ?

*C. Are there two names of distinct origin ?*

1. Certainly it makes a well-connected story of decay in the Sanscrit word Nagarahāra to suppose that tribesmen, prone by their organism to nasal utterance, pronounced that word Nangrahār, and by force of their numbers made this corruption current,—that this was recognized as the name of the town while the Town-of-towns was great or in men's memory, and that when through the decay of the town its name became a meaningless husk, the wrong meaning of the Nine-streams should enter into possession.

But as another and better one can be put together, this fair-seeming story may be baseless. Its substitute has the advantage of explaining the double sequence of names shown in Section B.

The second story makes all the variant names represent one or other of two distinct originals. It leaves Nagrahār to represent Nagarahāra, the dead town; it makes the nine torrents of Safed-koh the primeval sponsors of Nīng-nahār, the name of the riverain tract. Both names, it makes contemporary in the relatively brief interlude of the life of the town. For the fertilizing streams will have been the dominant factors of settlement and of revenue from the earliest times of population and government. They arrest the eye where they and their ribbons of cultivation space the riverain waste; they are obvious units for grouping into a sub-government. Their name has a counterpart in adjacent Panj-āb; the two may have been given by one dominant power, how long ago, in what tongue matters not. The riverain tract, by virtue of its place on a highway of transit, must have been inhabited

long before the town Nagarahāra was built, and must have been known by a name. What better one than Nine-streams can be thought of ?

2. Bellew is quoted by the Gazetteer of India (ed. 1907) as saying, in his argument in favour of *nawā vihāra*, that no nine streams are found to stand sponsor, but modern maps shew nine outflows from Safed-koh to the Kābul-river between the Sūrkh-rūd and Daka, while if affluents to the former stream be reckoned, more than nine issue from the range.[1]

Against Bellew's view that there are not nine streams, is the long persistence of the number nine in the popular name (Sect. B.).

It is also against his view that he supposes there were nine monasteries, because each of the nine must have had its fertilizing water.

Bābur says there were nine; there must have been nine of significance; he knew his *tūmān* not only by frequent transit but by his revenue accounts. A supporting point in those accounts is likely to have been that the individual names of the villages on the nine streams would appear, with each its payment of revenue.

3. In this also is some weight of circumstance against taking Nagarahāra to be the parent of Nīng-nahār:— An earlier name of the town is said to be Udyānapūra, Garden town.[2] Of this Bābur's Adīnapūr is held to be a corruption; the same meaning of garden has survived on approximately the same ground in Bālā-bāgh and Rozābād.

Nagarahāra is seen, therefore, to be a parenthetical

[1] These affluents I omit from main consideration as sponsors because they are less obvious units of taxable land than the direct affluents of the Kābul-river, but they remain a reserve force of argument and may or may not have counted in Bābur's nine.

[2] Cunningham, i, 42. My topic does not reach across the Kābul-river to the greater Udyānapūra of Beal's *Buddhist Records* (p. 119) nor raise the question of the extent of that place.

name between others which are all derived from gardens. It may shew the promotion of a "Garden-town" to a "Chief-town". If it did this, there was relapse of name when the Chief-town lost status. Was it ever applied beyond the delta? If it were, would it, when dead in the delta, persist along the riverain tract? If it were not, *cadit quæstio*; the suggestion of two names distinct in origin, is upheld.

Certainly the riverain tract would fall naturally under the government of any town flourishing in the delta, the richest and most populous part of the region. But for this very reason it must have had a name older than parenthetical Nagarahāra. That inevitable name would be appropriately Nīng-nahār (or Na-nahār) Nine-streams; and for a period Nagarahāra would be the Chief-town of the district of Na-nahār (Nine-streams).[1]

*D. Bābur's statements about the name.*

What the cautious Bābur says of his *tūmān* of Nīng-nahār has weight:—

1. That some histories write it Nagarahār (Ḥaidarābād Codex, f. 131 *b*);

2. That Nīng-nahār is nine torrents, *i.e.* mountain streams, *tūquz-rud*;

3. That (the) nine torrents issue from Safed-koh (f. 132 *b*).

Of his first statement can be said, that he will have seen the book-name in histories he read, but will have heard Nīng-nahār, probably also have seen it in current letters and accounts.

Of his second,—that it bears and may be meant to bear two senses, (*a*) that the *tūmān* consisted of nine torrents, —their lands implied; just as he says "Asfara is four

[1] The strong form Nīng-nahār is due to euphonic impulse.

*būlūks* (sub-divisions f. 3*b*)—(*b*) that *tūqūz rūd* translates *nīng-nahār*.

Of his third,—that in English its sense varies as it is read with or without the definite article Turkī rarely writes, but that either sense helps out his first and second, to mean that verbally and by its constituent units Nīng-nahār is nine-torrents; as verbally and by its constituents Panj-āb is five-waters.

*E. Last words.*

Detailed work on the Kābul section of the *Bābur-nāma* has stamped two impressions so deeply on me, that they claim mention, not as novel or as special to myself, but as set by the work.

The first is of extreme risk in swift decision on any problem of words arising in North Afghānistān, because of its local concourse of tongues, the varied utterance of its unlettered tribes resident or nomad, and the frequent translation of proper names in obedience to their verbal meanings. Names lie there too in *strata*, relics of successive occupation—Greek, Turkī, Hindī, Pushtū and tribes *galore*.

The second is that the region is an exceptionally fruitful field for first-hand observation of speech, the movent ocean of the uttered word, free of the desiccated symbolism of alphabets and books.

The following books, amongst others, have prompted the above note:—

Ghoswāra Inscription, Kittoe, JASB., 1848, and Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, p. 311.
H. Sastrī's *Rāmacārita*, Introduction, p. 7 (ASB. Memoirs).
Cunningham's *Ancient India*, vol. i.
Beal's *Buddhist Records*, i, xxxiv, and cii, 91.
Leech's Vocabularies, JASB., 1838.

The writings of Masson (*Travels* and *Ariana Antiqua*), Wood, Vigne, etc.
Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāsirī*.
Jarrett's *Āyīn-i-akbarī*.
P.R.G.S. for maps, 1879; Macnair on the Kafirs, 1884; Tanner's *On the Chugānī and neighbouring tribes of Kāfiristān*, 1881.
Simpson's *Nagarahāra*, JASB., xiii.
Biddulph's *Dialects of the Hindū-kush*, JRAS.
Gazette of India, 1907, art. Jalalābād.
Bellew's *Races of Afghānistān*.

## II. *On the name Dara-i-nūr.*

Some European writers have understood the name Dara-i-nūr to mean Valley of light, but natural features and also the artificial one mentioned by Colonel H. G. Tanner (*infra*), make it better to read the component *nūr*, not as Persian *nūr*, light, but as Pushtū *nūr*, rock. Hence it translates as Valley of Rocks, or Rock-valley. The region in which the valley lies is rocky and boulder-strewn; its own waters flow to the Kābul-river east of the water of Chitrāl. It shews other names composed with *nūr*, in which *nūr* suits if it means rock, but is inexplicable if it means light, *e.g.* Nūr-lām (Nūr-fort), the master-fort in the mouth of Nūr-valley, standing high on a rock between two streams, as Bābur and Tanner have both described it from eye-witness,—Nūr-gal (village), a little to the north-west of the valley,—Aūlūgh-nūr (great rock), at a crossing mentioned by Bābur, higher up the Bārān-water,—and Koh-i-nūr (Rocky-mountains), which there is ground for taking as the correct form of the familiar "Kunar" of some European writers (Raverty's *Notes*, p. 106). The dominant feature in these places dictates reading *nūr* as rock; so too the work done in Nūr-valley

with boulders, of which Colonel H. G. Tanner's interesting account is subjoined (P.R.G.S. 1881, p. 284).

"Some 10 miles from the source of the main stream of the Nur-valley the Dameneh stream enters, but the waters of the two never meet; they flow side by side about three-quarters of a mile apart for about 12 miles and empty themselves into the Kunar river by different mouths, each torrent hugging closely the foot of the hills at its own side of the valley. Now, except in countries where terracing has been practised continuously for thousands of years, such unnatural topography as exists in the valley of Nur is next to impossible. The forces which were sufficient to scoop out the valley in the first instance, would have kept a water-way at the lowest part, into which would have poured the drainage of the surrounding mountains; but in the Nur-valley long-continued terracing has gradually raised the centre of the valley high above the edges. The population has increased to its maximum limit and every available inch of ground is required for cultivation; the people, by means of terrace-walls built of ponderous boulders in the bed of the original single stream, have little by little pushed the waters out of their true course, until they run, where now found, in deep rocky cuttings at the very foot of the hills on either side" (p. 280).

"I should like to go on and say a good deal more about boulders; and while I am about it I may as well mention one that lies back from a hamlet in Shulut, which is so big that a house is built in a fault or crack running across its face. Another pebble lies athwart the village and covers the whole of the houses from that side."

### III. *On the names of two Dara-i-nūr wines.*

From the two names, Arat-tāshī and Sūhān (Suhār) -tāshī, which Bābur gives as those of two wines of the

Dara-i-nūr, it can be inferred that he read *nūr* to mean rock. For if in them Turkī *tāsh*, rock, be replaced by Pushtū *nūr*, rock, two place-names emerge, Arat (-nūrī) and Sūhān (-nūrī), known in the Nūr-valley.

These may be villages where the wines were grown, but it would be quite exceptional for Bābur to say that wines are called from their villages, or indeed by any name. He says here not where they grow but what they are called.

I surmise that he is repeating a joke, perhaps his own, perhaps a standing local one, made on the quality of the wines. For whether with *tāsh* or with *nūr* (rock), the names can be translated as Rock-saw and Rock-file, and may refer to the rough and acid quality of the wines, rasping and setting the teeth on edge as does iron on stone.

The villages themselves may owe their names to a serrated edge or splintered pinnacle of weathered granite, in which local people, known as good craftsmen, have seen resemblance to tools of their trade.

## IV. *Of Bihbūd Beg; and of Bābur's vassal-coinage.*

### *A. Of Bihbūd Beg.*

We have found one further item of information about Bihbūd Beg to add to Bābur's statement that the beg's name was on Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* coins, but we have not found Bābur's statement elsewhere. The second item is that Bihbūd Beg was one of Ḥusain's commanders at the battle of Chīkmān-sarāī in 876 AH. (1471 AD.).[1]

We have found also that Ḥusain once had a horse called Bihbūd; it is mentioned as given to an adversary when a peace was made in 865 AH. (1461 AD.).[2]

[1] *Ḥabību's-siyar* iii, 227. For discussion on the *Bih būd* of Ḥusain's coins, JRAS., 1913, 1914, Notes by Dr. Codrington, Mr. M. L. Dames, and Mr. H. Beveridge. For particulars of the Bābur-nāma passage, *Memoirs of Bābur* trs. ASB. Fasc. II, Appendix H.

[2] *l.c.* iii, 219.

*B. Of Bābur's vassal-coinage.*

The following historical details narrow the field of numismatic observation on coins believed struck by Bābur as a vassal of Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī*. They are offered because not readily accessible.

The length of Bābur's second term of rule in Transoxiana was not the three solar years of the B.M. Coin Catalogues but did not exceed eight months. He entered Samarkand in the middle of Rajab 917 AH. (*c.* Oct. 1st, 1511 AD.). He returned to it defeated and fled at once, after the battle of Kūl-i-malik which was fought in Ṣafar 918 AH. (mid-April to mid-May 1512 AD.). Previous to the entry he was in the field, without a fixed base; after his flight he harboured in small forts till at the end both of 920 AH. and of 1514 AD. he returned to Kābul.

He would not find a full Treasury in Samarkand because the Aūzbegs evacuated the fort at their own time; eight months would not give him large tribute in kind. He failed in Transoxiana because he was the ally of a Shī'a; would coins bearing the Shī'a legend have passed current from a Samarkand mint? These various circumstances suggest that he could not have struck many coins of any kind in Samarkand.

The coins classed in the B.M. Catalogues as of Bābur's vassalage, offer a point of difficulty to readers of his own writings, inasmuch as neither the "Sulṭān Muḥammad" of No. 652 (gold), nor the "Sulṭān Bābur Bahādur" of the silver coins enables confident acceptance of them as names he himself would use.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

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## DURYODHANA AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

On p. 684 of the Journal for 1913 I drew attention to the resemblance of a story about Duryōdhana in the Mahābhārata to a legend about the Queen of Sheba in

the Qur'ān. I now learn from a kind communication of Professor Zachariae, that I have been anticipated. Professor Zachariae writes:—

"You will find an article by the pen of our learned poet Wilhelm Hertz (of Munich) entitled 'Die Rätsel der Königin von Saba' in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. xxvii, pp. 1–33. The article has been reprinted and made generally accessible by Professor von der Leyen in the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen von Wilhelm Hertz*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1905, pp. 413–55. (I quote from the reprint.) In this learned paper the passage you quote from the Qur'ān is discussed (p. 419), and the learned author has not omitted to mention (p. 427) what is told of King Duryodhana in the Mahābhārata. W. Hertz quotes from Lassen, IA., I[1], p. 676, n. 3."

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.
*December 15, 1913.*

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE-HISTORY OF A BRĀHŪĪ. By DENYS BRAY, I.C.S. Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund, Vol. IV. Demy 8vo; pp. vii, 172. 1913.

Mr. Bray's graphic and unconventional Census Report of Balūchistān for 1911 prepared us for an interesting monograph on the Brāhūīs, and these expectations have been fully realized in this book, which throws a dry light upon a remarkable people. As Mr. Bray informs us, it is the record of a series of conversations with Mirza Shēr Muḥammad, one of the few Brāhūīs who are literate, an officer formerly in the service of the Khān of Kalāt, and now employed by the British Government. The style is bright and picturesque, but in its review of sexual relations the book is obviously intended for the scientific, not for the general reader. It represents the true colour of the local atmosphere, and, as the author remarks, it "lends itself throughout to an almost literal translation into Brāhūī".

In his Census Report Mr. Bray has shown that, largely owing to the introduction of strangers to tribal privileges, the Brāhūīs form a mixed race. They speak a Dravidian tongue amidst a "Turko-Iranian" population—to use Sir H. Risley's classification. Whether they are the scattered survivors of a migration from the south-east, or whether they entered the province from the north-west, and amalgamated with the races in occupation of the country, must for the present remain doubtful. If, as Mr. Bray is inclined to believe, the nucleus of the tribe came to the front about the time of the Baloch migrations, the latter theory may be provisionally accepted.

The Brāhūī is hardly a lovable personality. The proverbial wisdom of the countryside has hardly a good

word for him; he is no one's friend. He is grasping and unfaithful, with the name of Allāh on his lips even when he is set upon a hard bargain or engaged in some dubious transaction. But his faults are largely the result of his environment, and under sympathetic rule he becomes a sturdy yeoman, pig-headed and fanatical if you will, but possessing that backbone of self-reliance which has made the Jāṭ of North-Western India one of the finest peasants in the world. Like most Orientals of his kind, he speaks to his fellow-men of women with half-humorous contempt. If a maiden dislikes her selected suitor "they pinch her for her pains (never take stick to a girl! it makes her mulish and stubborn); don't take stick to your wife, take another wife to beat her withal". At the same time the wife is a power in the house, where her keen eye for business secures respectful treatment. She will run away if she is ill-treated, and then what will become of the hard cash you paid for her? "Women, too, are the jealous nurses of our customs from one generation to another. Women are never more happy than when living the past over and over again, and they are ever railing at their men for catching at some new thing."

It is impossible to discuss in detail the curious information which Mr. Bray has collected. He disclaims any attempt to interpret the facts in the light of comparative religion and folk-lore, and this notice will be devoted to the discussion of his material from this point of view.

Islām is only a thin veneer over the Animism and magic which are the bases of their beliefs and usages. The Jinn, the wild spirits of the wold, ever beset them, and attack children and women in their times of weakness, when they cause hysterical possession, for which flagellation is the sound household remedy. The soul when it leaves the body at death can bear messages to those who have gone before, and on All Souls' Eve food is cooked for them and after dedication made over to the Mullā.

The domestic rites are controlled by magic, usually of the mimetic or homœopathic types. The child's foreskin or first tooth, and the blood on which the bride is forced to tread at the home-coming, are buried beneath a green tree, because, as Dr. Frazer has recently shown,[1] the "external soul" is thus associated with the fertility immanent in the tree. On the same principle, the dedication of the child's hair at the first ceremonial shaving to the shrine of the tribal saint brings him *en rapport* with the spirit of the holy man.[2] To avoid demoniacal influences, the child is vowed to be the slave of Allāh, there is a pretended sale and re-purchase, or he is given an opprobrious name. At the cutting of the first tooth the mother and child go a-begging for grain to make the birth pottage, or the baby is placed in a winnowing-basket "that God may vouchsafe them as many children as the basket can hold grain". The expectant mother is passed under a mare in foal, that the period of pregnancy may not overpass the natural term of womankind. The bridegroom's trousers are turned inside out to avoid sorcery. Comfits are showered over the pair as a fertility charm, and women who have unmarried daughters do reverence to the markings on the forehead of the bride. These examples might be largely increased, but enough has been said to show that the Brāhūī domestic rites follow the principles which have been established by the modern school of scientific folk-lore.

It is well that the task of recording these beliefs and usages should have been undertaken at the present time, because even among such a conservative race as the Brāhūīs custom is rapidly changing. The bride-price, at one time prohibited by tribal law, is now commonly

[1] *The Golden Bough*, 3rd edition, part vii, "Balder the Beautiful," vol. ii, pp. 159 ff., 1913.

[2] Ibid., pp. 103 f.

levied. A man no longer seeks his bride among the *shalvār*, "trousers," the special dress of a bride, which defines the family group in which the intermarriage of cousins was the normal rule. The long period of enforced mourning has now been much reduced. The use of tea and quinine, unknown until recent times, is now common. But it is among the independent caterans of the frontier—not the taboo-controlled, Brāhman-ridden people of the plains—that we may now hope to collect the facts of primitive belief and usage. No one knows better than Mr. Bray that even his Brāhūī friends keep a secret chamber at the back of their minds to which no foreigner has access. But it may be hoped that the success of the present book, valuable alike to the administrator and the student of popular beliefs, will tempt him to extend his survey of the Brāhūī, or even to go further afield, where among the Baloch and Paṭhān, a new sphere of inquiry still remains unoccupied.

W. CROOKE.

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CENSUS REPORT OF BALUCHISTAN. Census of India, 1911, vol. iv. By DENYS BRAY, I.C.S. Calcutta, 1913.

In the census of 1911 Balōchistan as a whole takes its place for the first time, the complete area (134,638 square miles) being now included. According to the Census Report of 1901 the area which came under census operations was given as 76,977 square miles, and that excluded as 55,338. In the present report these figures are given as 82,950 and 51,688, but in any case about two-fifths of the country was excluded, comprising Makrān, Khārān, Western Sinjrānī, and part of Chāgai. The population does not show a corresponding increase. In 1901 the population part, even of the area censused, was estimated and not enumerated, the result (810,746) being nearly as large as that for the whole country as

now enumerated (834,708). It is evident that the estimates and guesses made in 1901 were much in excess of the reality. The greater part of the country has a population of under 5 per square mile, and any really large population can never be expected to develop under the most favourable conditions in this dry and barren region. The smallness of these figures is, however, no index to the interest attaching to the census of Balōchistan, which presents many problems of intense interest. The officers entrusted with the work in this and the previous census have risen to their opportunities. Mr. Hughes Buller wrote a most excellent report on the data then available, and furnished most valuable evidence as to the structure and formation of the tribes, while Mr. Denys Bray, it is not too much to say, has written one of the most interesting reports that exist, dealing with Balōch, Brāhūī, and Paṭhān with equal detail and discrimination. His work on the Brāhūī language and his admirable little book on the *Life History of a Brāhūī* (recently published by the Society) show the attention he has given to this hitherto neglected race, their tribal constitution, customs, and language; and his treatment of the other principal races included within the limits of Baluchistan, the Balōch and Paṭhān, shows that he is fully qualified to deal with them also in equal detail. It seems a pity, by the way, that Mr. Bray has not adhered to the spelling Balōchistān, which gives the true pronunciation. He says in paragraph 21 that he supposes "it would be pedantry to insist on Balōchistān", but if "Balōch", why not "Balōchistān"? There is an unnecessary tendency to substitute *ma'rūf* for *majhūl* sounds in the Eastern Iranian country and the Indian frontier, as some think it fine to write Safīd Kūh for Sufēd Kōh, or Raverty writes Hūt for the Balōch tribe Hōt, and it is just as well to resist it and to insist on the pronunciation actually followed in the country.

Balōchistān has, moreover, been a well-known spelling since Masson's time.

In almost every section of this illuminating report new light is thrown on one or other of the difficult or obscure subjects dealt with. It is impossible to mention all of these, but there are few parts that will not repay careful study, either by the anthropologist, the folklorist, or the philologist. Under "Migration", for instance, we have the nomadic nature of the greater part of the population, and the differences in this respect between the various races clearly brought out. Under "Religion" the information about shrines, survivals of older creeds under Islam, cairns, and "stones of reproach" is to be noted. The latter, which Mr. Bray calls *phiṭ-dhērī* (a Jaṭki term), I know better by the name of *dambul*, which I think is the true Balōchi word. The information as to taboos (§ 122) should also be noted, as well as the numerous customs collected in the chapters on sex and marriage, a considerable part of which is embodied in a convenient form in the *Life History of a Brāhūī*.

In the chapter on "Caste, Tribe, and Race" Mr. Bray examines all accepted theories, and criticizes them from a basis of fact derived from personal knowledge; and without going into detail, which would be impossible here, it may be confidently asserted that no anthropologist should presume to write on the origins of Paṭhān, Baloch, or Brāhūī henceforth without a careful study of Mr. Bray's opinions. He tilts especially at that convenient abstraction, the "Turko-Iranian" race, and perhaps it may now be relegated to obscurity. It was never more than a name under which a number of very distinct races living near one another might be put together for convenience of classification. The chapter on language is not less interesting. The remarks on Balōchī dialects lead us to hope that some attention may now be directed to this hitherto neglected branch of Iranian philology,

and not only to the dialects of Makrān and Khārān, but to those of Sistān and Persian Balōchistān. In connexion with this subject, it would be useful to know whether Mr. Bray obtained his knowledge of the Kēch and Panjgūr dialects personally, as the substitution of *s* for *t* in Panjgūrī gives rise to a suspicion that the *s* may represent a *θ*, which would correspond with the sound in Northern Balōchī. In the early textbooks of that language, compiled by persons to whom Balōchī was not a native language, *θ* and *δ* were often misrepresented as *s* and *z*. Perhaps Mr. Bray may be able to give us some more detailed studies on this subject. Not less illuminating are the remarks on Dēhwārī, that almost unknown form of Persian, on Pashto and Jaṭkī. With regard to that curious dialect, Khetrānī, I may note that in 1875, when I first visited the Khetrān country, I found that the dialect was almost unintelligible to the natives of Dēra Ghāzī Khān, who speak pure Western Panjābī, and the points of difference indicate a language more like Sindhī than Jaṭkī. It must not be forgotten, however, that many forms nearer to Sindhī than Western Panjābī linger in the hills north of Rāwal Pindī.

Mr. Denys Bray must be congratulated on having produced an ideal Census Report—one in which the dead bones of a mere official Blue book come together into the form of a real living work of research.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

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DĪGHANIKĀYA, DAS BUCH DER LANGEN TEXTE DES BUDDHISTISCHEN KANONS. In Auswahl übersetzt von Dr. R. OTTO FRANKE, Prof. an der Universität Königsberg i. Pr. pp. lxxx, 360. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913.

This volume of ten, out of the thirty-four Suttantas of the first Nikāya in the Buddhist canon, is published as

No. 4 in group 8 of the "Sources of the History of Religion", by the Royal Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften at Göttingen. The series professes a "purely scientific" aim, with confidence in the practical utility of its results. With praiseworthy insight, it judges that to acquire a knowledge of these documentary sources is the *duty* of all who visit, in the interests of civilization, the homes of those sources—of diplomat and doctor, merchant, engineer and cultivator, and last, not least, of the missionary. It points out also the intimate connexion between religions and laws—a truth to which the series of Pali sources published during the last thirty-three years in this country may be said to owe its very existence.

The publication expenses of this volume were partly defrayed by a subvention from the Edmund Hardy fund, contributed by its trustees, the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences in Munich. No worthier object could have been thus assisted to the light than such a work from the hands of such a translator. It is more than time that the really competent Pali scholar should call off his energies from analytic article and monograph on meticulous discussions, and no longer suffer these venerable "sources" to be presented to the German reader—let alone those of neighbouring countries—only by the less competent, yet alas! so much more self-confident craftsman. It can have been nothing but an irksome task to Dr. Franke to spend himself, over twenty-four pages in his Introduction, in correcting the many, sometimes fairly purple errors, in other translations of just these Suttantas. The greater is the debt of grateful acknowledgment he has laid on the reader, who can find therein not only a general warning, but detailed proofs of the need of such warning. Still greater will be the regret that the translations so open to criticism should have got first into the field and should be holding it, in the absence of more accurate versions.

It is needless to add that, where Dr. Franke has found

it an imperative duty to make searching and detailed censure, he does not put forward his own renderings as finally, incontrovertibly right. What he does is, after the fashion of a truly scholarly guide, to take us by the hand, or better, *sur la corde*, and show us now here, now there, where the meaning is doubtful, where this path or that is apparently equally possible, and why that turn approves itself less to him than this. "Etwas gelehrtes Beiwerk"—some learned by-products—in the shape of a running fusillade of footnotes, is of course inevitable, if your guide talks thus to you as you go. But this is compressed to the minimum that is necessary, and how much more do we not learn in this way—however little we may know of Pali—than by reading an apparently German text only, of which the translator has, as it were, announced "This is the way, walk ye in it!" and then left us to read and to infer and to speculate *ad lib.*?

As to the æsthetic values in the style, the translator has sought—and, I think, rightly—to keep to the "coolly rational" tone characteristic of the Buddha-discourses, reserving deeper colouring for the gāthās. Sympathy, humour, irony, indignation, may all be, and at times unmistakably are, implicit in the grave and serene utterances, delivered to all sorts and conditions of inquirers, sentimental, itchingly speculative, stubborn, petty-minded, or really discerning. But tradition, in handing down the logia, has maintained a consistently equable tone. In reproducing this tone the present translation strikes me by its lucidity, directness, and transparency. I only deplore, though with the diffidence of one commenting on a foreign idiom, the occasional resort to Latin annexations, let alone Greek. I cannot but think that a tongue so nobly rich for narrative and for work of mind as German could have provided better native terms than *Causalität*, *Characteristika*, *Delikatesse*, *fundamental*, *Ovation*, *Stadium*, *Zeremonie*, etc. Even if we give these the

go-by, there is one term—a dreadful alien!—that cannot be got over, and that is *Existenz* (p. 194), brought in to help *Werden* in rendering *bhava*, when the Pali itself is content to repeat its word, and when that repetition is so much more impressive than variety. How we English translators envy the birthright of that *Werden*, here so lightly set aside! Even the *Sein* in the following verse had been in every way better rendered by—

*Zum* WERDEN *giebt's nie Wiederkehr!*
*natthi dāni punabbhavo.*

For the rest, I have found myself consenting, in respectful appreciation, to nearly all Dr. Franke's renderings of terms, and enjoying the clear and finished turning of his periods. And his translations of Suttantas from vol. iii (PTS. ed.) have already helped me much in preparing more *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Noteworthy is (1) his comment on *anudhamma* (p. 131)—the Comm. on *anudhammatā* in *Ang.* ii, 46 (Cat. Nip. 42) explains it as the being able on any occasion to reply to a question on doctrine; (2) his rendering of *diṭṭhā* as *diṣṭyā* in pp. 202 and 268; cf. *Mahāvastu*, Sen. Ed. iii, 38; (3) his note on *dīpa* (p. 203)—Buddhaghosa always renders it in this connexion by "island": "as an island in the great ocean make yourself the terra firma"; and many other points in text and comment.

Among these, (4) I like the one rendering of *anständige* better than the many of *beste, Familien* (pp. 144, etc.) for *kula-puttā*, but still prefer "clansmen" to either. (5) *Ungezeugt* is a good rendering for *opapātika* (p. 59); *überirdisches Wesen* (195) is not always a good fit; Ambapālī was so born, v. Therīg. Comm. 207. (6) "Sind ungehalten" is scarcely justifiable for *ujjhāyanti* (p. 246): the devas are represented as varying in self-control no less than the brethren. (7) In translating *puṭabhedana* as descriptive of the future Pāṭaliputta (p. 190), Dr. Franke follows Rhys Davids, but with reluctance and much

discussion. In this, has he intentionally omitted to notice that Sāgala, in the *Milinda*, p. 1, is described by the same compound, where no word-play on the name of the town is possible? Again, (8) in *pettike visaye* (p. 260), where the "paternal" can only be figurative, is it not likely that there is here an allusion to the old folk story of the quail and the falcon (Jat. ii, 59): "*sac' ajja . . . careyyāma sake pettike visaye*"—retold in *Saṃy.* v, 146—an allusion that the hearers would recognize? (9) In the following paragraph (p. 261) the *verschwindet* is a little previous. The *dibba-cakka* was only, so to speak, getting launched. (10) A little farther on (p. 274): *sukko . . . kaṇho vaṇṇo* refers surely to complexion, not to "purity":—"clear-skinned" and "swarthy". The Comm. gives *paṇḍaro . . . kāḷako.* (11) On the following page *dhammena* is rendered *dem wahren Wesen nach.* This is in rendering the refrain of the Aggañña Suttanta *dhammen' eva no adhammena*, a rendering which is varied by other turns of the phrase: *wesensgleich* and *Wesen Natur.* That "whereas Dhamma may imply *Recht*, righteousness, justice, truth, virtue, law, its most fundamental meaning is," not essence, essential nature (*Wesen*), but "that on account of which—be it righteousness or some unmoral proficiency—a distinction is assigned . . . a rule, . . . standard or norm", I have tried elsewhere to show (*Buddhism*, 1912, p. 239). And it was precisely this Suttanta that seemed to reveal this meaning most clearly. *Wesen* is always indicated by such terms as *sāra*, also by *lakkhaṇa* and *rasa* (for of course there is nothing more "essential" in anything, for a Buddhist, than *salient* feature or property) and, adjectivally, by *taccha, bhūta, sacca.* I regret keenly, therefore, to note that the translator has seen otherwise.

Talking of "seeing", (12) is it not a little unmindful of one of the *lakkhaṇas* of Indian prose, to have rendered "himself will know, himself will see" by "selbst klar erkennen wird"? It is to substitute Descartes' *valde*

*clare et distincte percipio* for the dear familiar *jānāti passati*, with or without *yathābhūtaṃ*, but certainly with an æsthetic impoverishment. Other similar and surely unnecessary losses are (13) "the closed fist of a teacher", for which we have only the *geizt nicht*, of one who is not miserly (which takes us off the track, p. 203), and (14) the omission of *ye keci sikkhakāmā* (p. 207). "An after-thought" is Rhys Davids's comment, but how precious, how pregnant and artistically placed an after-thought those who have heard him recite the passage will know! (cf. *Compendium of Philosophy*, xxiii.) (15) Once more, the rendering of *āsavā* by *weltliche Schwäche*: a "weakening" indeed of an impressively sinister term (p. 83). It can now no more be said (n. 1) that the meaning is any longer doubtful (see *Dialogues*, ii, 28, n. 2; *Compendium* "Āsava", p. 227 f.; Comm. on *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, "Dasasikkhāpadāni"); the *āsavas*, it is true, make men weak, but we do not speak of small-pox and snake-bite as weaknesses or infirmities.

The *sūkara-maddava* (p. 222, n. 4) had, as was inevitable, to be again dug up from its discreet tomb, and Caliban's pignuts or truffles or what not have been reconverted into pig—and pig *faisandé*—poor Cunda-the-smith! It is a picturesque but not important decision either way, and I will only remark, as to Dr. Franke's emphasis on the order of the two compounded words, that it was chiefly this order that led Rhys Davids to alter his early rendering. But *à propos* of the Master's meals in general, the note 3, p. 105, that he did not eat after noon, might be modified in the light of his own confessed freedom from routine in such trifles, Majjh. ii, 5 f.

To conclude these scrappy comments on a translation so abounding in interest,[1] I would venture to express both

[1] The question in nn. 4, 5, p. 197, may best be answered by reference to Dīgha, iii, "Sangīti S^ta," p. 255 (iii). Buddhists distinguish between the four paths (*apariyāpannā maggā ca maggaphalāni ca*) and the Eightfold Path.

concern and disagreement only over two more points: (16) The explanation why *kammaṃ* is not to be "a joy" for the Order (p. 183, n. 4). *Kammaṃ* here is not any "Tätigkeit"; it is "business" (cf. *Dialogues*, ii, 82, § 7), explained by Buddhaghosa as being absorbed by "Martha-chores":—domestic service, tailoring, repairs, food, lodging, and all that. But to know, as all do, that these same bhikkhu-cohorts were exhorted to be "full of learning, energetic in wrestling" (p. 184), dividing all they got in communistic affection (ibid.), were sent forth to preach and show kindness as missionaries, and "spread abroad pure religion", and were commissioned to compile, learn, and hand on a pure Word,—then to read that, inasmuch as "all actions", good or bad, were held as leading to rebirth, it was best "*zu unterlassen*": not to act, is to see the incredible take birth. (17) The frequent allusions to a Buddhist doctrine of metaphysical idealism, indicated by such antitheses as *Schein-individuum* (p. 296), *geistig-real* ("as opposed to physical reality, which did not exist," p. 148). This is getting too near to that corrupted Buddhism of later Northern India, which was infected by Vedantic idealism (cf. Walleser, *Der ältere Vedânta*; my *Buddhism*, p. 25). For the Theravāda, the *mahā-bhūtāni*, as elements, were *no upādā*, not derived, ultimately real. It was the compounds into which they entered, "arising and ceasing," that were transient and phenomenal. We may be compelled to use "Erscheinungen", phenomena, for *dhammā*, but it is surely better to make no other such importations (cf. *Compendium*, "Attha," p. 223).

There is a great deal of matter in Dr. Franke's book beside text and notes (and admirable indexes), for which little space for comment remains. To the valuable collection of "sankhāra" passages, in the Appendix, I would suggest the addition, by the reader, of S. Z. Aung's discussion in *Compendium*, p. 273 f. Further light may

yet be thrown when we quite get the Buddhist meaning of *paccaya*, which is not quite, not only, *Voraussetzung*, and of the elaborated *paccaya-satti*, by which even the Sānkhyan *Dispositionen* may become tenable as Buddhist. But, till I get corrected, Dr. Franke's rendering for *sankhārā*, "Hervorbringungen," strongly commends itself. Unfortunately it is hard to overtake in English.

The appendix on Tathāgata is also an important contribution. The word is discussed under two sections, which I should like to have seen distinguished as the arahant who is *sammā-sambuddha* and the arahant who is not. With respect to the latter and his final death: *hoti tathāgato param maraṇā?* etc. (here the point of the Buddhist attack on the Nihilists is admirably caught, p. 296, n. 1), the writer points out that even Buddhaghosa and the Abhidhānappadīpikā[1] paraphrase *tathāgato* by *satto*, and that therefore the word "is to a certain extent synonymous with self, soul, I". And so long as it is made clear that animistic inquirers in the Nikāyas so used the word, and they only, no error is actually committed. The danger in translating *tathāgata* by any such term would be none the less great. There are many who would see in the word the Buddhist refuge for that *attā* so constantly expelled from the Khandhas, and only by such supposed to be kept hidden up the sleeve of him whose "fist was not closed"!

To end with the beginning: the constructive portion of the Introduction is (1) an attempt to demonstrate that the *Dīgha-Nikāya* is not a *collection* of discourses, but an "einheitlich abgefasstes schriftstellerisches Werk", to which the proper title were "The Book of the Tathāgata", the subject-matter being "concrete examples of Tathāgatas and the scheme of salvation preached by one of them", and (2) "what guarantee have we for the

[1] The *Abhidhānappadīpikāsīcī*, the Singhalese *Bearbeitung* of the work referred to, has a full discussion of the double meaning of *tathāgata*.

authenticity (or reliability) of the Buddhist tradition"? The writer is mainly addressing his more critical readers, but it is also evident that he holds a brief against that relatively new phenomenon, the German neo-Buddhist and his works, wherein he detects a credulous readiness to accept the Nikāyas as another "Bible". And something approaching missionary zeal appears in the hard knocks bestowed upon the hypothetical "author" of the Dīgha, as well as upon those of the other "texts"—a treatment which seems otherwise uncalled for and only calculated to irritate. We have hitherto supposed that the refrain methods of the Suttas were largely due to their oral transmission, carried on with jealous care, and with reluctance to bring in the freer manifold of the written word. We now learn that just these "schematic stereotyped turns" are most simply explained as the work of scribblers (*Schreiberseelen*), "well meaning, but stupid." I confess to thinking Dr. Franke is pushing at an open door, when he judges we have to "dig out" the true Buddha word from its often tiresome setting, even if we do not damn it all as "tepid gossip and muddled nonsense" (p. l). But when, on the lines of Dr. Neumann's assumption in the *Theratherīgāthā*, he wishes us to see one man's hand compiling a consistently composed work in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, barriers to this conclusion—if I rightly follow that this *is* his conclusion—seem to me to rise up on every hand. Both Tathāgata (Gotama Buddha) and "Heilsweg" fall out of several Suttantas, omitted from the present selection, e.g. the Kevaddha, M. Nidāna, Pāyāsi, Āṭānāṭiya, Singālovāda, etc. And surely one and the same *writer* would have arranged the scrappy M. Parinibbāna S. differently, both as to detail and as to its place in the whole. It may be want of insight or of German, but the theory of a collected body of traditional episodes, growth by accretion, and a probable plurality of compilers still commends itself to me. Notwithstanding,

and because of it all, the present work is a veritable treasure of devoted scholarship, worthy and certain to provoke really adequate and lasting response.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

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COLLOQUIES ON THE SIMPLES AND DRUGS OF INDIA. By GARCIA DA ORTA. Translated by Sir CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S. London: H. Sotheran and Co., 1913.

The *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas da India*, by Garcia da Orta, was published as long ago as 1563 at Goa, being the third book ever printed in India, but until now never fully translated into English. Dr. Gerson da Cunha gives several quotations from it, in English, in his "Origin of Bombay" (Journ. Bomb. Br. R.A.S., 1900), and so does Sir H. Yule in his Glossary. Versions in Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French have appeared, and two or three editions in Portuguese, the last being a full one by Count Ficalho, 1891, from which the present excellent translation of the very interesting work has been made.

The author arrived in India in 1534 and went as physician with a fleet of Martim Affonso to Bassein and Bombay, where, especially at the latter place, he laid the foundations of his Colloquies with the help of a Persian translator and merchant, Khwajah Parkulu. In about 1555 the King of Portugal granted to him at a quit-rent the island of Bombay, where he made a house and a garden described by Dr. Fryer in his "New Account of Bombay" as "a prettily seated but ill-fortified house" and "a delicate garden voiced to be the pleasantest in India". Here he collected a large library and cultivated an assortment of rare and valuable plants. The site of this house and garden was identified by da Cunha as close to the old Portuguese fort, just where the Arsenal

now stands. He also had a house and garden at Goa, where he was physician to the Viceroy. Garcia appears to have travelled and seen a good deal of active service with the Portuguese in Western and Southern India and Ceylon, and also with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Bahram Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. He died at Goa about 1570.

The book is written in the form of Colloquies between Garcia da Orta and a learned Spanish doctor who is supposed to have travelled to India in quest of more knowledge of the subjects discussed. These subjects range over a large field beyond simples and drugs, including precious stones, trees, fruits, elephants and other animals, the Elephanta, Kanheri, and other Caves, caste and races of men. One cannot read the book without being struck by the extent of the knowledge the writer had acquired, his shrewdness and accuracy of observation, and his clearness in description. He seems to have been in some respects considerably in advance of his time. He is careful, too, to distinguish between what he has himself observed and what he has learnt from hearsay only, by which latter he is sometimes led into mistakes; for instance, in description of the Durian fruit he writes (p. 177), "Its smell is universally praised," and of the mangosteen (p. 322), "They say that the scent of this fruit is not sweet and causes loathing," from which it is evident to anyone who has a personal acquaintance with these fruits that the learned doctor has confused what he had heard about them; he says he has not seen them.

The notes, together with the list of plants and the indexes, add very materially to the value and interest of the book, as the reader is able by them to recognize under their common English and scientific names the substances or plants spoken of; for instance, the third Colloquy on amber is really about ambergris, the Arabic

*'ambar*, not the resinous substance commonly known as amber. The footnote explains this, but the word ambergris is omitted from the Index. The valuable notes are, however, marred by some words being put in Arabic letters, as well as transliterated, all of them sadly misspelt, set up evidently by some one who knew not the Arabic characters, and unfortunately not noticed on revision. But the book is otherwise beautifully printed and a handsome volume, which has been read with much pleasure.

O. C.

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A Pepys of Mogul India. By Margaret L. Irvine. London: John Murray, 1913.

Miss Irvine has done a pious as well as an useful work by making an abridgment of her father's translation of Manucci's *History of the Moguls*. The original *Storia do Mogor* is in three languages, Portuguese, French, and Italian, and is still only obtainable in MSS. which have to be sought for in the public libraries of Venice, Berlin, and Paris. Mr. Irvine was therefore quite right to publish a complete translation, but the book is too big as well as too expensive for the general reader. There is thus room for Miss Irvine's abridgment, which gives the cream of Manucci's work, that is, his personal adventures and observations, and leaves out the interminable squabbles between the Jesuits and the Capuchins which take up part of the third and nearly the whole of the fourth volume, and also omits what Manucci calls his Royal Chronicle. He says he got it from an aged man of letters, and thinks that his readers will be glad to listen to it on account of its special information. But the aged man was a very Struldbrug for inaccuracy, and is justly described by Mr. Irvine as a broken reed and one whose chronicles yield nothing more than a farrago of the

wildest and most improbable legend. Catrou was well advised in patching them up from more trustworthy accounts.

Unfortunately, the plan of Miss Irvine's book, and also considerations of space, have prevented her from giving the fascinating account of the adventures of Manucci's MSS., and of her father's hunt for them over Europe—a hunt which cost him both time and money. Its history must be read in his Introduction to the first volume. And here I should like to notice a small point in the translation of Manucci's letter to the Venetian Senate, pp. xxxiv, xxxv of the Introduction. There Manucci is made to say that the friend to whom he entrusted his MSS. died at Galle (Egellia in text). It has been suggested that the word is not Galle, but Hidjelee. The fact, however, is that the friend, who is known to have been Boureau-Deslandes, did not die either at Galle or Hidjelee, but went off from France to the West Indies. The word "died" is an incorrect translation of the Latin. Egellia is a mistake for "e Gallia". I remember that I suggested this emendation to my friend, and he told me afterwards that some scholar had examined the original for him and ascertained that it was "e Gallia" there. Mr. Irvine said he intended to make the correction in a communication to our Journal, but unfortunately his long illness and death prevented him from doing this.

Manucci's career was an extraordinary one. He began as a stowaway, for when his father would not let him leave Venice he anticipated the immortal Sam Weller and prevented unpleasantness by taking leave and hiding on board a vessel bound for Smyrna. There his good luck befriended him, for an Englishman, Henry Bard, Lord Bellamont, was among the passengers, and was on his way to Turkey, Persia, and India. Indeed, he was ready to wander still further, for his commission from Charles II authorized him also to go to Morocco and Asiatic Georgia.

Bellamont, too, was a venturesome spirit. He had already been in the East, and had brought home a Qoran, which he presented to King's College, Cambridge, and which is still in the library there. He had also served as a Cavalier and been severely wounded at Alresford in Hampshire in an action during the Civil Wars. He was now going on a wild-goose chase to Persia, etc., to see if he could get some of the fabled wealth of Ormus or of Ind for his exiled sovereign. He took pity on the young stowaway and made him his valet, and the two travelled together to Persia and India, where Bellamont suddenly died in a caravanserai near Delhi.

Manucci was only 15, and he was ignorant and not scrupulous about telling fibs, but, surely, he was of the Marco Polo breed, and was as ardent a traveller, and not less quickwitted and observant. Would anyone but a clever Italian boy have shown the pluck and resource which he displayed when two rascally English gunners tried to rob him of his own and his benefactor's (Young of Surat) property? His account of his travels in Turkey, Persia, and India is most interesting, and it is fully given in Miss Irvine's book. He has also many interesting things to tell about Shah Jahan and his sons and daughters, though it would be unfair to compare him with the Montpelier physician Bernier, who was a scholar and a gentleman.

H. B.

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LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS PAR AUREL STEIN DANS LES SABLES DU TURKESTAN ORIENTAL. Publiés et traduits par ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France. Oxford: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1913.

When Sir Aurel Stein entrusted to Professor Chavannes the task of publishing and translating the Chinese part of

the yield of his excavations in Central Asia, he not only chose most judiciously, but gave to the choice a certain felicitous symbolic background. For this handsome quarto, published in England, but not in English, represents in the sphere of research the happy outcome of a remarkable British exploration illuminated by the highest French scholarship and lucidity.

The material dealt with in the present volume was brought to light in three different regions, all lying between the western terminus of the Great Wall in Kansu Province on the east, and the city of Khotan, on the 80th degree of longitude, on the west. Of these localities the eastern line of sites formed by the ancient frontier wall built in continuation of the older work of Ts'in Shih Huang Ti by one of the early sovereigns of the succeeding Han Dynasty has furnished much the largest as well as most valuable group of documents. The total bulk handed over to M. Chavannes was formidable, being some 2,000 objects, of which about half were eliminated as useless on a first scrutiny. The remaining 991 are those examined and elucidated in this volume, which is arranged as follows. A Preface of one page precedes an Introduction of twenty. Then comes the main body of the work, 221 pages, in which we find each document numbered, with its original site-reference and metric dimensions indicated and other particulars given, transcribed in modern Chinese text, followed in the great majority of cases by a French translation, and often by extremely useful and interesting notes. To this part succeeds a table showing at a glance which of the documents are reproduced in the plates and on which plates they appear. Then an Index, two pages of Errata, and a Table des Matières. Finally, thirty-seven photographic plates of the wooden slips, pieces of silk, and fragments of paper with their inscriptions. Not all the examples have been reproduced, as the table shows

(though the latter is not quite complete in this respect, Nos. 152, 199, 449, 721, 724, 727, 729, 731, and 736 being omitted), but the plates comprise 574 out of the total 991 dealt with in the text.

What now, it may be asked, is the literary or historical value of the material recovered by Sir A. Stein from these Central Asian deserts with such immense toil and at the price of so many and severe hardships and anxieties? The purely literary gain, we must admit, is *nil*. Historically, these sand-preserved relics disclose to us no dramatic surprises, introduce no great or striking personalities, narrate no memorable train of events, inform us of no strange or arresting episode. The brief and fragmentary texts, for the most part on narrow and incomplete slips of wood, are nearly all unimportant, even trivial in character. They are records of garrison routine in new and isolated outposts of the Han Empire, whose distance from civilized regions, and the desolation of the ghastly landscape around them, must have rendered the service of the military colonists (if we should not regard them rather as military convicts) in these watch-towers of the frontier, a veritable life in death.

That this is no exaggerated view of the exiled soldiers' lot is proved by the quotations from poems of the T'ang Dynasty with which M. Chavannes closes his admirable Introduction.

Commonplace and humdrum, however, as these disjointed archives are, they offer many points of interest to the student of Chinese history, institutions, and writing, on which I wish I had space to linger. Their evidence is beyond question or cavil. They confirm and illustrate as nothing else could many statements in the received historical works. M. Chavannes has grouped and summarized the information drawn from this earliest and most important find (at various spots along the "*limes*" protecting the great highway to the west) in

his Introduction. Is it permissible to hope that the substance of this essay may be made more generally accessible than it can ever be when confined within this large and costly volume?

The range of time within which the whole collection from the three districts excavated is comprised, so far as the dated specimens allow us to fix it, is from B.C. 98 to 153 A.D., a stretch of some 250 years. The greater part of the documents are of wood, but a few are paper, and the author points out that three of the latter certainly appear to go back to the second century of our era, and are thus the oldest specimens of paper in the world. There are also a few examples of inscribed silk. Thus the oldest piece of manuscript in the collection takes us back a little more than 2,000 years, and it surely is a fact without parallel elsewhere that the writing on this earliest example is virtually the same as the writing of to-day. It might not unnaturally be supposed that this being so the task of translation of these texts would be beset with no special difficulties. Far, very far, from that is the truth. I have worked laboriously through every one of these 991 texts, and painfully examined those of them that are reproduced in the plates, and at the end two emotions remain. One is unstinted admiration of this latest achievement of the great French sinologue. The other a deep and abiding thankfulness that the job did not fall to my lot. For the usually brief and broken nature of the legends, the frequent occurrence of indistinct or illegible characters, and not seldom of an objectionably cursive handwriting, the remote and unfamiliar circumstances of their composition, must have rendered their elucidation a duty formidable to envisage, and most exacting to carry through.

These obstacles have not failed to embarrass the French sinologue, as they must have embarrassed anyone who took the task in hand. But owing to the peculiar

qualifications of M. Chavannes on the historical side, it is certain that a larger proportion of the difficulties encountered have yielded to his efforts than could have been overcome by those of any other living scholar in this field of research. Again and again in the course of these pages he illustrates unfamiliar terms, and removes obscurities by citations from Chinese historical texts and memoirs.

A notable example of M. Chavannes' method appears in the opening of the First Section ("Documents de l'époque des Han"), which consists of a brilliant bibliographical essay on a small vocabulary published under the Han Emperor Yuan (B.C. 48–33), fragments of which were found by Stein, and constitute the only "literature" —if a vocabulary can be counted as such—recovered from the northern sites of the *limes*. But very limited in amount as this find unfortunately was, it proved really important. It provides us with the only extant examples of the traditional "prismatic" wooden slips, *ku*, or angles, as the Chinese call them, which served in early times as "books", and on which it is here recorded in the opening sentence ("Hie to the wondrous prisms") of this very vocabulary that it was inscribed. It also furnishes specimens of a hitherto lost style of writing, known only by its name *chang ts'ao*, or the "*chang* cursive hand", the true meaning of which term M. Chavannes discusses on p. 3.

I will close this notice with a few examples of the documents translated, and in doing so emit the only acid criticism I have to make on this invaluable contribution to sinology. A considerable number of the texts are transcribed without being translated, owing to their obscurity. In view of the nature of the publication, I think it would have been a service to students in such cases to have given something, even if only those phrases which the author was able to recognize. The other point

is that the rendering of certain characters as personal names has not always seemed to carry conviction.

Here are a few typical passages, all taken from the northern group of sites, to which considerations of space in the journal confine me.

"La cinquième année *ti tsie* (65 av. J.-C.), le troisième mois, l'inspection le long de la barrière sera entreprise." (No. 37, p. 18.)

"Le dixième mois, le jour *ting-hai* (24), la moitiée de la soirée n'étant pas encore atteinte, un signal de feu (vint) du côté de l'Est." (No. 86, p. 32.)

"Le jour *ki-yeou*. dix cavaliers. un d'entre eux a fait la cuisine. un d'entre eux a monté la garde. les huit autres ont fabriqué des briques. chaque homme a fabriqué 150 briques. en tout il a été fabriqué 1,200 briques." (No. 281, pp. 67–8.)

"Administration du chef de poste de la section occidentale ; nous transmettons pour le neuvième mois (la liste) des soldats et de chiens de garde dont il faut fournir la nourriture ; les noms des hommes sont comme ci-après." (No. 487, p. 108.)

And to finish on a more human and convivial note: "Depuis longtemps nous ne nous étions pas vus ; en nombreuse compagnie nous nous trouvâmes rassemblés et nous en profitâmes pour causer avec plaisir des choses passées et pour nous demander de nos nouvelles ; en ce moment, moi, *Tch'en-K'ing*, j'y pris tant de joie que je bus, en réponse aux toasts qu'on me portait, jusqu'à quatre on cinq *cheng*." (No. 174, p. 50.)

So it was then two thousand years ago, as it is now, they mounted guard, they made bricks, they sent in official returns. And in the evening they sometimes met old friends, and drank wine with them, "even to four or five pints."

L. C. HOPKINS.

BUDDHIST CHINA. By REGINALD FLEMING JOHNSTON. London: John Murray, 1913.

The six Chinese characters stamped on the cover of this book give almost as appropriate an index of its contents as its actual title. Their meaning is that all earthly beings are destined ultimately to reach the haven of Buddhahood. Such in essence is the message of salvation offered by the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, which has for at least fifteen centuries exerted an incalculable influence—religious, ethical, and artistic—over the Chinese race, and may justly be described as one of the most powerful spiritual forces in the world. Hitherto Western literature dealing with this great subject has been scanty and unsatisfactory. The writings of Edkins, Eitel, Beal, and Richard leave much to be desired in point of accuracy, and it cannot be denied that the work of at least one of them is marred by Christian bias. Such inadequate treatment is hardly surprising when it is considered what are the qualifications required for the task. First, acquaintance with the voluminous Buddhistic literature written in such a peculiar form of Chinese that it almost might be considered a distinct language; secondly, ability to grasp in a non-partisan spirit the intellectual and philosophical as well as the purely religious and practical aspects of the system; and thirdly, personal contact with the religion as it exists to-day in the principal monasteries and pilgrim shrines scattered over the length and breadth of China. No previous writer has possessed these qualifications in such large measure as Mr. Johnston, and there can be no hesitation in assigning to *Buddhist China* the position of chief authority among books on this subject. But this is no mere textbook. Its charm of style and breadth of outlook carry its interest beyond the province of Buddhist scholarship, and make it appeal to a wider public—to the

general reader as well as to all students of Oriental art and philosophy.

The three chapters devoted to Ti-tsang (Sanskrit, Kshitigarbha) and to Mount Chiu Hua, where special reverence is paid this bodhisattva, may be considered the most important for the reason that here the author traverses ground as yet practically unexplored by Western writers. The few who have noticed Ti-tsang have done so briefly and inaccurately; and, so far as I know, no serious attempt has been made to describe his chief shrine —the great pilgrim resort in Anhui, which ranks as one of the "Four Famous Hills" of China. If, for example, we turn to Edkins's *Chinese Buddhism*, which up to the present has been the standard work on the subject, we find scarcely a word relating to Chiu Hua Shan beyond the repeated statement that it is situated "near Nanking"!

Deriving his material from Chinese sūtras, the author paints a vivid picture of Ti-tsang, and tells how the *p'u-sa* vowed to devote himself to the salvation of suffering mankind until all had been brought to the bliss of perfect enlightenment. In the carrying out of his self-imposed task Ti-tsang of a necessity often encounters and controls the powers of the underworld, hence writers have been misled into calling him the "Ruler of Hell", and even identifying him with Yama—the Chinese Yenlo. As for the beliefs that associate Ti-tsang with the world of the dead, Mr. Johnston attributes them to the influence of similar legends relating to divinities of Hinduism, and in support of this view he points to the intermingling of Indian religions that was taking place during the whole period of Indian Buddhist missionary activity in China. Like the original bodhisattvas, Kuan-yin, P'u-hsien, and Wên-shu, the real Ti-tsang is not identified with any historical personage; but, on the other hand, he is believed by Chinese Buddhists to have been incarnated

in a pilgrim monk who eventually became the patron saint of Mount Chiu Hua. About the middle of the eighth century a Buddhist pilgrim named Chin Ch'iao-chio landed on the coast of Kiangsu. He is popularly believed to have been a prince of Siam, but the author corrects this error and brings evidence to connect him with the reigning house of a certain kingdom in South-Eastern Korea. The story is that he had renounced the pomp and vanities of court life for the lot of an ordinary monk, and come to China in search of some mountain retreat in which to spend his days in tranquil contemplation. At length his wanderings brought him to Mount Chiu Hua, and, charmed by its beauty and seclusion, he made it his home and there remained for the rest of his life. Portents that occurred at the time of his death and the fact that his corpse defied corruption, together with other evidence, led his disciples to recognize in him an incarnation of Ti-tsang. As such he has since been reverenced, and it is claimed that his undecomposed remains are still preserved in a shrine which is counted the holiest among the many dotted about the mountain-side.

The present writer might add that according to local tradition Chin Ch'iao-chio before reaching Mount Chiu Hua lived for a time on a hill close to the city of Wuhu. A fall he sustained there caused him to regard the place as unlucky and to travel further in search of a dwelling. Memory of the legend is preserved by a number of temples and shrines built on the slope of the hill and presumably designed to represent a kind of miniature Chiu Hua Shan, for many of the names of buildings at the great pilgrim mountain are here reproduced, and there is even a replica on a small scale of its relic shrine, though here the contents are said to be nothing more than the saint's priestly robes.

More familiar than Ti-tsang to Western readers is the *p'u-sa* Kuan-yin, for on account of her popularity and

picturesque attributes she has been made the theme of countless Chinese artists—in painting, ceramics, and sculpture. The last third of the book is devoted to this bodhisattva and to the beautiful island in the Chusan group held especially sacred to her. Owing to its accessibility P'u-t'u Shan has often been visited by Europeans, and there is no lack of literature concerning the island by Western writers. Some of the early Christian missionaries have left records of their visits which contain passages marked by that intolerance of alien faiths so often a regrettable feature of missionary enterprise in China. And in this connexion it is interesting to note—especially now that criticism of the methods of Christian propaganda in China is on the increase—the opinion of one with such wide experience as the author on the much-debated question of how far missionaries are answerable for the sad history of China's foreign relations. He says:—

"The old-fashioned denunciations of heathenism may strike us in these days as merely whimsical, and perhaps as a trifle ludicrous, but we should not forget that the intolerant zeal of the Christian pioneers was, unfortunately, not confined to the writing of books and papers for the edification of their Western supporters, but also displayed itself in countless acts and words of gross discourtesy (to say the least) towards a people with whom courtesy and tolerance of others' foibles are among the first of virtues. Those acts and words were to a great extent responsible, not only for many of the anti-foreign outbreaks that used to be so frequent, but also for the pitiful misunderstandings which have so long prevented East and West from getting to know and appreciate one another's good qualities."

As already hinted, the scope of this book is not confined to the history and doctrinal development and sacred places of Buddhism in China, but includes, by way of introduction, a general survey of the system named by its adherents Mahāyāna—Great Vehicle—in contradistinction

to the primitive Buddhism of the Pāli canon which Mahāyānists have chosen to call Hīnayāna, or Small Vehicle. The author discredits the prevalent theory that the rise of the Mahāyāna school was directly due to support given by King Kanishka and to authority conferred by the Council of Kashmir; on the contrary, he traces its growth from the earliest stages of the religion. Indeed, he gives reasons for believing that the most characteristic beliefs of the Mahāyāna, such as the divinity of Buddha, the efficacy of faith, and the saving power of bodhisattvas, actually emanated from the discussions and disputes of Hīnayāna schools. Conclusions such as these lend weight to the protest made by Suzuki against the unfair estimate of the religion come to by most Western students of Buddhism, owing to the fact that their information has been drawn exclusively from Pāli sources. And it may safely be prophesied that future development of our knowledge of Buddhism will be largely based upon the study of Mahāyānist documents in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, more especially the last, since many valuable texts are preserved only in their Chinese versions.

But it must not be imagined that a study of this subject is concerned merely with the dry bones of a faith—with a history of sects, saints, and philosophies. Despite a prevalent belief to the contrary, Buddhism still exerts a strong hold over the hearts and minds of the Chinese race, and, as pointed out in the preface to this book, so far from being moribund, it has recently shown signs of renewed vitality. During the last few years a new Buddhist organization has been established with ramifications throughout the country. It is controlled by a central Representative Church Council, composed of both laymen and ordained monks, and has for its object the protection and furtherance of the interests of the faith. An example of the charitable side of its work is the flourishing orphanage maintained in Peking, where

some 250 foundling boys are housed, fed, and taught various trades. Of recent date, also, is the appearance of two monthly magazines devoted to subjects of interest to Buddhists; and last year there was published in Shanghai a complete new edition of that prodigious collection of Buddhistic literature known as the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

Space does not permit of more than passing reference to the fascinating chapters concerned with the little-known subject of religious pilgrimages. It is not the good fortune of many to visit in person the Sacred Hills of China, but no one who cares for the less materialistic side of Chinese life should miss accompanying in imagination the author to some of these pilgrim shrines; "for" (to quote his words) "it is a fact that few of us can hope to gain true insight into the spiritual core of Chinese culture until we have followed in the footsteps of the great poets and painters of T'ang, Sung, and Ming, and have wandered as they did among the beautiful mountain-homes of monastic Buddhism."

It remains to remark on the excellence of the print and of the illustrations, which number over sixty, and are most of them pictures from the author's camera. It seems a pity that a work of such permanent interest as this was not deemed worthy of better paper and binding. Exception must also be taken to the capricious way Chinese characters are used in the text, and to the absence of Chinese names from the index. Surely such a strange omission cannot have been intended by the author, and it seems probable that a separate index of Chinese names with their corresponding characters had been prepared, but by some mischance was left out. Romanization of Chinese being but a poor makeshift, it cannot be too strongly emphasized how essential is the provision of characters to the scholarly value of a book of this nature.

W. Perceval Yetts.

WORLD-HEALERS; OR, THE LOTUS GOSPEL AND ITS BÔDHISATTVAS COMPARED WITH EARLY CHRISTIANITY. By E. A. GORDON. With a Letter by the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford, a World-map, Index, and 65 Illustrations. 2 vols. Revised and enlarged. London: Eugene L. Morice. Cloth, £1 12*s.* 6*d.*; paper, £1 10*s.*

Ever since the days of Herodotus, "the Father of Anthropology" as he has been styled, mankind has been interested in noting the customs and habits of different races, but it is only of late years that men's minds have been directed into the right lines for the comparative study of religions, under the guidance first of Hegel. This study has now developed to such an extent that the science of religion has taken its place with the numerous other elder-born sciences and well established its *raison d'être*.

These two volumes form one of the numerous works which now issue from the press on this branch of knowledge. They are the product of an enthusiast, one among the many "lovers of the past". Infinite pains must have been taken and incessant and untiring labour over many years to gather together the immense mass of material here found, to say nothing of the libraries of tomes which must have been read and consulted.

A world-view of the world-field is so vast that the contents of this book are limited, as the title implies, to only one branch of this subject, viz. the comparison of Christianity and Buddhism, and that of the Mahāyāna type of the latter, principally as manifested in Japan. Dr. Timothy Richard says of the authoress in his *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (p. 147, note) that she "has studied Buddhism and Shintoism in Japan so sympathetically and thoroughly that some of the leading

priests there say that she knows their religion better than any foreigner in the land". She has thus been well prepared to note every point of similarity between primitive Christianity and its later developments and the branch of Buddhism known as the greater vehicle, whether in temple, ritual, ceremonial, symbol, image, thought, or its expression.

The late Professor Max Müller has pointed out that "there are startling coincidences between Buddhism and Christianity", and almost every one of these is here brought together and placed in juxtaposition. Doubtless some of the Hon. Mrs. Gordon's readers will think that not all those thus brought together have affinity one with the other; but an immense mass is here ready for the student to exercise his ingenuity on and accept or reject. Some of the similarities and coincidences in different religions "show not only that mankind is religious, but that there is under all diversity a unity of religion", but others give indubitable proof of the borrowing of one religion from another, and Northern Buddhism is indebted in not a few particulars and beliefs to Christianity.

Professor Chautepie de la Saussage says: "There is great danger of being deceived by false analogies and attractive parallels" (*Science of Religion*, p. 654). But while retaining this saving grace of caution, it must be remembered what recent discoveries have shown of intercourse between the Far East and the West in ancient and mediaeval times and how Nestorian and other Christian churches penetrated to the then remote regions of the earth, and it is wellnigh impossible to believe that they exerted no influence on other religions.

Our authoress's aim is therefore to prove that in the New Buddhism we have Christianity clad in a Buddhist garb and nomenclature (p. 255).

J. DYER BALL.

L'Ile de Java sous la Domination française. Par Octave J. A. Collet. Bruxelles: Librairie Falk Fils, 1910.

This book has been waiting an unconscionable time for its notice in these columns. For the delay I must apologize, but it is not perhaps altogether a drawback: the work does not deal with matters of momentary interest requiring immediate discussion, and since it came into my hands, more than two years ago, I have been immersed in a library of papers connected with its subject and am therefore better prepared to discuss it than I should formerly have been. Even so, however, I cannot hope to do it full justice: for it is a work of singular merit, copiously reinforced with references to an innumerable array of authorities, both published and in MS., and it can fairly claim to be a conscientious and comprehensive performance, the adequate criticism of which would require almost as much research as its production has evidently entailed. My task, therefore, must be the more modest one of giving a general idea of its value and contents, together with such observations on some of many issues raised in it as my own more limited study of the period enables me to offer.

The first part of the book gives some interesting details of the early French attempts to get into connexion with the Indian Archipelago. These were well worth recording, but they have no essential relation with the main subject of the work. There is a charming ambiguity about certain words in the French language; and one in particular, the word *réunion*, has served to cover many a case of what in our blunter tongue is simply styled annexation. Between the early exploits of French mariners and traders and the ultimate, but very brief, French rule in Java there is no organic connexion whatever; though if that rule had become a permanent one, an *ex post facto* case would no doubt have been made

out for it in the usual way. As it is, these chapters are, in a manner, a mere prelude. The real essence of the book is the career of Governor-General Daendels, the last but one of the Dutch administrators of the island who preceded the British conquest. His previous history, the details and principles of his administration, the brief and inglorious reign of his successor, and the capture of Java by our expeditionary force, these make up the substance of M. Collet's work.

In dealing with such a strenuous page of such relatively recent history, it is (I suppose) inevitable that even the most judicially minded writer should take sides. M. Collet, it may as well be said at once, is a whole-hearted worshipper at the shrine of Daendels. Daendels' enemies are his enemies, his friends are M. Collet's friends too. As few men had bitterer enemies than Daendels, it follows that a good many of his contemporaries come in for some pretty hard knocks at the hands of our author. It is not to be denied that in some cases these are thoroughly well deserved. When Daendels took over the administration of Java (and the rest of the Dutch East Indies) everything there was in a radically rotten state; the last days of the old Dutch Company had been an era of decay and dissolution, and since its supersession by the Government there had hardly been time for a thoroughgoing reform. Consequently Daendels had the unpleasant task of cleaning out an Augean stable; and it is not surprising that in the process he made many enemies; in fact, it was inevitable that he should, particularly among the incompetent and corrupt members of the official hierarchy.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that he gave his opponents any number of handles for criticism. By temperament and upbringing a soldier of the Revolution, he combined the most wide-sweeping notions of reform with a highly autocratic manner and frame of mind. Though he had in early youth taken a legal degree, he

had not the slightest instinctive respect for the law: with him it was always "sic volo, sic jubeo", and his measures, even when most salutary in substance, were apt to offend by the arbitrary way in which they were introduced and enforced. In short he had some of the defects, as well as the qualities, of his great master Napoleon. It is no wonder, therefore, that his administration was most severely criticized by many of his contemporaries, and has been the subject of much heated discussion even until now. Dutch authorities are much divided in their verdict upon it, as well as in their estimate of the man himself. But to M. Collet he is the hero of the period, a truly epic figure, a Gulliver among a horde of Lilliputians.

It may be safely assumed that this estimate is pitched a trifle too high. Daendels was a great man, and he was set a task too great for any man, perhaps, to perform in the short time that was allotted to him. He attacked it with characteristic vigour and extraordinary energy. He did much good work; but he made some grave, some hideous, mistakes. His mailed first policy had its inevitable consequences in disorders and insurrections, as for instance at Bantam, of which he must bear the moral responsibility. At the same time account must be taken of the extraordinary difficulties of his position. At the time when he assumed the administration, the Colonial Government was utterly crippled financially; the war with Great Britain, by almost entirely cutting Java off from external trade and intercourse, had practically reduced it to the position of an invested city. Under these circumstances it is not altogether surprising that Daendels clutched at desperate remedies, some of which only aggravated the evils of the situation. It must not be forgotten, too, that apart from mere party and personal feelings, which have done so much to stir up discussion over his personality and his measures, there was an even

more fundamental difference between Daendels and many of the colonial Dutchmen of his time. He was, in all but birth, practically a Frenchman, and heartily welcomed the French supremacy and the eventual annexation to France. On the other hand, a large party of his compatriots in Java remained thorough Dutchmen, loathing the idea of French rule and objecting very much to the French officers who were foisted upon them. In fact, a very considerable section, though as in duty bound they did their best to defend the island against the British invasion, honestly welcomed the British occupation the moment it was seen to be inevitable, and were relieved to be rid of a domination that was tyrannical without (under Janssens' regime) being efficient. To M. Collet, apparently, it seems a monstrous thing that the Dutch in Java, or a considerable section of them, should have been anti-French and even pro-British. For my part I fail to see why they should have been grateful to Napoleon for treating them as so many pawns in his game. But whatever view we may take on that point, it is plain that the existence of these feelings made Daendels' task all the harder.

With the best will in the world, I cannot bring myself to admire every feature of M. Collet's idol. The incident, which he recalls with approval on pp. 249–50, of Daendels' exaggerated pomposity and brutality to a subordinate who was apparently in ill-health, ending in the latter's suicide, seems to me quite a sufficient index of the seamy side of the great man's character. And it is by no means the worst case that has been brought up against him. For all that, Raffles (who became Lieutenant-Governor of Java as soon as we had conquered the island), while maintaining a critical attitude towards his forerunner and severely censuring several features of his administration, nevertheless appreciated much of his work. In a dispatch to Governor-General Lord Minto, of which I have seen

a copy in MS. at the India Office Library (Mackenzie Private Collection, vol. xiii, p. 313), he writes: "a much more regular, active, pure and efficient administration was established on this Island by Marshal Daendels than ever existed before in any period of the Dutch Company." I think both the ardent partisans and the vehement detractors of the Marshal might be content to leave it at that; for Raffles, both by position and temperament, was peculiarly well qualified to form an impartial opinion on the subject. His strenuous opposition to Dutch policy and influence in the Archipelago did not prevent him from working harmoniously with the Dutch officials who after the British conquest of Java held important posts in his administration, and the value of their services was acknowledged by him in ungrudging terms.

Here I must step aside to enter a protest against an *obiter dictum* of M. Collet's which I conceive to be entirely unworthy of him. On pp. 316–17, speaking of a reduction in the Dutch military and civil staff at Palembang, he says: "Cette diminution de personnel eut les plus fâcheux résultats, car la petite garnison hollandaise fut massacrée, probablement à l'instigation de Raffles, et les Hollandais qui résidaient à Palembang, assassinés de la façon la plus cruelle et la plus perfide." I submit that this is not the way in which history should be written: to insinuate a grave charge in a parenthetical clause, without evidence or even references of any kind in support of it, is not what we call "playing the game". I am well aware that this matter has been previously discussed by other writers, some of whom have drawn from the evidence before them conclusions very much the same as M. Collet's. But that does not justify his observation. This, however, is not the place to deal with the substance of the case on its merits. I hope to have an opportunity of doing so at some future time, and would merely remark here and now

that evidence as yet unpublished exists which will throw additional light on the subject, and may modify very considerably the harsh judgments that have been pronounced concerning Raffles' action in this most deplorable affair.

Apart from the unfortunate *obiter dictum* I have quoted and a few minor matters, such as occasional eccentricities in the spelling of proper names, I have found little to cavil at in M. Collet's work. There will be many who, like myself, cannot agree with all his estimates or share his point of view. But every one must unreservedly give him credit for wide and painstaking research, a great mastery of details and facts, and the very high literary gift of being able to throw them into a readable and interesting form. The book is well printed, and several appendices and an index add materially to its usefulness as a work of reference. In view of the large number of authorities cited, the absence of a bibliographical list is regrettable.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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RELATIONS DE VOYAGES ET TEXTES GÉOGRAPHIQUES ARABES, PERSANS ET TURKS RELATIFS À L'EXTRÊME-ORIENT DU VIII^e^ AU XVIII^e^ SIÈCLES. Traduits, revus et annotés par GABRIEL FERRAND. Tome premier. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913.

M. Ferrand's work is a further instalment of the series so well inaugurated by M. Cœdès' *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, which I noticed in this Journal some time ago. Much of what was said then could be repeated now, particularly the views I expressed as to the object and utility of these collections of texts. But I do not propose to go over this ground again, and shall confine myself to a few notes and queries on M. Ferrand's book. It is only the first of three

volumes, and therefore any notice of it at present must necessarily be provisional. Moreover, M. Ferrand has so planned his work that it will be impossible to deal at all adequately with the questions raised in vol. i till vol. iii has appeared. For in the latter he is to give us a number of separate dissertations on these matters. We have before us, therefore, his conclusions, but we await his reasons in support of them. Under these circumstances criticism can only be tentative.

In his preface and introduction M. Ferrand deals amongst other things with the phonetic phenomena disclosed by the Arab transcriptions of foreign proper names. The chief points elucidated are that ج often represents *g* and ص, *č*, the palatal surd. Whether he is right in drawing the conclusion that ص in Arabic was formerly such a palatal, is a matter which I must leave to the decision of Semitic scholars. For the purpose in hand, viz., the identification of foreign names, it would be quite sufficient to conclude that ص was the nearest thing the Arabs had got in their phonetic scheme to *č*, and that they therefore made use of it as the best substitute, just as they use ف for the Indonesian *p* habitually. Be that as it may, M. Ferrand's treatment of the phonetic questions involved is systematic and therefore inspires confidence. In that respect it differs very widely from the methods that have often obtained in this very field of studies; identifications have frequently been based on sheer guesses without the least attempt at establishing any guiding principle.

The authors from whose works extracts are given range from Ibn Khordādzbeh in the ninth century A.D. to Ibn al-Bayṭār in the thirteenth, and the information contained in the translated texts is of a somewhat miscellaneous character, though mainly geographical. It would, no doubt, be still more varied were it not for the fact that these Arab writers appear to have been the most shameless

plagiarists conceivable. Some of the earlier ones are not only the most interesting, but have also the rare merit of being original. M. Ferrand has somewhat extended the geographical area dealt with in this series, for he has admitted a good deal of information relating to China and India, and very curious some of it is, particularly (to my thinking) the account of Indian sects in Abu'l-Faradj's Fihrist. However, I must pass to matters which concern me more closely and which take up the greater part of the volume, viz. the East Indian islands and Further India.

Now as regards Indonesia, a large part of these Arabian authorities have been dealt with by Heer G. P. Rouffaer in the *Encyclopœdie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, s.v. Tochten (Oudste Ontdekkings-) tot 1497. One may differ from that learned scholar on particular issues, but it is impossible to read his article without feeling that his conclusions are entitled to very great weight and the most careful consideration. I am not sure whether M. Ferrand has taken them into account. One question of primary importance confronts us the moment we try our hand at interpreting the Arab accounts of Indonesia, viz. the meaning to be attached in our various sources to the place-names *Zābaj* (زابج) and *Jābah* (جابه). What is the true phonetic background represented by these Arabic forms? And do they both stand for one island (and if so what island?), or does either of them stand sometimes for one island and sometimes for another, or perhaps as often as not for Indonesia in general, so far as the Arabs were acquainted with it? As regards the first point, there can be little hesitation in referring these names to the Indonesian proper name *Jāwa*, the native form out of which Europeans have made *Java*. We have the high authority of Professor Kern for the explanation of the form *Zābaj*, which M. Ferrand also accepts, viz. that it is intended for *Jāwaga*, presumably a weakened form of

*Jāwaka*, that is to say, the native name *Jāwa* (no matter what its origin or precise meaning in remote times) with an Indian termination affixed. It would be rash to differ from that view, though for my own part I have sometimes wondered whether the word could not be read *Jāwadyu* and thus brought into line with Ptolemy's *Iabadiu* (where the termination is plainly a Prakritized *dvīpa*). Be that as it may, why do we find the two variants *Zābaj* and *Jābah* in one and the same author, Ibn Khordādzbeh, the earliest authority of them all? I hope M. Ferrand's promised excursus on the matter will give us the explanation of this problem.

So far as I can gather, he inclines (though not without some hesitation) to regard both these names as applicable, at any rate in the earlier Arab sources, to the island of Java. Rouffaer, on the other hand, treats them as terms used loosely, sometimes referring to Java and sometimes to Southern Sumatra. This is partly a matter of topographical evidence as to the special local appropriateness of particular passages in the Arab sources, partly an issue depending on more general grounds. I cannot go into the points of local detail here. But we know for a fact that the Arabs themselves have applied the proper name *Jāwa* to other islands besides Java itself. As M. Ferrand himself points out, the later Arab writers call Sumatra by that name. The modern Arabs style Indonesians in general *Jāwī*, and the word has been adopted into Malay as the proper name for the Malay language when written in the Arabic character. Then, again, among the Indonesians themselves *Jāwa* occurs as an ethnic name in parts of Indonesia, and on occasions, where no reference to the Javanese people is, or could by any possibility have been, intended; we find it so used in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula to denote the more civilized Indonesians of those regions (generally Malays) as contrasted with some less advanced neighbours of the same or some other

stock.[1] There is therefore considerable plausibility in the contention that the Arabs did not, even in very early days, confine the name to Java. (I may add that the late Colonel Gerini's view, that in those days it meant only Sumatra, does not commend itself to me either.) And there is the further question whether *Jāwa* is a genuine native word or represents the Sanskrit *yava*, "barley."

It is to be hoped that further light will be thrown on these debatable points. There are many other problems, and I have but little space even to refer to them here. There is, for instance, the mysterious kingdom of Rahmā, identified by M. Ferrand with Pegu. The king possessed fifty thousand elephants, and the country produced a velvety kind of cotton goods and also Indian eaglewood, we are told by Ibn Khordādzbeh, who adds that the country is a year's march distant from the other Indian kingdoms. Ya'ḳūbī says that it is the most powerful and extensive of all countries, borders on the sea, and contains gold and precious metals. But Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī (who also mention the elephants and likewise lay some stress on rhinoceros horns as a product of the country) apparently speak of it as if it bordered on Gujerat, which seems to throw considerable doubt on its identification with Pegu. There is another difficulty. Why the name Rahmā? In these writers of the ninth and tenth centuries one would have expected something like *Ramen* or *Raman*. In the fifteenth century the Pāli name for the coast districts of Lower Burma which at that time made up the Pegu kingdom was *Rāmaññadesa*. The local native equivalent at that period was *raḥ Rman*, which appears constantly in the Talaing (or Mon) text of the Kalyāṇī inscription of Pegu. *Raḥ* (which is the Sanskrit *rāṣṭra*)

[1] The use of the word in Indo-China, though it might be urged in support of my view, I regard as merely secondary evidence, hardly strengthening the case.

means "country", and *Rman* (evidently to be pronounced *Rĕman*) is the native ethnic name, nowadays pronounced *Mōn*, the *r* prefix having dropped (as in *miñ*, "to hear," anciently *rmiñ*). Why, then, did scholars introduce a palatal into the Pāli form of the word?[1] Plainly because the ancient final was formerly *ñ*, not *n*. There is some ground for the conjecture that the name in the eleventh century was *Rmeñ* (probably = *Rĕmèñ*, with an open *e*). This is based on a doubtful reading of a much-weathered inscription, but is also supported by some analogies. However, though I do not press it strongly, we seem to be working away from the form Rahmā, and, in any case, the absence of the final nasal requires explanation.

In connexion with Ṣundur-fūlāt some difficulties seem to arise. If it represents Pulo Condor, why should navigators on their way to China call at it *after* visiting Champa, which lies beyond it? And if *fūlāt* represents a Persian plural of the Malay *pulau*, "island," why does it not precede the proper name as generic names do in Malay and in Indonesian and Southern Indo-Chinese languages generally? Further, if *ṣundur* represents a native form *čundur*, whence the hard *c* (=*k*) of our modern form of the word? I am not aware that Malay changes *č* to *k* in an initial position.

More might be said about such matters of detail, but I refrain and will merely add that if some points still remain doubtful (to my mind at any rate), there is on the other hand a great deal in M. Ferrand's work which must command assent, and his method is to be praised for its consistency and precision. The other volumes of his valuable work will be awaited with much interest and eager expectation.

C. O. Blagden.

[1] The long *ā* in the first syllable is doubtless due to a reminiscence of the Indian proper name Rāma and its derivatives.

BABYLONIAN OIL MAGIC IN THE TALMUD AND IN THE LATER JEWISH LITERATURE. By SAMUEL DAICHES, Ph.D., Lecturer in Biblical Exegesis and Talmudics at Jews' College. London: Jews' College Publication, No. 5, 1913.

In this small monograph of forty-two pages, the author brings forward a very interesting series of parallels between the Babylonian inscriptions dealing with the use of oil in ceremonies, and what is found in the Talmudical writings. Oil was of old not only used for consecration, but also in certain magical formulæ, as well as in purification. What precise connexion there may have been in these three usages, is somewhat uncertain, but it may be noted that, in countries where, in the heat of summer, water is sometimes scarce, oil, when available, could be used instead, hence the cleansing power attributed to it.

The author thinks it probable that the use of oil in Egyptian magic came from the Euphrates-region. In the passage he quotes (translation by Griffith & Thompson), it was "herb-oil" which was regarded as true oil. The colours which may be produced by a thin coating of oil on water seem also to have been noticed, as in the lines from Coleridge which Dr. Daiches quotes.

Dr. Daiches shows that, from the Babylonian Talmud, there seem to have been "princes of oils", as there were also "princes of eggs", who, however, were regarded as lying spirits. In Babylonia bright and pure oil was looked upon as the child of Anu, the heavens, and Êa, the god of the sea. Oil was poured liberally over the offerings, as well as on the water in the libation-vessels, when inquiries were made of the gods. The answer was obtained from a correct interpretation of the forms which the drops assumed. Everything, however, had to be done with the most scrupulous exactness, for if a mistake in the ceremony took place a misreading might easily follow.

The priestly expert, however, probably made his experiments on most (or all) occasions conditionally. The charm was effected by whispering over the oil.

The second portion of the monograph deals with the indications of the later Jewish MSS., notably some remarkable documents of this class in the possession of Dr. Gaster. The descriptions of these rites are somewhat long, but in "the princes of the Thumb" one of the chief portions of the ceremony consisted in anointing a lad's thinned right thumb-nail. A kind of miraculous sacrifice was afterwards expected to take place, when the boy would be endowed with the power of understanding the answer to the question which had been put. Another and longer ceremony was that in which the hand of a lad, a maiden, or a pregnant woman was blackened with soot or anointed with olive oil. The medium, after the performance of the various ceremonies, would see visions, ending with that of "the king", who, when requested, would write down whatever the master of the ceremonies desired to know.

The whole is treated with Dr. Daiches's usual thoroughness and wealth of detail, and though tedious to non-specialists the long Talmudic ceremonies are not without their interest. The author is probably right in attributing a Sumerian origin to these strange rites, but the Semites also had a tendency to such things, and may not only have elaborated them, but even invented others. Dr. Daiches points out that the Babylonian diviner used the finger-nail (probably his own, and not that of a child) exactly as in the Jewish book of Remedies and Cures. A number of notes upon the texts quoted close the monograph, and in this portion the author points out how the Babylonian god Êa became ים, "the sea"; and Sin, Šamaš, and Marduk (or may the third not have been Venus?) were modified into שלשה נרות, the "three lights".

T. G. PINCHES.

THE OATH IN BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LITERATURE. By the Rev. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., with an Appendix by Professor Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL. Paris: Geuthner, 1912.

There is no doubt that oaths played a very important part in Babylonian business-life, as in other spheres of activity. Oaths were often solemnly taken before a deity in the temple where he was worshipped, and generally before witnesses, though these do not seem to have been absolutely necessary. A certain amount of ritual attended the ceremony, but its details have still to be discovered.

Texts containing oaths have appeared in the Journal of this Society (July, 1897, and January, 1899), and show under what conditions they were sworn. In these examples the deities invoked are Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and the reigning king, and the ceremony of swearing seems to have taken place after the delivery of the judgment recorded, and therefore, in all probability, in the temple of the sun (at Sippar). In another document the oath is by Šamaš, Ṣabiu$^{m}$ (the king), and Sippar, the sacred city in which the temple of the sun stood, and where the Sun-god dwelt. A very complete list of the various deities by which these oaths were sworn is given by Dr. Mercer, as well as the conditions attending the rite. It was, of course, thought that the curse of the gods and the king would rest upon any contracting party who broke his engagement.

Various phrases were employed, as can be seen in Ḫammurabi's laws, where such expressions as "they (the witnesses) shall utter their testimony before the god", "he (the wronged person) shall state his loss before the god", occur; and in this kind of oath the witnesses to a contract, when there were any, were present also. In other cases the expression is *niš îli izakar*, which the author translates "in the name of god he shall declare". These and other terms and words employed in the oaths

are discussed, and the material collected ought to prove useful to students of these matters. Concerning *niš îli tamû* (or *zakāru*), Sumerian *mu dingir inpa(d)*, much might be said, but for the present it may be conceded that the author is right in regarding *nišu* as standing for "name", notwithstanding such expressions as *zi Ninlil inpa(d)* = *niš Enlilli itmû*, "he invoked the spirit of Ninlil," which I have hitherto regarded as the proper rendering. But surely invoking the name of a deity and his spirit are interchangeable terms, and I am rather inclined to regard the two usages of *nišu* as identical, in which case the name of the god was practically his spirit, and partook of his power—indeed, it may have been a parallel to his "face", as in *Peniel*,[1] "face of God," where Jacob "wrestled until break of day"[2]—not with God Himself, but with His presence.

But most noteworthy of all, probably, is the discussion of *ilput pût-ni* in the Flood-story, when, after the catastrophe, the god makes a covenant with the Babylonian Noah and his wife. These words are explained as meaning "he touched our fore- (i.e. private)-part", and the analogy of the oath between Abraham and Eliezer, who swore to him by placing his hand under his (Abraham's) thigh,[3] is referred to. This seems to be a good comparison, and there is every probability that time will justify the rendering proposed.

Equally interesting and important is Professor Hommel's "Appendix", wherein that veteran Assyriologist deals with "the Oath-goddess Esh-ghanna". This is the deity whose name is generally read Nina, one of whose seats was in Babylonia (near Lagaš), whilst the other was the world-renowned Nineveh, the discovery of whose ruins has furnished us with the material for so many other discoveries in Assyriological fields. It is impossible to do justice to this valuable contribution to Assyro-Babylonian

[1] Gen. xxxii, 30. [2] Gen. xxxii, 24. [3] Gen. xxiv, 2.

mythology in the small space remaining to me, but one point of more general interest is worthy of notice, namely, the identifications of the Pishon and the Gihon with the Wady Dawasir and the Wady Rumma in Arabia respectively. The Hiddekel, however, he seems not to identify with the Tigris, but with the Wady Sirhan, in which case "in front of Assyria" would not mean "eastward" of that country, but a long way south-westward of it. This nomenclature, however, belonged to prehistoric times, and if correct, the name (*Hidigna* = *Hiddekel*) must have been transferred to the great waterway which has played such an important part in the history of the Semitic East.

A good monograph with a most suggestive appendix.

T. G. PINCHES.

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TIGLATH PILESER III. By ABRAHAM S. ANSPACHER, Ph.D. Contributions to Oriental History and Philology, No. V. New York, Columbia University Press; Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, E.C.; 1912.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser III—the Biblical Tiglath-pileser, and, according to King, the fourth of the name—is one of considerable interest and importance, and Assyriologists always live in the hope of getting more material from Assyrian or Babylonian sources. The fact that he was, or would have been, the founder of a new dynasty, the mystery surrounding his origin, and the fact that he bore also the name of Pulu (Pul)—whether his original name or given to him as a not altogether complimentary epithet is uncertain—make him one of the most striking features of ancient Assyrian history. To all appearance his is the history of an ambitious man, young, or in his prime, and possibly of royal lineage, who, bearing the same name as other renowned kings of

Assyria, aspired to and obtained the crown, and emulated with great success the warlike careers of his earlier namesakes. Though a most successful warrior, he seems not to have left behind him a name which the Assyrians of later days held in real respect, for they felt no scruples in cleaning off the bas-reliefs from his slabs, together with any inscriptions which may have accompanied them, so that much historical material is at present lost to us. Many details of his contact with the Israelites, moreover, have been rendered imperfect by the accidental mutilation (apparently) of the slabs upon which they are inscribed.

Though modest in its dimensions (the book has only seventy-eight pages), all the details are given which are necessary for the understanding of the reign of this king, which, like that of most Assyrian monarchs, was mainly occupied by warlike expeditions. Tiglath-pileser is generally regarded as having come to the throne in consequence of a kind of revolution, "anti-priestly in its character." The kingdom was dependent upon tribute for its military supremacy, and whilst this was available the temple-taxes caused no shortness of funds. The dependencies, however, seized every opportunity to escape from this burden imposed upon them by the Assyrian rulers, and the expense of maintaining the army then fell upon the people, who became discontented, with disastrous results for the ruling dynasty.

For the rest, the history of the reign of Tiglath-pileser is well told, and numerous footnotes give the results of the latest researches and discoveries in geographical identifications and other important matters in the domain of ancient history of Western Asia.

It is an excellent monograph, carefully compiled, but it needs an index badly. Also, in a book whose author has made a speciality of the geographical identifications, a map would have increased the value of the work enormously.

T. G. PINCHES.

SYRIAN ANATOMY, PATHOLOGY, AND THERAPEUTICS, OR "THE BOOK OF MEDICINES". The Syriac text, edited from a rare manuscript, with an English translation, etc., by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D. Published under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. Vol. I, Introduction, Syriac Text; Vol. II, English Translation and Index. 8vo. I. pp. clxxviii, 612; II. pp. xxv, 804. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1913.

To the indefatigable labours of Dr. W. Budge we owe now a new and welcome edition to the secular knowledge of Syriac literature. This is the first medical treatise in Syriac which has thus far been made accessible to a wider circle, and it opens up many problems of high interest. The text here published for the first time is taken from a modern transcript made for Dr. Budge by a native scribe from a more ancient MS. in the private possession of a man in Mosul. It falls into three sections, of which the first is the scientific, the second the astrological, and the third the popular, the sympathetic or magical. The very composite character of this collection makes it difficult to trace the sources and to establish direct literary parallels. The whole character of the Syriac literature precludes the idea of independent work. Most, if not all, the "exact" sciences are derived from Greek sources, some perhaps may go back to more ancient Babylonian and Egyptian practices, as suggested by Dr. Budge in his Introduction.

The first part is, then, unquestionably a translation from a Greek work of great antiquity composed probably in Alexandria. None of the names mentioned seem to be later than the second or third century C.E. Some of course are much older. In fact, the author bases his "Lectures" on the works of Asklepiades and Hippocrat, etc. It is a thoroughly methodical treatise, though unfortunately incomplete at the end. The original Syriac MS., probably of the twelfth century, had been mutilated

by the monks into whose possession it had probably come, for reasons lucidly set forth by Dr. Budge. It is a valuable contribution to Syriac philology. Rich as the great Thesaurus of Payne Smith is, none the less is this new material highly welcome: for this book contains all the technical expressions of Syriac anatomy, pathology, and also a complete pharmacopea. The drugs which are used in the prescriptions are here given in their proper setting, and the use to which they are put is so clearly indicated that there could be no mistake as to their true nature and character. The book is also a contribution to the history of Oriental leechcraft. The relation in which the Syriac Book of Medicine stands to the Greek sources and to Arabic books of a similar nature is an interesting problem by itself.

Dr. Budge, following his usual and happy custom, has not contented himself with the publication only of the Syriac text. He has also accompanied his publication with a faithful rendering of the Syriac into English. Many a scholar interested in the subject-matter only will be grateful to Dr. Budge for the help which he has given them by his translation. He limits himself, however, strictly to this translation. Dr. Budge does not stray further afield. He does not attempt any comparison with any other literature, nor does he refer to any other treatise containing similar materials. He evidently leaves it to specialists to deal with each point separately.

This book raises also other questions. Medicine in olden times and even down to more modern times embraces a wider field than is now assigned to it. The art of healing as well as the diagnosis of illness was not confined to the strictly anatomical and pathological knowledge possessed by the physician. Other causes and other remedies than those contained in the pathology and pharmacopea were considered to be responsible for many ills of the flesh. The heavenly bodies no less than the evil

one would play havoc with man's health, and accordingly special devices had to be invented in order to ascertain the former and drive away, if possible, the latter. Thus it comes to pass that about a third of this Book of Medicine is given up to astrological treatises with nativities and horoscopes and other weird calculations derived from the stations of the heavenly bodies and their inter-relations to one another and with man in every situation of life.

In addition to these astrological investigations we have, then, other calculations devised for similar purposes of leechcraft and fortune-telling—they often go hand in hand. These are based on the numerical value of the letters of the patient's name, with numerous permutations and combinations. The Arabic and Jewish literature is full of such cabbalistic calculations. They are a common property of the East. It would be interesting to follow them up to their older source and to connect them with Gnostic and Pythagorean speculations about numbers, letters, and figures. In any case, we have here a valuable contribution to the vastly accumulating material.

One of the chapters of these Calculations is the famous "War Game" ascribed to Aristotle. It forms part of the Secretum Secretorum (chs. ix, x) of my edition of the Hebrew version. Nothing as far as I am aware has hitherto been known of the Syriac version of this book. The existence of such a version has in fact been doubted, together with the statement in the Introduction to the Arabic version—which is the primary source for all the European versions—that the Arabic was a translation from a Syriac "Suryan" text. This was not taken literally. Now that a Syriac text has come to light and with it a portion of the Secretum as the book of Aristotle—though the name of the book is not mentioned—the history of that remarkable book can be traced one step higher up. Another chapter in the Book of Medicine, that on the

seasons of the year, the proper food, etc., may also be derived from the dietetic of the Secretum (ch. xii), with which it agrees very closely. Of course, it is possible that this chapter has been taken from some other Greek composition, of which a good number are extant, but the similarity between the Syriac Book of Medicine and the Secretum is very striking and suggestive.

Finally, there is a section devoted to what I might call "sympathetic magic", i.e. healing by sympathetic action, most of which is known as "superstitious" practice and lies at the root, or at least forms part, of many charms and amulets. It is used either for prevention or for cure. The line is not often sharply drawn. This part contains no less than four hundred recipes representing what I would call "popular medicine", the syncretism of older practices and popular materia medica consisting of the most diverse ingredients. It might just as well be called the pharmacopea of the ancient "medicine man". To this class, which has survived to our very day in the practices of the "quack" and "bone-setter", belongs a large section of mediaeval folk medicine. Such collections of leechcraft abound in Arabic, Hebrew MSS. (Sefer Refuoth and Seguloth), in Greek (Iatrika), and in Western books on leechcraft. It would be a valuable undertaking to compare these collections and to establish their interdependence.

A comparison of this book with Arabic (or Hebrew) books of medicine might perhaps help to discover the name of the author and the date of this book. For the oldest Arabic (and Hebrew) works on medicine—perhaps with the exception of the hitherto unexplained *Asaf*—are translations from the Syriac. The Syriac text, having been printed from the MS., offers every guarantee for reliability, and the translation, though literal, is none the less clear. It was not an easy task to render smoothly difficult passages and to find English equivalents for the

technical expressions in which the text abounds. A full index increases still more the value of this publication, and makes it accessible and serviceable to a larger circle of readers and students. A word of appreciation must be added to the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, who have defrayed the expense of this splendid publication.

M. GASTER.

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PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM. Pars XVI. R. Brünnows Arabische Chrestomathie aus prosaschriftstellern in zweiter Auflage völlig neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von AUGUST FISCHER. 8vo; pp. xvi, 183, 161. Berlin, 1913.

It is often a thankless task to undertake a new edition of the work of another author. When such an edition is demanded it is a proof that the first had met with a favourable reception, that it has answered a demand, and by the sale of the book that it had established for itself a reputation and created a certain tradition. None of these considerations can then be ignored by the second editor. He is bound to follow the first author on the lines laid down by him, and to a certain extent within the compass of the first edition. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks and handicaps, a wise publisher, reckoning on the indulgence of an appreciating public and the authority enjoyed by the man who is willing to undertake this task, will leave to the latter sufficient latitude.

This has happily been the case with the second edition of Brünnow's well-known Arabic Chrestomathy, the second edition of which has been entrusted to the learned Professor of Arabic at the Leipzig University, Dr. A. Fischer, who has carried out the task with consummate skill, and has practically recast the old book.

The first edition consisted of 151 pages Arabic text. This one has no less than 183. Out of the first 151 only 29 pages have been retained by Professor Fischer, and for

the eliminated texts he has substituted abstracts from the Koran in the recension of Beidawi ed. Fleischer, Sakir Albatluni, Tabari, Ibn Hisham, Ibn Halikan, and Buhari, all classical authors.

It is not necessary to dwell on the importance of placing in the hands of the student well-chosen texts representing many shades and forms of style and language, to cover as wide a field as possible, and yet to compress the selection into a small compass. If it is important for any Oriental, especially Semitic language, it is invaluable for Arabic, considering the immense wealth of the material in the latter, as compared with the scantier documents, say, in Hebrew, Syriac, or Samaritan. What a student wants is, then, not only a representative collection, as we now have here, but also a critically reliable edition of these texts. Professor Fischer has acquitted himself exceedingly well, both in the choice of the prose texts—for to these the Chrestomathy is limited—and in the excellent manner of printing them; some with, others without, vowels and other diacritical signs, thus helping the student on to familiarize himself with all manners of texts.

But great as this merit of the book is, it is far surpassed by the admirable glossary, which contains almost a complete and handy dictionary of the most generally used Arabic words. A complete dictionary must of necessity contain every word found in the language, irrespective of the fact as to whether it is a technical or other rarely used expression. Only those who when starting their studies had to toil painfully through the hugh volumes of Freytag and Lane, and had to spend many an hour to find the meaning of very simple, but often used, words, will be able to appreciate the boon of such a compact and perfect small dictionary as contained in this glossary.

Every root found in the texts is carefully entered, and under each heading all the more important derivations

and grammatical forms are given, with an exact German translation. This, if one may venture to say, is the only troublesome feature in an otherwise excellent book. In olden times Latin was the universal language even for the "Porta", nowadays the vernacular has taken its place. It is a pity that the editor was not allowed to carry out his original intention to add in the glossary an English translation to the German. Perhaps editor and publishers might see their way to prepare an English edition, and thus make the Chrestomathy more accessible to the wider English-speaking world and increase the indebtedness of students, to whom this book is sure to prove of practical value.

The printing of the Arabic text, as well as that of the whole book, is very well done. It was done at the well-known printing establishment of Drugulin.

M. GASTER.

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N. Y. MARR. IAPHETICHESKIE ELEMENTY V YAZYKAKH ARMENII. Parts I–VI. St. Petersburg, 1911–13.—IZ POYEZDOK V SVANIYU (1911–12). St. Petersburg, 1913.—IZ LINGVISTICHESKOI POYEZDKI V ABKHAZIYU. St. Petersburg, 1913.

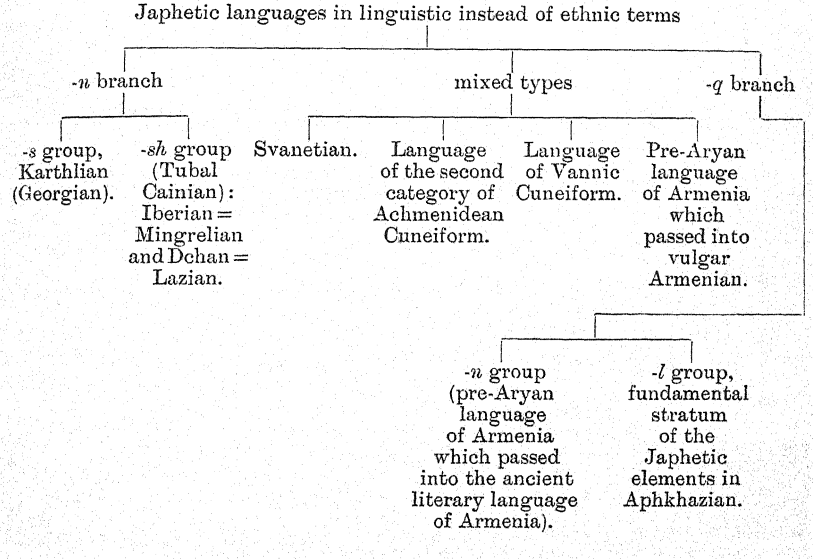
Professor Nicholas Marr, Dean of the Oriental Faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, has within the last two years published six sections of his work on the Japhetic elements in the languages of Armenia, in addition to his five previous monographs (1909–10) on the same subject. His services to the literature of Georgia by the publication of his series of ancient texts, handsomely printed by the Russian Academy, and numerous other books must in time meet with recognition in Europe, and his long-continued archæological work at the ruined city of Ani has been of great importance. A mere list of the numerous books he has written would

stimulate the study of the subjects to which he has devoted himself. It is to be regretted that he has not yet had the time to make those Western scholars who are not readers of Russian acquainted with the chief results of his labours. In Great Britain he would find a sympathetic audience and would feel at home, for it is no secret that his name and ancestry are British. His encyclopædic knowledge of the difficult languages of the Caucasus has been systematized in his "Japhetic" theory, which has not yet attracted much notice outside the Russian Empire.

The second of the books mentioned above is an account of two excursions to Svanetia with the object of studying the language, but some new ethnographic material has been written down, and evidence is given to show that the Svanetians are the descendants of a people who have wandered to their present home from the south.

The third of the volumes is an account of a similar journey in Aphkhazia, and incidentally it gives fresh evidence of the folly of official interference with the languages of the Caucasus. It seems that within the last few years the authorities have issued several volumes purporting to be Aphkhazian versions of the Gospel and the Liturgy, some school books, popular manuals on the rearing of poultry, silkworms, etc. The system of transcription employed is incorrect and unsuitable, and the books are worthless to students. The results are not only ludicrous but blasphemous, e.g. the phrase "God is a spirit" is rendered "God is a corpse"! The translators were ordered to make a literal translation of the Old Slavonic Biblical texts without any regard to sense! This is not the first instance of the kind; Mingrelian was treated in a similar way some years ago, and the "religious" books issued by the Russian ecclesiastical authorities were found to be so indecent that they had to be withdrawn from circulation. Space

fails us to give even a brief summary of the numerous interesting facts and opinions comprised in this monograph, but we would draw special attention to the two tables appended to it. The first of these is a transcription of the fifty-four sounds of the Aphkhazian language with their equivalents in Georgian, as far as possible. The second shows the relationship of the various "Japhetic" languages as follows :—




B. S. ESADZE. LÉTOPIS GRUZII. IUBILÉINII SBORNIK K 300-LETIIU TSARSTVOVANIYA DOMA ROMANOVYKH 1613–1913. Vypusk I. Tiflis, 1913.

To celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanoff Tsars, who since 1801 have been *de facto* Kings of Georgia, Prince Paul Tumanishvili, Marshal of the Tiflis Nobility, has undertaken the publication of a Russian miscellany in quarto edited by Colonel Esadze, who is well known as a writer on the military and

political history of the Caucasus. The work is lavishly illustrated with historical portraits, photographs of MSS., inscriptions, ancient monuments, etc., and is in every respect an *édition de luxe* worthy of notice. The first of the three volumes has already appeared, and consists of 366 pages divided into five sections: historical, ecclesiastical, ethnographical, military, and biographical. Among the documents published in facsimile those of most value are the ratification by King Erecle II, in 1783, of his treaty with Catherine II and the last page of the same treaty (an account, in English, of the treaties between Georgia and Russia will be found on pp. 832–47 of the *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1895). The subjects treated include: the incorporation of Georgia in the Russian Empire, the previous diplomatic relations between the two countries, Georgian numismatics, Georgian officers in the Russian service. The most famous of the latter was Prince Peter Bagration, whose name is well known in the West. Another Georgian commander was Prince Alexander, son of King Archil of Imerethi, who was the first Master of Ordnance to Peter the Great and was captured by the Swedes at Narva, where he commanded the artillery; he was kept as a prisoner at Stockholm for ten years. His father wrote a curious, pathetic, holograph letter in gold paint to Charles XII in 1706; but he was not released till 1710 and died at Riga on his way back to Moscow. Archil, who was a man of letters, wrote a poem "Man's strife with the world" and versified part of "Vis and Ramīn"; he also began the edition of the Georgian Bible which Prince Vakhusht completed. The portraits of Peter the Great give some colour to the tradition among Georgians that one of their countrymen was that sovereign's father; just as Shamyl's portraits recall the story that his father was Prince Alexander, son of King George XIII of Georgia.

DZVELI SAKARTHVELO. SAKARTHVELOS SAISTORIO DA SAETHNOGRAPHIO SAZOGADOEBIS CREBULI. T. II. E. THAQAISHVILIS redaktorobith. Tphilisi 1911–13. (L'Ancienne Géorgie. Mémoires de la Société géorgienne d'histoire et d'ethnographie. Tome II. Sous la rédaction de M. E. Takaichvili. Tiflis, 1911–13.)

The second volume of *Ancient Georgia*, issued by the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography, is of great value to students acquainted with the Georgian language. It is a handsome volume of 770 pages, provided with a good summary of its contents in French (pp. xx–xxx). It begins with memoirs of M. Tamarashvili (Tamarati), the writer of useful works in French and Georgian on church history, and of two benefactors, D. Saradjishvili and N. Ghoghoberidze, who left £15,000 and £6,000 respectively for national educational purposes. In the historical section Mr. S. Gorgadze continues his Sketch of Georgian History from the first to the fifth century A.D., elucidating the native material by means of references to foreign writers. The Rev. P. Carbelashvili deals with the historical charters of the Amilakhvari family from the end of the fourteenth century to 1724. The editor, Mr. Thaqaishvili, has five articles dealing with new historical material: (1) King Bagrat III's History of Aphkhazia, composed in the tenth century, which was used by the Patriarch Dositheus for his History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem; (2) an anonymous Summary of the History of Georgia, which corrects and explains many of the facts in the Chronicle edited under Vakhtang VI; (3 and 4) historical memoranda for the periods 1512–1803 and 1388–1656 from MSS. in the Society's library; (5) biographical notes of Prince David, son of George XIII, last king of Georgia, written by that prince in a MS. of Quintus Curtius. The ethnographical section contains exhaustive monographs on the folk-lore and languages of

Svanetia, Phshavethi (by the poet "Vazha Phshaveli"), Saingilo (by Mr. M. Djanashvili), and other parts of Transcaucasia, a collection of proverbs, and the explanation of more than a thousand Georgian words collected by Bishop Cirion and not found in Chubinov's dictionary.

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ARKHEOLOGICHESKIYA EKSKURSII RAZYSKANIYA I ZAMÉTKI. E. THAQAISHVILI. Vypusk IV. Tiflis, 1913.

The late M.-F. Brosset's *Voyage archéologique en Transcaucasie*, with its handsome volume of plates, remains a standard work on the architecture and epigraphy of Georgia. M. Thaqaishvili has been engaged for many years in supplementing and correcting it by his *Archæological Excursions*, of which this part, the fourth (originally published in vol. xliii of the valuable series *Sbornik materialov dlya opisaniya . . . Kavkaza*), deals with the districts of Borchalo, Trialethi, Zurtakhethi (Karabulakh), Khrami glen, Manglis, and, to some extent, the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Rood at Jerusalem. In addition to the numerous inscriptions reproduced in the text, there are twenty illustrations from photographs.

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ZHITIE I MUCHENICHESTVO SV. ANTONIYA-RAVAKHA. I. QIPHSHIDZE. St. Petersburg, 1913.

M. Qiphshidze, a pupil of Professor Marr and a collaborator with him as writer of a grammar of the Lazian (Dchan) language, has issued a reprint of his contribution to *Khristianskii Vostok*, tom. ii, pt. i, on the life and martyrdom of St. Antony-Ravakh, giving the Georgian version with a Russian translation. The text is based on photographs of the Athos MS. No. 57, and the Sinai MS. No. 62. St. Antony-Ravakh was a native of Damascus,

or its environs, and was martyred in the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid, and the Georgian text is interesting for comparison with the Ethiopic and Arabic versions used by M. Paul Peeters in his *S. Antoine le néo-martyr*. M. Qiphshidze thinks the Georgian text is the oldest extant and based upon a MS. written during the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid, for it omits the name of that prince, which the other versions give, and refers to him simply as "emir al muminīn", or "king of the Saracens", or "King".

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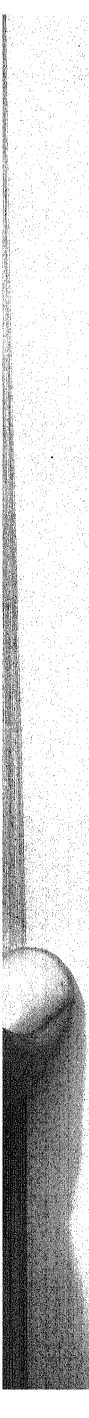
O DOISTORICHESKOM YAZYKÉ ZAKAVKAZIYA. K. M. T. Tiflis, 1913.

To the scanty literature on the language of the Chechens Prince K. M. Tumanishvili has added a little book of 117 pages, in which he endeavours to show that the Chechens are descended from the Medes, that at some early period their speech prevailed in Transcaucasia, and that the study of it would be helpful in the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions.



# OBITUARY NOTICE

## SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, G.C.S.I.

By the death of Sir William Lee-Warner, G.C.S.I., Hon. Litt.D. (Cambridge), which took place on the 18th January, this Society and the retired ranks of the Indian Civil Service have lost a distinguished member. Born in 1846, and educated at Rugby, whence he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, he passed the open competition examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1867, and then, in November, 1869, after graduating with honours in the moral sciences tripos, went out to India on the Bombay establishment. He soon began to make his mark; first, in 1872, as Private Secretary to the Governor, and very shortly after that as Under-Secretary in the Political, Judicial, and Educational Departments. The rest of his service was spent almost entirely in the Secretariat, —chiefly in Bombay, but for a time as Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India,— with short periods as Director of Public Instruction, Political Agent at Kolhapur, and Resident at Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg. He left the Service in September, 1895, in order to be appointed as Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. In November, 1902, he was made a member of the Council of India. And he held this last post till November, 1912, when he retired from official life. The first recognition of the value of his services was shown in 1892, when he was made a C.S.I. He was promoted to be K.C.S.I. in 1898. And in 1911 there was conferred on him the exceptional honour of elevation

to the rank of a Knight Grand Commander of the Order, —a distinction which has been mostly limited to Viceroys, Governors, Secretaries of State, and Indian potentates of very high position.

Sir William Lee-Warner did not take a part in the scientific work falling within the scope of this Society's operations: his interest lay in current affairs of the present day. But he was a writer of repute. He was a substantial contributor to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, the Encyclopædia Britannica, the Dictionary of National Biography, and The Cambridge Modern History. He also wrote from time to time for the monthly and quarterly reviews. And he did much by lectures, as well as by his writings, towards spreading a knowledge of India and its affairs among the general public. In the way of separate publications he gave us —in 1894, "The Protected Princes of India", of which a second edition was issued in 1910 under the title of "The Native States of India"; in 1897, "The Citizen of India", of which a revised edition was issued in 1907; in 1904, "The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie" (two volumes); and in 1908, "Memoirs of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman". Of these books the first two are of special practical value. The first of them, "The Native States of India" according to the title of its second edition, is well known as a standard work on the history and status of those parts of India which are under the independent administration of the Native princes and other rulers, on the rights and obligations of the possessors of those territories, and on the position and policy of the British Government with regard to them, especially with a view to securing their co-operation in promoting the moral and material welfare of the Indian Empire in general. The preface to the original edition of the second book, "The Citizen of India", tells us that:—"It is the main purpose of the author of this little volume to place before Indian

school-boys a few simple facts about the land in which they live; but it is believed that older citizens of the British Empire may find in its pages some information about India which will be of interest to them." The revised version takes a different stand. The original book, which was prepared and published with the approval of the Government of India, had been used in colleges, and then had been introduced into schools, where, however, its language was found too difficult. The book was accordingly rewritten: the arrangement of the subject was preserved as far as possible, but at the same time was considerably changed: but a simpler style was used; additional matter was introduced; various details and statistics were brought up to date; and the revised edition, with an increase of sixty-nine pages and mostly a quite new set of illustrations, is in fact almost another work. To the older class of readers the book will probably appeal most in its original form, of which there were several issues, carried on up to date, before the revised version was taken in hand: but in either shape it might be read to great advantage by every young man who enters the Indian service in any department and capacity whatsoever: it would teach him more in a week, than he could learn in a long course of actual experience, about the organization, aims, and methods of the Indian Government, the responsibilities and powers devolving on him as even a junior member of the great administration that he is joining, and the way in which he might best play his part. In 1910 the revised edition was translated into Burmese, and in that form was made an official school-book in that province. Whether the book has received any similar recognition in India, is not known: but it could reach in a vernacular garb a vast and important body of people to whom it is inaccessible in English. It is open to question, however, whether the best treatment of the work for the future would not be as follows:

(1) for colleges and general readers; to take the latest improved issue of the original work which was sent out before the book was recast, and to bring that version up to date and keep it so in reissue from time to time; and (2) for schools and vernacular readers; not to attempt a full translation of the whole book, but to confine that to those parts of it which contrast the British rule with the Native rule which preceded it, and which explain the purely local district and municipal administration, and, for the rest, to give only a brief abstract.

In the India Office from 1895 to 1912, perhaps more than anywhere else, Sir William Lee-Warner played an important though quiet part in the guidance of Indian affairs. His influence and action in some directions unfortunately created a certain amount of ill-feeling against him on the part of the extremely progressive section of Indians. But, in reality, the Indian people of all classes —in particular, the agriculturists out there, and here in England the students who come to complete their education and training on European lines— have seldom if ever had a friend more warmly and actively devoted to their interests. It is greatly to be regretted that his death, following so soon after his retirement from official work, has cut short a career in which he might still have done much towards helping to promote the welfare of the people of India and to strengthen the British rule.

J. F. Fleet.

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–March, 1914.)

## I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society

*January 13, 1914.*—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Ghulam Ahmad.
Mr. Gauranganath Bandyopadhyaya.
Rev. David Catt.
Professor Kishore Mohan Maitra.
Mr. G. Hurry Krishna Pillay.
Rev. D. C. Simpson.
Professor Gulbahar Singh.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Sir Charles Lyall read a paper entitled "Old Arabian Poetry and the Hebrew Literature of the Old Testament".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hirschfeld, and Colonel Plunkett took part.

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*February 10, 1914.*—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Miss Mary Lumsden.
Dr. C. O. Sylvester Mawson.
Rao Sahib Pandit S. B. Misra.
Colonel W. J. W. Muir.
Mr. Haridas Mukerji.
Mr. J. N. Wilfred Paul.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mrs. Bulstrode read a paper entitled "A Tour in Mongolia".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Perry-Ayscough and Colonel Plunkett took part.

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*March 10, 1914.*—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Lieutenant G. C. Binsteed, Essex Regiment.
Mr. John C. Ferguson.
Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer.
Pandit Todar Mall.
Mr. F. Noyce.

Eleven nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

A vote of condolence with the families of the late Professor Driver and Dr. Ginsburg was passed.

Mr. Yoné Noguchi read a paper entitled "No: the Japanese Play of Silence".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Crewdson and Dr. Hagopian took part.

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## II. Principal Contents of Oriental Journals

### I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Bd. LXVII, Heft iv.

Németh (J.). Die Rätsel des Codex Cumanicus.
Hertel (J.). Indologische Analekta.
Wellhausen (J.). Zum Koran.
Marmorstein (A.). Über das Gaonat in Palästina.
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Leumann (E.). Bibliographische Notizen über zwei Nordarische und zwei sanskritische Fragmente.
Fischer (A.). Die Quitte als Verzeichen bei den Persern.

II. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. XXVII, Nos. iii–iv.

Strauss (O.). Zur Geschichte des Sāṃkhya.
Franke (R. O.). Das einheitliche Thema des Dīghanikāya.
Simon (R.). Die Notationen der vedischen Liedertexte.
Bartholomae (C.). Mitteliranische Studien IV.
Rescher (O.). Zum Dīwān des Abū'l Aswad ed-Du'alī.
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Vardanian (A.). Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Proklos und Sahak.

III. Journal Asiatique. Série XI, Tome II, No. ii.

Macler (F.). Notices de manuscrits arméniens vus dans quelques bibliothèques de l'Europe centrale.
Faure-Biguet (G.) et G. Delphin. Les séances d'El-Aouali, textes arabes en dialecte maghrébin, publiés et traduits.
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Tome II, No. iii.

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IV. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. IX, Nos. vii, viii–ix.

Jayaswal (Kāshi-Prasād). The Plays of Bhāsa and King Darsaka of Magadha.
—— The Date of Asoka's Coronation.

Banerji (R. D.). Lakṣmanasena.

Das-Gupta (Hem Chandra). On Two-shouldered Stone Implements from Assam.

Husain (Maulavi M. Hidayat). The Life and Works of Muḥibb Allah of Bihār.

Westharp (A.). Psychology of Indian Music.

Hosten (Rev. H.). The Rev. L. Bernard among the Abors, and the Cross as a Tattoo Mark (1855).

V. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. V, No. i.

Vidyabhusana (Satis Chandra). Srid-Pa-Ho: a Tibeto-Chinese Tortoise Chart of Divination.

VI. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. XLI, Pts. iii–v.

Greene (Rev. D. C.). Osada's Life of Takano Nagahide.

Schwartz (W. L.). The Great Shrine of Idzumo: some Notes on Shintō, Ancient and Modern.

Hall (J. C.). The Tokugawa Legislation IV.

VII. Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. XXXIII, Pt. iii.

Negelein (J. v.). Atharvaprāyaścittāni.

Margolis (Max L.). Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin.

Kent (R. G.). The Chronology of certain Indo-Iranian Sound-changes.

Gottheil (R.). The Peshitta Text of Gen. xxxii, 25.

—— Two Forged Antiques.

Bolling (G. M.). The Śāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda.

Epstein (J. N.). Zum magischen Texte.

Gray (L. H.). Iranian Miscellanies.

Barton (G. A.). The Names of two Kings of Adab.

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Vol. XXXIII, Pt. iv.

Scott (S. B.). Mohammedanism in Borneo.

Prince (J. D.). A Tammuz Fragment.

Schoff (W. H.). The Name of the Erythræan Sea.

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Price (L. M.). The Animal *Dun* in the Sumerian Inscriptions.

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Lay (A. H.). Marriage Customs of Korea.

Gale (J. S.). Selection and Divorce.

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IX. Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Vol. VI, Fasc. ii.

Rescher (O.). La Mo'allaqa de 'Antara avec le commentaire d'Ibn el-Anbārī.

Motzo (B.). La sorte dei Giudei in Egitto al tempo di Geremia.

Rossini (C. C.). Studi su popalazioni dell'Etiopia.

Levi della Vida (G.). Il califfato di Ali secondo il Kitāb al asrāf di al-Balāduri.

Puini (C.). Supplemento al cataloghi del Tripiṭaka.

X. Der Islam. Bd. V, Heft i.

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XII. SARAWAK MUSEUM JOURNAL. Vol. I, No. iv.

Ray (S.). The Languages of Borneo.

XIII. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLII, Pt. DXXXV.

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Bühler (G.) (translated by Professor V. S. Ghate). Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry.

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JOURNAL

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XV

# DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MISSION OF THE MINOR FRIARS TO CHINA IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

By A. C. MOULE

OF the monuments of medieval missionary work very few can surpass in interest the letters written from China by John of Monte Corvino, Archbishop of Khanbalig, and Andrew of Perugia, Bishop of Zaitun; and many persons will be grateful to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for printing a more accurate text of these letters than has hitherto been available. The letters, together with most of what is known of the history of the missions to the Far East, of which the writers were members, are found in a single MS. which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The Librarians, whose extreme courtesy and kindness have made the following transcript possible, inform me that this MS. is now numbered "Latin 5006", and that it dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. It contains 192 leaves, parchment, measuring 0 m. 20 × 0 m. 15. The credit of discovering the letters appears to belong to Luke Wadding, the voluminous historian of the Minor

Friars, who was born at Waterford 16 October, 1588, and died 18 November, 1657, or to an unnamed friend of his.[1]

[1] Wadding has the following entry in his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, Rome, 1650, p. 270:

"Odoricvs de Portv Naono, oppido Fori Julij, prouinciæ S. Antonij, . . . Scripsit

*Historiam suæ peregrinationis sexdecim annorum.*

*Librum de mirabilibus mundi.*

*Chronica compendiosa à mundi exordio ad finem fermè Pontificatus Ioannis XXII.* quo tempore ipse decessit. Accepi ab amico M.S. & ex ijs plura in rem nostram decerpsi.

*Sermones diuersos.*

*Epistolas multas.*

Obijt anno 1331. die 14. Ianuarij in vrbe Vtinensi sepultus apud suos consodales."—with the marginal note: "Vide to. 3 Annal. an. 1331. nu. 11." (The reference for Odoric to the *2nd edition* of the *Annales Minorum* is tom. vii, an. 1331. nu. 13-20.) The *Chronica compendiosa* is the book in question, though whether Latin 5006 is the actual copy used by Wadding's friend is not so certain (cf. p. 555, n. 1 below). Wadding's persistent ascription of the book to Odoric (based perhaps on such passages as that quoted in n. 2, p. 557 below) is not accepted by others. Sbaralea in his *Supplementum ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci*, printed 1806, p. 444, has the following note: "Joannes a Mortiliano oppido diœces Utinensis cognomento Longus . . . obiit in urbe Forojuliensi anno 1363. . . .

"*Ioannis de Vtino Summa de ætatibus* extare dicitur ms. in Biblioth. Paris. Colbert. cod. 3601., & creditur hujus Joannis, qui modo *de Vtino* a Conventu, modo *a Mortiliano* a loco nativitatis dicebatur: in ead. Biblioth. habetur alter codex ms. num. 5496. hoc titulo: *Incipit liber. de etatibus. & generationibus procedentibus a primo homine. & de principijs regnorum, & regum ueteris testamenti. Et precipue de Regibus. Israel. & Iuda:* & post 4. folia [fol. 5 r°] legitur: *In isto libro annotate sunt sub breuitate. ystorie plurime ueteris testamenti. De hebreis. iudeis. & gentilibus. paganis. orientalibus. & occidentalibus. & ytalicis & Romanis. & precipue de bellis & uictorijs. romanorum consulum. Regum. & imperatorum. & senatorum. in tribus partibus mundi geste fuerunt. In Asya. Affrica & Europha. postea de nouo testamento. ystorie. de ortu. & profectu religionis xpistiane. & sancte ecclesie. & conuersione Romanj imperij. ad dominum ihesum xpistum. & pontificum romanorum. & imperatorum producte usque ad annos domini .m.ccc.xxxj.* Usus est hoc Chronico Waddingus in Annal. Min. ad an. 1307. num. 6., dicitque *brevi modo concinnatum perductum usque ad initium Pontificatus Benedicti XII.*, seu an. 1335.; & ad an. 1321. n. 1. ait deduci ab oriente mundo usque ad mortem Joannis XXII., nempe usque ad annum 1334., illudque attribuit citatis locis, & in hoc Opere [*Scriptores Ord. Min.*] *B. Odorico Forojuliensi*, nescio quo auctore; sed hoc negant Baluzius [in notis ad Papas Avenionenses], & post eum Echard de Scriptor. Ord. Prædic. to. 1.

From his transcript, which was printed in the first edition of *Annales Minorum* (to. iii, 1635), which I have not seen, the following printed texts of the letters are derived :—

RAYNALDUS, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. xv, 1691 : first letter of John (beginning at *Unam ecclesiam*), pp. 6, 7, with marginal note : *Ext. in M.S. cod. Odorici Forojul. & ex eo apud Wad. hoc an. n. 10.*; letter of Andrew, pp. 318, 319.

ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. iii, pt. ii, 1728 : first letter of John (incomplete), pp. 528, 529 ; second letter of John (extracts), p. 530 ; letter of Andrew (extracts), pp. 531, 532.

WADDING, *Annales Minorum*, 2nd ed., 1731, etc. : first letter of John, tom. vi, pp. 69, 70 ; second letter of John, pp. 71, 72, 91, 92 ; letter of Andrew, tom. vii, pp. 53, 54.

MOSHEIM, *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, 1741 : letters of John, pp. 114–120 ; letter of Andrew, pp. 120–123.

From one or other of these texts, derived from a common source, all the more recent quotations and versions with which I am acquainted are made. The most notable version is that by Colonel Yule in *Cathay and the way thither*, 1866, vol. i, pp. 197–209, 222–225. Mention

pag. 550., eo quod legatur pag. 184 [fol. 184 r°]. *Sanctus frater Odoricus passionem sanctorum .iiij^or. fratrum minorum sic descripsit* ; varia quoque continet, quæ non habet *B. Odoricus*, & varia B. Odoricus, quæ non sunt apud istum : putant tamen esse alicujus Franciscani, eo quod multa, & quidem præclara de hoc Ordine commemorat. Num idem [sc. Joannes a Mortiliano], ac *Pantheon*, de quo supra ?"

The two MSS. are respectively those now numbered Latin 3473 (*olim* Colbert 3600, not 3601), a parchment codex of the fifteenth century containing (on ff. 94 to 103) only the beginning of the Chronicles, viz. from the Creation to the Christian era, and Latin 5006 (*olim* Colbert 5496), which has been described. Cf. also *Catalogus cod. man. Bibliothecæ Regiæ*, pars tertia, 1744, tom. iii, p. 423, IIIMDLXXIII ; tom. iv, p. 29, VMVI. Sbaralea's extracts have been corrected from the original.

Further evidence against Odoric's authorship is found in the mention on fol. 185 v° of the death of Dominic and Stephen of Hungary "circa annis dominj. m.ccc.xxx.iii uel. xxxiiij.". The date of Stephen's death is given in Wadding's *Scriptores* as 22 April, 1334, as Mr. L. Giles has kindly ascertained.

ought to be made also of the extremely interesting article entitled "The early Franciscan Missions in China" by the late Bishop of Gibraltar, which was printed in *The East and the West*, April, 1904, pp. 121–142, and contains versions of Wadding's text of the letters of John of Monte Corvino and Andrew, which are more correct than those made by Colonel Yule. Wadding's transcript was unfortunately very far from accurate, and his errors have been constantly repeated and perpetuated until to-day. The mistakes occur for the most part where the MS. is a little difficult to read; others are due to slips or perhaps to misprints, as for example when the number of boys whom John had purchased is given as cl instead of the original xl; and at least one alteration may be thought to be deliberate. Andrew wrote with great candour "sed baptizati non recte incedunt per viam Christianitatis", but Wadding prints "sed multi ex baptizatis non recte *etc.*"

Of the life of John and his companions, "whose names are worthy of immortality" as Raynaldus says, very little is known. From his own letters we gather that John was born at Monte Corvino in 1246 or 1247. An obscure passage of John of Florence (de' Marignolli) says that he began life as a "soldier, judge, and teacher of the Emperor Frederick",[1] who died A.D. 1250! About the year 1280,

[1] *Monumenta Historica Boemiæ*, tom. ii, 1768, p. 85: qui primo miles, judex & doctor *Friderici* Imperatoris post lxxii annos factus frater Minor. The learned editor (G. Dobner) says that John of Monte Corvino must be the same as John of Plano Carpini, who was in Central Asia in the middle of the thirteenth century, and it is possible that this strange confusion existed also in the mind of John of Florence. Colonel Yule writes in *Cathay* (vol. i, p. 166) that John, already a Franciscan, was sent by Michael Palæologus as a messenger to Gregory X in 1272. His authority is no doubt Wadding (*Annal. Min.*, tom. iv, p. 345 (an. 1272)), who says: Opportune tamdem supervenit ex eodem Ordine [Minorum] Joannes de Monte Corvino (quod oppidum est in Apulia Daunia) missus ab Imperatore litteris & verbo, Gregorii assumptioni gratulaturus, dolorem item expressurus, quod eum videre non licuerit antequam e Syria regrederetur, & impense Imperatoris nomine acturus

at any rate, John was sent as a missionary to the East, with several companions, by Bonagratia,[1] Minister General of the Order of Minor Friars. He seems to have spent the time partly at least in Persia, and certainly did not then reach China. He returned with letters from Arghun, Khan of Persia (August, 1284 – March, 1291), in 1289, and was at once sent back by the Pope,[2] whose letters are dated 15 July, 1289. Apart from what we are told in John's own letters there is little more to say of him. Odoric, who saw him near the end of his life, mentions him, but not by name, in the following words: Nous avons un nostre frère meneur évesque en l'ostel de l'empereur qui tousdis donne la beneicon au grant Caan quant il doit chevauchier. Je frère Odric voulz aller avec pour veoir la guise et il m'y mena. Nous alames a procession contre l'empereur qui seoit en un char et portames devant nous une croix sur un hault baston affin que on la puist mieulx veoir et chantames ceste antene: *Veni, Sancte Spiritus.*[3] And *The Book of the Estate of the Great Khan* also, written

de repetita toties unione Ecclesiarum: cujus demum verbis tamquam ex ipsius Imperatoris ore prolatis, plenam adhiberi fidem in epistola rogabat.

As to John's birth-place, Wadding says he knew of no evidence to decide between Monte Corvino "in Apulia Daunia situm" and "nobilius oppidum Montis Corvini non longe a Salerno" (*Ann. Min.*, tom. vi, p. 94). But from the passage quoted above and from another (tom. v, p. 194) where he says: Monte Corvino (quod oppidum haud ignobile est in Apulia Daunia, non longe a Luceria civitate, juxta latus Apennini, versus Orientem), he seems to have preferred the claims of Apulia. Montecorvino, about 19 km. east of Salerno, is marked in Stielers *Handatlas*, 1907, No. 25, and under the name of Rovella in *Andrees Allgemeiner Handatlas*, 1899, No. 103/4, but I have not found the Apulian Monte Corvino on any map, though its position may be judged from that of Luceria or Lucera.

[1] Frater Bonagratia de Sancto Ioanne in Persiceto was elected to be Minister General at Whitsuntide, 1279, and died at Avignon on Sunday, October 3, 1283. Cf. *Annales Minorum*, tom. v, pp. 72, 127; *Bullarium Franciscanum*, tom. iii, pp. 191 (*c*), 417 (*a*), 501 (*b*).

[2] Nicholas IV, the first Minor Friar to be made Pope. He was elected 20 February, 1288, and crowned on the 25th of the same month.

[3] *Les voyages . . . du frère Odoric*, ed. H. Cordier, 1891, p. 375.

about the year 1330, gives us some account of him in this passage which we quote in full:—

En la ditte cite de cambalech fu uns archeuesques qui auoit nom frere iehan du mont curuin de lordre des freres meneurs. et y estoit legas enuoiez du pappe clement. cilz arceuesques fist en celle cite dessus ditte trois lieux de frères meneurs et sont bien deux lieues loings ly uns de lautre. il en fist aussy deux autres en la cite de racon [Zaitun] qui est bien loings de cambalech le voiage de trois mois et est dencoste la mer. esquelz deux lieux furent deux freres meneurs euesques. ly uns eut nom frere andrieu de paris. et ly autres ot nom frere pierre de florense. cilz freres iehans larceuesque conuerty la moult de gens a la foy ihesucrist. il est homs de tres honneste vie et agréable a dieu et au monde et tres bien auoit la grace de lempereur. ly empereres lui faisoit tousiours et a toute sa gent aministrer toutes leurs neccessitez. et moult le amoient tous crestiens et paiens. et certes il eust tout ce pays conuerty a la foy crestienne et catholique. se ly nestorin faulx crestiens et mescreans ne le eussent empechiet et nuist. ly dis arceuesques ot grant paine pour ces nestorins ramener a la obedience de nostre mere sainte eglise de romme. sans laquelle obedience il disoit que ilz ne pouuoient estre sauue. et pout ceste cause ces nestorin scismat auoient grant enuie sur lui. cilz arceuesques comme il plot a dieu est nouuellement trespassez de ce siècle. a son obseque et a son sepulture vinrent tres grant multitude de gens crestiens et de paiens. et desciroient ces paiens leurs robes de dueil. ainsi que leur guise est. et ces gens crestiens et paiens pristrent en grant deuocion des draps de larceuesque. et le tinrent à grant reuerence et pour relique. la fu il enseuelis moult honnourablement a la guise des fiable--crestiens. encore uisete on le lieu de sa sepulture a moult grant deuocion.[1] And, again, further on: et quant cilz

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, sér. II, tom. vi, 1830, pp. 68, 69.

arceuesques dont par cy deuant auons parle ediffia ces abbaies des freres meneurs dessus dittes. cil nestorin de nuit le destruisoient. et y faisoient tout le mal que ilz pouuoient. car ilz ne osoient audit arceuesque ne a ses freres ne aux autres fiable crestiens mal faire en publique ne en appert pour ce que ly empereres les amoit et leur monstroit signe damour. ces nestorins sont plus de trente mille demourans on dit empire de cathay. et sont tres riche gent.[1]

Once more we hear of the great Archbishop in a letter addressed to the Pope by certain chiefs of the Alani who held posts in the Mongol-Chinese government. This letter is dated 11 July, 1336, and says: "Let this moreover be known to your Holiness that for a long time we were instructed in the Catholic faith, with wholesome guidance and abundant consolation, by your legate Brother John, a valiant, capable, and holy man, who nevertheless died eight years ago."[2] This passage would fix the date of John's death in the year 1328 or 1329, and although it is placed by modern writers in 1330 or 1333,[3] we know of no evidence inconsistent with the earlier date.

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, sér. II, tom. vi, 1830, pp. 69, 70. *fiable* is the modern *fidèle*.

[2] *Annales Minorum*, tom. vii, pp. 209, 210. Hoc autem sanctitati vestræ sit notum, quod longo tempore fuimus informati in fide Catholica, & salubriter gubernati, et consolati plurimum per Legatum vestrum fratrem Joannem, valentem, sanctum, & sufficientem virum, qui tamen mortuus est ante octo annos. Cf. *Cathay*, etc., vol. ii, p. 314.

[3] Mortuo sub hoc tempore [anno MCCCXXXIII] optimo viro & vere Evangelico Ministro Joanne de Monte Corvino primo Archiepiscopo Cambalien. in Dominio, & Emporio Tartarorum, cujus unius opera conversa sunt ad veram fidem plusquam triginta millia Sarracenorum, teste beato Oderico de Foro-Julio . . . maturo consilio . . . substituitur hoc anno frater Nicolaus Minorita . . . datisque . . . viginti Fratribus Sacerdotibus, & sex laicis . . . (*Ann. Min.*, tom. vii, p. 138).

Ecce igitur nos . . . venerabilem fratrem nostrum Nicolaum Archiepiscopum Cambaliensem Ordinis Fratrum Minorum . . . providimus destinandum. . . . Data Avenione Kalend. Octobris anno XVIII [1 October, 1333] (ibid., p. 139). This is an extract from the letter of commendation sent with Nicholas, the successor of John of Monte Corvino, to the great Khan. On pp. 456, 457 of the same tome Wadding

In 1307 the Pope sent seven more Minor Friars to act as suffragans to John after they had consecrated him Archbishop of Khanbalig or Peking. Five only of their names are given in the text below (pp. 559, 567), but the full list is given by Wadding as follows: Gerardus, Peregrinus, Andreas de Perusio sacræ Theologiæ Lector, Nicolaus de Bantra sive de Apulia, Minister Provinciæ Sancti Francisci, Petrus de Castello, Andrutius de Assisio, Guillelmus de Franchya sive de Villa longa aut Villanova. Sbaralea gives six names—Andreas de Perusio, Nicolaus de Bantia, Gerardus Albuinis, Ulricus de Seyfridsdorf, Peregrinus de Castello, Guilelmus de Villanova, omitting Petrus and Andrutius and substituting for one of them Ulricus.[1] To these seven, of whom not more than three or four reached China, three more were added a few years later, namely, Peter of Florence (who has been mentioned above, p. 538), created Bishop on 20 December, 1310, and Jerome and Thomas on 19 February, 1311.[2] Into the very meagre later history of the Mission, ending with the murder of James of Florence, Archbishop of Zaitun [3], in

prints the Pope's mandate to Nicholas dated Avenione xiv. Kal. Oct. an. xviii (18 September, 1333). News of Nicholas' arrival at Almalig had reached Europe in 1338, in which year he is said to have died; he had certainly not reached Khanbalig in June, 1336.

[1] *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi, pp. 92, 94; *Bullarium Franciscanum*, tom. v, pp. 38, 39.

[2] *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi, pp. 467–9.

[3] "Hoc eodem anno frater Jacobus de Florentia Archiepiscopus Zaitonensis, & frater Guillelmus Campanus Minoritæ pro fidei Christianæ confessione occisi sunt a Sarracenis in Medorum imperio, & alii duo ejusdem Instituti in odium nominis Romani interempti sunt ab hæreticis Nestorinis" (*Ann. Min.*, tom. viii, p. 154 [an. 1362], with marginal reference to *Marian. citat.* and *Chron. antiq.*). Marian. is Marianus Florentinus, of whose works Wadding has the following notices: *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, Rome, 1650, p. 249, "MARIANVS FLORENTINVS . . . Scripsit *Fasciculus Chronicarum Ordinis Minorum.* Libris quinque opus distinxit. Autographum penes me est, magnoque fuit adiumento Annalibus scribendo." Ibid., Index Materiarum, p. xxxvii, "Mariani Florentini. *Fasciculus Chronicorum Ordinis Minorum. Catalogus piorum Laicorum eiusdem Ordinis. Catalogus illustrium Fœminarum Ordinis*

1362, we cannot enter here, and I proceed at once to give a transcript of such passages bearing directly on our subject as are to be found in those pages of the old Paris MS. which I have been able to examine, together with an English version, prefixing extracts from some of the letters carried by John of Monte Corvino in 1289, which have been copied from other sources.[1]

*S. Clarœ. Catalogus virorum illustrium Tertij Ordinis.* (p. xlj) *Historia Montis Alvernæ.*" The *Fasciculus*, which was not (in 1900) known to be extant, was a history of the Order from its foundation down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The account of James' martyrdom seems to have been in lib. iv, c. 13. Marianus died while nursing the plague patients at Florence in 1523 or 1527. Cf. *Collection d'études et de documènts sur l'histoire du Moyen Age*, tom. ii, Paris, 1900, pp. 137 sqq.

"IACOBVS de FLORENTIA, Archiepiscopus Zaitonensis, & frater Gulielmus Campanus pro fidei Christianæ confessione in Medorum imperio à Saracenis interfecti sunt, cum aliis duobus Minoritis. vide Tom. 4. Annal. 1362. num. 4. . . .

"THOMAS TOLENTINAS, *Iacobus de Padua*, & *De metrius laicus*, anno 1321. die 13. Aprilis, apud Thamnam Saracenorum ciuitatem plurimis pro Christi fide tormentis toleratis, ac superatis, victores migrarunt in cœlum" (*Scriptores Ord. Min.*, Appendix (not paged), Martyres Ordinis Minorum). In the *Index nationum* is the entry, under *Itali*, "Iacobus de Florentia, *in Oriente.*" The place of James' martyrdom, here vaguely called "the East", and in the passages above "the Empire of the Medes", must have been not at Zaitun but somewhere in Central Asia, "*Medorum* imperio" being, as Colonel Yule pointed out, a mistake probably for "*medio* imperio", the Middle Kingdom, not of China but of the house of Chagatai.

[1] In printing the various texts I have tried to copy the originals literally and exactly, with the exception that the abbreviated words of the MS. are printed out in full. While I remain responsible for all mistakes which may be found, I am very greatly indebted not only to the Librarians at the Bibliothèque Nationale but to many friends in England for help in various points, and especially to the unsurpassed scholarship and kindness of Mr. C. W. Moule, President of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who has corrected and revised all the English versions, and lastly to the late Colonel Sir H. Yule, to whom, directly or indirectly, almost every statement and every reference in this article is owed. The Editor and printers have earned my best thanks by the wonderful patience and accuracy with which they have helped me in a troublesome piece of work. The Roman numbers in the margin are intended to make reference from the Latin to the corresponding place in the English version more easy.

## Latin Texts

I. (Cobyla Cham, magno Principi Tartarorum Illustri gratiam in præsenti, quæ perducat ad gloriam in futuro.

Gaudemus in Domino, Princeps egregie, sibique devotas, & uberes gratiarum referimus actiones, quod ipse in cujus manu corda sunt Principum terrenorum, te prout lætanter audivimus, suæ dono gratiæ clementi pietate præveniens, illo tui pectoris intima fœcundavit affectu, quod ad Christianitatis terminos ampliandos dirigitur desiderium mentis tuæ. Dudum siquidem post nostræ promotionis initia, certos Nuntios ad nostram præsentiam ex parte Magnifici Principis Argonis Regis Tartarorum Illustris transmissos recepimus, nobis apertius referentes, quod ad personam nostram, & Romanam Ecclesiam, & etiam gentem, seu populum Latinorum grandis devotionis affectum Magnificentia tua gerit, dictique Nuntii ex parte regia cum instantia petierunt, ut aliquos religiosos Latinos ad tuam præsentiam mitteremus. Nos autem tam gratis & acceptis de tanto, tamque sublimi Principe rumoribus intellectis, exultavimus in Domino vehementer, cum tuæ salutis augmentum, tuique nominis gloriam sinceris affectibus cupiamus, Patri luminum, a quo est omne datum optimum, & omne donum perfectum, humiliter supplicantes, ut tui pectoris intima de bono semper in melius munere suæ inspirationis illuminet, & suæ gratiæ rore perfundat ad laudem sui gloriosi nominis & honorem. Volentes igitur votis regiis benigne annuere in hac parte, ac desiderantes admodum, ut ad suscipiendam Christianam fidem, quam prædicta tenet & servat Ecclesia, promptus accedas, præsto te offeras, studiosius occurras, cum sine ipsius comitante suffragio placere Altissimo nemo possit: Ecce dilectum filium fratrem Joannem de Monte Corvino, cum ejus sociis de Ordine Minorum latorem præsentium ad te duximus destinandum, cum instantia postulantes ut ipsum & socios supradictos benigne habeas commendatos,

eis, quorum doctrinæ, cum salutis commoda suggerat, te inseparabiliter cupimus adhærere, super salubri commisso illis negotio, quod salutem respicit animarum, Regii favoris auxilium impensurus, ut ejus fulti præsidio utilius & efficacius habere se valeant in eodem, tuque a Domino, qui pro minimis grandia recompensat, æternæ beatitudinis præmia consequaris. Datum Reate III. Idus Julii, anno II.[1]

II. (Nobili viro Jolo de Pisis.

Lætamur in Domino, quod sicut habet fide digna relatio, ad dilatandos Christianæ fidei terminos laudabiliter & solerter intendens, illos ad agnitionem ipsius, qui nondum sunt ejus lumine illustrati, sollicite inducendo, quodque cunctis religiosis per partes ipsas habentes transitum impendis intuitu Jesu Christi consilium, auxilium, & favorem, exhibendo te nihilominus illis specialem, & præcipuum protectorem, de quo tuæ laudandæ sollicitudinis studium tanto amplius commendamus, quanto magis salutem appetimus singulorum. Excitamus itaque diligentiam tuam, & hortamur in Domino Jesu Christo, quatenus circa hujusmodi salubres tuos actus & opera sedula, sollicitudinis studium largiaris, ut exinde tanto acceptior, & gratior tuo reddi valeas salvatori, quanto per te plures ab erroris invio ad veritatis semitam, & ab infidelitatis nubilo ad claritatem Catholicæ fidei reducentur. Nos autem benedictionem nostram tibi tenore præsentium in tuorum remissionem dirigimus peccatorum. Datum ut supra.[2]

III. (Argoni Regi Tartarorum Illustri gratiam in præsenti, quæ perducat ad gloriam in futuro.

. . . Sane dilectus filius frater Joannes de Monte Corvino, de Ordine Minorum, lator præsentium, ad nostram de Orientalibus partibus præsentiam veniens, attentæ relationis officio nostro Apostolatui patefecit, quod tu . . . erga nos & Romanam Ecclesiam, ac etiam

[1] *Ann. Min.*, tom. v, pp. 196, 197; *Reg. Vat.*, tom. 44, c. 55, fol. 314 r°.
[2] *Ann. Min.*, tom. v, p. 198.

alias Christianorum Ecclesias, magnæ devotionis geris affectum. Adjecit etiam dictus Frater, quod sibi, ejusque sociis, dum in tuis partibus morarentur Christi prosequentes obsequia, humanitatem grandem . . . tua clementer exhibuit magnitudo. . . . Porro, princeps egregie, sicut magnificentiæ regiæ per alias nostras litteras, tibi, per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Roban Barsamma, in partibus Orientis episcopum, & nonnullos tuos nuncios ad nos missos, duximus intimandum, nos, qui, quamvis insufficientibus meritis, vicarii Christi sumus & Petri Apostolorum principis successores, quam plurimum cupimus & ardenti desiderio affectamus, ut quos baptismatis unda non diluit & fidei Christianæ religio non includit, erroris invio, per quod gressibus periculosis oberrant, omnino relicto, ad rectitudinis semitam revocentur & fidem servent fideliter supradictam. . . .

Cæterum prælibatum fratrem Joannem, & ejus socios ad partes ipsas salubre prosequuturos negocium quod cœperunt fiduciáliter remittentes, instanter exposcimus, ut eos, intuitu Dei & ob reverentiam Apostolicæ Sedis & nostram, benigne habeas commendatos, eis super hujusmodi exequutione negocii favorem regiam impensurus, cujus fulti præsidio utilius & efficacius se habere valeant in hac parte; quodque aliquos ex ipsis tecum jugiter teneas qui tibi tuoque proponant populo verbum Dei, & de salute tractare valeant animarum. Datum Reate Idibus Julii, anno II.[1]

IV. (*Venerabili fratri . . , patriarche Nestorianorum, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.*

. . . Ideoque fraternitatem tuam paternis exhortamur affectibus ut in filio Dei patris tibi sinceris mentibus suademus, quatenus ad observandam fidem catholicam, quam sicut premittitur tenet et servat romana ecclesia inconcusse, ac etiam ad ipsius ecclesie unionem, sublato

[1] *Ann. Min.*, tom. v, pp. 195, 196; *Reg. Vat.*, tom. 44, c. 54, fol. 313 r°.

cujuslibet tarditatis obstaculo et nexibus difficultatis effractis festinus acceleres . . . eo majoris retributionis premia proinde consecuturus a Domino quo plures ad id tuo exemplo laudabili evocabis, cum facile trahi soleat in exemplum a subditis quod agi conspicitur a prelatis.

Speramus etenim magnaque fiducia ducimur quod premissa libenter et efficaciter adimplebis, subjectum tibi populum ad ea diligenter et sollicite inducendo, cum sicut (*sic*) dilectus filius frater Johannes de Montecorvino, de ordine fratrum minorum, lator presentium, multa bona multaque laudabilia opera, que letanter audivimus, de tuis studiis nobis duxerit referenda. Suscipe igitur reverenter exhortationem sinceram et salubrem devotus amplectere Christi vicarii suadelam, sic te laudabiliter gerere studeas ad honorem et gloriam omnium conditoris ut in conspectu ejus reddaris acceptior cumulo meritorum. Ceterum instanter expetimus ut eumdem fratrem et ejus socios spetialiter habeas commendatos, ipsosque benigne ac favorabiliter prosequaris, ut, tali et tanto muniti presidio, utilius et commodius in ministerio se gerere valeant quod exercent et ad laudem divini nominis opera efficatius prosequi Jesu Christi. . . .

Dat. Reate, idibus julii, anno secundo.)[1]

Bibliothèque Nationale.
MS. Latin 5006, fol. 170 v°, col. 2.

V. de noua ecclesia in tartaria fundata et plantata.

Tempore etiam huius Clementis[2] pape. ffelix nouitas et bona nuntiatio ab interiori yndia et regnis orientalibus. in partibus occidentibus et in ytaliam uenit et latinorum corda. et ffratrum minorum et predicatorum clericorum et religiosorum. principum et prelatorum corda gaudio et ammiratione repleuit.

[1] Chabot, *Hist. de Mar Jabalaha III*, pp. 218, 219; *Reg. Vat.*, tom. 44, c. 48, fol. 312 r°.

[2] Clement V was elected 5 June, 1305, crowned 14 November, 1305 (1306 is his *annus primus*), and died 20 April, 1314.

Nam frater Johannes de monte coruino de ordine fratrum minorum. beati ffrancissci deuotus ymitator in se ipso rigidus et seuerus. et in uerbo dej docendo et predicando facundus. A domino Nicholao papa quarto: auctoritate magna et priuilegijs gratiosis fultus. ad predicandos infideles iter aggressus regnum persarum intrauit. et in ciuitate maxima Thaurisio[1] aliquamdiu conmoratus cum fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus. qui ibj in uno loco morabantur fidem xpisti gentibus predicantes. et battizantes. Jpse frater Johannes cum eis per dies pluros stetit: de inde in yndiam penetrauit. Cuius iter et sanctum opus in ista sua epistola declaratur que talis est. epistola fratris Iohannis. legati pape.

VI. Ego frater Johannes de monte Coruino de ordine fratrum minorum. recessi de thaurisio ciuitate persarum. Anno dominj .m°. cc°. lxxxxj°. et intrauj in indiam. et fuj in contrada yndie. et in ecclesia sancti thome Apostoli mensibus .xiij. Et ibj batticzauj circa centum personas in diuersis locis. et Socius fuit vie mee ffrater Nicholaus de pystorio de ordine fratrum predicatorum. Quj mortuus est ibj et sepultus in eadem ecclesia. Et ego ulterius procedens peruenj in Katay regnum Jmperatoris Tartarorum qui dicitur magnus Cham[2]. Jpsum uero Jmperatorem cum litteris dominj pape ad fidem domini nostrj Jhsuxpisti catholicam inuitauj. Qui tamen nimis inueteratus est in ydolatria. set multa benefitia prestat xpistianis. et ego sum apud eum iam est annus duodecimus. Nestorianj quidem xpistianitatis tytulum preferentes Set a xpistiana

[1] Tauris, or Tabriz, in Persia.

[2] John must have reached Khanbalig in 1294, after the death of Kubilai. When Kubilai died on 18 February, 1294, his successor, Temur or Ch'êng Tsung, was absent in the north. He reached Shang-tu (the northern summer capital) on 28 April and was enthroned there on 10 May, but does not seem to have come to Khanbalig until 21 October, 1294 (cf. *Yüan Shih*, c. xviii, ff. 1 r°, 3 v°). John may have gone to the Khan at Shang-tu, as Marco Polo had done, or may have seen him first in October or November, on his return to Khanbalig. In any case, Khanbalig is the city referred to in the course of his letters.

religione plurimum deuiantes tantum inualuerunt in partibus istis. quod non permiserunt quempiam xpistianum alterius ritus habere quantu[m]libet paruum oratorium. nec aliam quam Nestorianj publicare doctrinam. Ad has siquidem terras nec aliquis apostolus nec apostolorum discipulus peruenit.[1] Et ideo prefati Nestorinj per se et per alios pecunia corruptos persequtiones mihi grauissimas intulerunt. asserentes quod non essem missus a domino papa. Set essem explorator magus et dementatorum hominum. et facto aliquanto interuallo temporis produxerunt alios falsos testes dicentes [fol. 171 r°] quod alius nuntius fuerit missus deferens imperatori maximom thesaurum. et quod ego illum occiderim. in yndia et abstulerim que portabat. Et durauit hec machynatio circiter quinque annis. Jta quod sepe ad iuditium fuj tractus cum ignominia mortis. Tandem per quorumdam confessionem deo disponente Jmperator congnouit meam innocentiam et malitiam emulorum et ipsos cum uxoribus et liberis exilio religauit.

Ego uero solus in hac peregrinatione fuj sine confessione annis undecim. donec uenit ad me frater Arnoldus alamannus de prouincia colonie nunc est annus secundus. vnam ecclesiam edificauj in ciuitate Cambaliech ubj est precipua residentia regis quam ante sex annos conpleuj. vbj etiam feci campanile et ibj tres campanas posuj. Battizauj etiam ibidem ut extimo usque hodie circa sex milia personarum. Et nisi fuissent supradicte infamationes batticzassem ultra .xxx. milia. et sum frequenter in batticzando. Item emj successiue .xl. pueros filios paganorum etatis infra .vij. et .xj. annorum qui nullam adhuc congnoscebant legem. et batticzauj eos et informauj eos litteris latinis et ritu nostro. et scripssi pro eis psalteria cum ymnarijs .xxx. et duo breuiaria. Cum quibus .xj.

[1] This sentence, coming from one who had spent a year at the Church of St. Thomas in India, has an interesting bearing on the question of the date at which the legend of St. Thomas' mission to China originated. Cf. pp. 568, 569 below.

pueri iam sciunt offitium nostrum et tenent chorum et edomadas sicut in conuentu siue sim presens siue non et plures ex eis scribunt psalteria et alia opportuna. Et dominus imperator delectatur multum in cantu eorum Campanas ad omnes horas pulso. et cum conuentu infantium atque lactantium diuinum offitium facio. tamen secundum usum cantamus quia notatum offitium non habemus. de bono Rege Georgio.[1]

[1] King George is a person of great interest, well known to readers of Marco Polo, who, like John of Monte Corvino, calls him a descendant of Prester John. He was in fact chieftain of a quite different tribe, the Onguts, called in Chinese 汪古 Wang-ku or 白達達 Pai Ta-ta, "White Tartars," who inhabited the country about the great northern reach of the Ho or Yellow River. Through this territory John might have passed, as Marco Polo did (calling it Tenduc, i.e. 天德 T'ien-tê), on his way to the Mongol court, and so have made friends with King George before he had aroused the hostility of the Nestorians at Khanbalig; but Colonel Yule had very good ground for his view that he came from India by sea. We hear of King George's father and uncle, Künbuga and Aïbuga, as the governors of the city of Koshang in that most interesting but little-known book *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, translated from the Syriac by Dr. J.-B. Chabot (p. 19). They are there described as sons-in-law of the Khan (*Khoubilaï* is Dr. Chabot's not quite accurate addition), and Marco Polo states that the family had an hereditary right to marry a princess of the Imperial family (George himself had married two princesses, a granddaughter of Kubilai and a daughter of Temur). This statement of these two contemporary Western authors is exactly confirmed by the Chinese histories, which also tell us of George's pathetic death. He had been taken prisoner in 1298. The Khan sent an envoy to obtain his release, but while the king was in the act of asking this envoy about the welfare of his wives and of his infant son he was hurried away and never seen again. George was succeeded by his brother 术忽難 Chu-hu-nan. The biographies of 愛不花 Ai-pu-hua and 君不花 Chün-pu-hua (as well as of their father and grandfather), 闊里吉思 K'o-li-chi-ssŭ (Gorgis or George) and his son 术安 Chu-an (John), will be found in the *Yüan Shih*, c. cxviii, ff. 4 v° – 6 r°; cf. cc. cviii, cix, also. The identification of Marco Polo's Tenduc (the city), Koshang of the Syriac history, and the unnamed place in which we are told below that King George built a church, is extremely difficult. The most important city in the neighbourhood was 大同 Ta-t'ung, at that time known as 西京 Hsi-ching (William of Rubruquis' Segin) or the Western Capital, and the fact that William describes Segin as the see of a Nestorian Bishop is perhaps significant. Colonel Yule, who does not seem to have

Qvidam Rex illius regionis. de septa nestorianorum xpistianorum. qui erat de genere illius magnj Regis qui dictus fuit presbiter Johannes de yndia. primo anno quo huc ego ueni mihi adhesid. et ad ueritatem uere fidei catholice per me conuersus minores ordines suscepit mihique celebranti sacris uestibus indutus ministrauit. Jta quod alij nestorianj ipsum de Apostasia accusauerunt. tamen ipse magnam populi suj partem ad ueram fidem catholicam adduxit. Et ecclesiam pulcram secundum Regiam magnificentiam construxit. ad honorem dej nostrj sancte trinitatis; et dominj pape. et nomen meum vocans eam ecclesiam Romanam. Qui Rex Georgius ante .vj. annos migrauit ad dominum uerus xpistianus. relicto filio herede in cunabulis qui nunc est annorum nouem. ffratres tamen ipsius Regis Georgij cum essent perfidi in erroribus Nestorij omnes quos ille conuerterat post Regis obitum sub uerterunt: ad scisma pristinum reducendo. Et quia ego [171 r°, col. 2] fuj solus nec potuj recedere ab Jmperatore Chaan ire non potuj ad illam ecclesiam que distat ad .xx. dietas. Tamen si uenerint aliquj boni coadiutores et cooperatores spero in deo quod totum poterit reformari. Nam adhuc habeo priuilegium predicti Regis Georgij defunctj.

Iterum dico quod si non fuissent infamationes supradicte magnus fructus fuisset sequtus. Si habuissem etiam duos uel tres socios coadiutores meos. et forte Jmperator Chaan fuisset battizatus. Rogo ut tales fratres ueniant.

considered the fact that King George's capital is called Tenduc by Marco Polo and must necessarily have been ignorant of the Syriac Koshang, says that King George's Church was "probably in Tathung [Ta-t'ung]". The confusion between King George and Prester John is commonly ascribed to the likeness between Wang-ku (Ongut) and 王罕 Wang-han (Ung Khan, or Prester John); but it is to be observed that there was also some connexion between the two tribes. M. H. Cordier, who has kindly allowed me to see rough proofs of the new edition of *Cathay*, says that a branch of the old *Kerait* still occupies the country adjoining Ta-t'ung, and a Chinese author (*Yüan ch'ao pi shih chu*, 1903, c. viii, fol. 6 v°, note) says that "the Ongut tribe was formerly subject to the Kerait tribe".

si uenire aliqui uolunt quod studeant se in exemplum dare. et non suas finbrias magnificare. De uia notifico quod per terram Cothay[1] Jmperatoris aquilonarium tartarorum est via breuior et securiorum. Jta quod cum nuntijs. infra .v. uel .vj. menses poterunt peruenire. via autem alia est longissima et periculosissima habens duas nauigationes. Quarum prima est secundum distantiam inter Achon et prouinciam prouincie. Alia uero est secundum distantiam inter Achon et Angliam. et posset contingere quod in biennio uix perficerent uiam illam. Quia prima via secura non fuit a multo tempore propter Guerras. Jdeo sunt .xij. annj. quod de curia Romana et de nostro ordine et statu occidentis non suscepi noua.[2] Iam sunt duo annj quod uenit quidam medicus Cyrugicus lombardus qui de Romana curia et nostro ordine et statu occidentis istas partes incredibilibus blasfemijs infecit. propter quod multum dessidero percipere ueritatem.

Rogo fratres ad quos hec littera peruenerit ut ita studeant quod eius continentia possid peruenire ad notitiam domini pape et cardinalium et procuratoris ordinis nostri in curia Romana. Ministro generali ordinis nostrj supplico pro antiphonario et legendis sanctorum. Graduali et psalterio cum nota. pro exemplari quia non habeo nisi breuiarium portatile cum lectionibus breuibus et paruum missale. Si habuero exemplar. puerj predicti scribent.

[1] Wadding transcribed this word *Gothorum*, and, in the second letter, *Kathan*. It probably stands (as M. Pelliot suggests) for Marco Polo's Toctai, the Chinese 脫 脫 T'o-t'o, descended from Chingis' eldest son 术 赤 Chu-ch'ih, Khan of Kipchak, whose capital was at Saraï on the Volga, north of the Caspian Sea. Cf. *Marco Polo*, vol. i, pp. 5, 72; vol. ii, p. 492, etc.; *Yüan Shih*, c. cvii, fol. 5 r°. Toctai seems to have been Khan A.D. 1291–1312; cf. Bretschneider, *JNCBRAS.*, 1876, p. 180.

[2] A sentence should begin at *Quia prima* and end with *suscepi noua*. "Because the first road has not been safe . . . therefore it is twelve years . . ." Colonel Yule, misled by Wadding's punctuation, took it to mean that the missionaries must after all come by the second, tedious route, because the first was not open, and then began a new paragraph: "It is twelve years . . ."

Modo sum in actu hedificandi aliam ecclesiam ad diuidendum pueros in pluribus locis. Ego iam Senuj et canus factus sum potius laboribus et tribulationibus quam etate. sum enim annorum . quinquaginta octo. Didici conpetenter linguam et litteram Tartaricham que lingua usualis Tartarorum. et iam transtuli in lingua illa et littera totum nouum testamentum et psalterium que feci scribj in pulcerrima littera eorum. et teneo et lego et predico in patenti et manifesto quasi in testimonium legis xpisti. Et tractauj cum supradicto Rege Georgio si uixisset totum officium latinum transferre. ut per totam terram cantaretur in dominio suo. et eo uiuente in ecclesia sua celebrabatur missa secundum ritum latinum [fol. 171 r°] in littera et lingua illa tam uerba canonis quam prefationes.[1] Et filius dicti Regis uocatur Johannes propter nomen meum. et spero in deo quod ipse imitabitur uestigia patris suj. Secundum uero audita et uisa credo quod nullus Rex nec princeps in mundo possid equari domino Chaan in latitudine terre in multitudine populi et magnitudine diuitiarum. ffinis. Data. in ciuitate Cambaliech Regni Katay. anno dominj m°. ccc v°. die viij. mensis Januarij.

VII. Has litteras transmisit frater Johannes predictus legatus apostolice sedis. Cujdam fratrj predicatori viro spirituali. qui circa partes orientis peregrinabatur gentibus predicando fidem xpisti. Per Mercatores uenetianos qui a Tartaria redierunt Et dederunt predicto ffratri predicatori in signum ueritatis tabulam magnj Chaan imperatoris. Et ipse frater transmisit eam in pluribus locis citra mare fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus. Et significauit ipse frater. quod plures fratres predicatores qui litteras latinas. Grecas. Tartaricas et linguas optime didicerant. et adire Tartariam superiorem properauerunt portantes libros calices

[1] As lately as in the seventeenth century (January 25, 1615) permission was given to the Jesuits to celebrate Mass in the Chinese language. Cf. Havret, *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, pt. ii, p. 57, n. 3.

et paramenta. Et fratres predicti ceperunt uiam et peruenerunt usque gaczariam[1] Tartarorum aquilonarium. set non potuerunt transire propter Guerras. vnde in eadem ciuitate remanserunt predicantes et batticzantes gentes ibidem. quousque Guerra cessaret. Epistola fratris Johannis legati pape. in tartaria. archiepiscopo

VIII. REuerendo in xpisto Patri . . ffratrj . ffratrj . vicario Generalis ministrj ordinis fratrum minorum. Et vicario fratrum et Magistri ordinis predicatorum. et fratribus ordinum utriusque in prouincia persarum manentibus. ffrater Johannes de Monte Coruino de ordine fratrum minorum. Jnutilis xpisti seruus. predicator fidej sacre xpistiane. legatus et nuntius sedis apostolice Romane. Salutem et caritatem in eo qui est uera caritas et salus omnium. Ordo exigit caritatis ut longe lateque distantes et maxime qui peregrinantur pro lege xpisti. cum reuelata facie se inuicem uidere non possunt saltem uerbis et litteris consolentur. Cogitauj uos non sine causa mirarj quod tot annis in prouincia tam longinqua consistens nunquam meas litteras recepistis. Set miratus sum non minus quod nunquam nisi anno isto recepi ab aliquo fratre uel amico litteram uel salutationem. nec uidetur quod aliquis recordatus fuerit mej. et maxime quia audiuj quod rumores ad uos peruenissent quod [171 v°, col. 2] ego mortuus essem. Nunc autem notifico uobis quod anno preterito in principio Januarij per quendam amicum nostrum qui fuit ex Sotijs domini Cothay Canis. qui uenerunt ad dominum Chanem de Cathay. ego misi litteras Patri vicario et fratribus prouincie gaczarie de statu et conditione mea in paucis uerbis. in quibus litteris rogaui eundem vicarium quod exempla illarum uobis transmitterent [?]. Et iam mihi per bonas personas que nunc peruenerunt cum nuntijs predicti dominj Cothay ad

[1] Gazaria, or the Crimea.

dominum Chanem de Cathay. quod mee littere ad uos peruenerunt. et quod ille idem nuntius qui portauit litteras meas post modum de Sara ciuitate uenit thaurisium. propter quod de factis et contentis in illis litteris cogitauj non facere mentionem. nec iterato scribere Et primum est de persequtione Nestorianorum. Secundum de ecclesia et domibus conpletis. vj picturas feci fieri veteris et nouj testamenti. ad doctrinam rudium. et scripta sunt litteris latinis. Tursicis.[1] et persicis. ut omnes lingue legere ualeant. Tertium est quod ex pueris quos emj et battizauj aliqui migrauerunt ad dominum. Quartum est quod a tempore quo fuj in tartaria in Kathay batticzauj . plura milia. In isto autem anno domini .m°. ccc. v°. Ego incepi unum alium locum nouum coram hostio domini Chanis. et inter Curiam et locum nostrum uia sola est distans per iactum lapidis a porta dominj Chanis.

Dominus Petrus de lucalongo fidelis xpistianus et Magnus Mercator qui fuit sotius meus de thaurisio ipse emit terram pro loco quem dixj. et dedit mihi amore dej. Et diuina gratia operante. quia utilior et congruentior locus haberi non posset in toto imperio dominj Chanis pro ecclesia catholica construenda. Jn principio augusti locum accepi. et assistentibus benefactoribus et iuuantibus. usque ad festum sancti ffrancissci[2] fuit conpletus. cum muro in

[1] Wadding read this word (perhaps rightly) *Tarsicis*. Tarsia is marked on the famous Catalan map. *Tarsā* appears to be a Persian word applied in contempt primarily to Christians but also to persons of other religions, so that *Tarsica lingua* might mean "the language of the idolaters", i.e. Mongol. From this word as applied to Christians is derived probably the term 迭屑 *Tieh-hsieh* by which Christians were known in the thirteenth century, and indeed until the seventeenth, when it appears in the form 特爾撒 *T'ê-êrh-sa* in Moslem books, and as *Terzai* in Trigault's *Christiana Expeditio*, p. 124.

[2] 4 October. The chronology is not perfectly clear. Colonel Yule supposed that the site was received in August, 1304, and that some building was begun at once, so that, speaking rather loosely, John was able to say in January, 1305, that he was in the act of building a new church; by 4 October, 1305, the buildings, including an oratory, were finished, but the principal church could not be completed until the

circuitu. et domibus officinis planis. et oratorio. quod est capax ducentarum personarum. Set propter yemem ecclesiam perficere non potuj. Set habeo ligna congregata in domo. et per misericordiam dej perficiam in estate. dico uobis quod mirum quoddam uisum est omnibus aduenientibus de ciuitate et aliunde, quia non habebant adhuc rumores ex hoc. et uidentes locum de nouo factum. et crucem rubeam de super in sublimj positam.

Et nos in oratorio nostro secundum usum offitium cantamus sollempniter quia notas non habemus Dominus Chaam in camera sua potest audire uoces nostras. et hoc mirabile factum longe lateque diuulgatum est inter gentes. Et pro magno erit. sicut disponet[1] [fol. 172 r°] et adimplebit diuina clementia:

A prima ecclesia et loco nostro. usque ad ecclesiam secundam quam edificauj postea sunt duo miliaria et dimidium intra ciuitatem. que multum est magna. Et pueros diuisi et posuj. partem in prima. et partem in secunda constituj. et fatiunt officium per se ipsos. Set ego sicut cappellanus per edomadas celebro in utraque. quia puerj non sunt sacerdotes. de magno imperio tartarorum.

DE Regionibus orientalium uobis significo. et precipue de Jmperio domini Chaanis. quod non sit ej maior in mundo. Et ego habeo in curia sua locum et uiam ordinariam intrandi et Sedendi. sicut legatus domini pape. et honorat me super omnes alios prelatos. quocumque nomine censeantur. Et licet ipse dominus Chaan audierit multa de curia Romana et statu latinorum dessiderat

summer of 1306. All building in Peking is stopped by the severe frost, which does not break until about the end of February. The fact that Quinquagesima fell on 5 March in 1307 precludes the simple solution of the difficulties which would be obtained by supposing that John dated his letters in the old style, saying 1305, 1306 where we should say 1306, 1307.

[1] In the margin below this column is written "per iactum unius baliste", intended no doubt to explain "per iactum lapidis" in the text above (p. 553).

tamen multum. uidere nuntios uenientes de partibus illis, Jn istis partibus sunt multe septe ydolatrarum diuersa credentium. et sunt multi religiosi de diuersis septis. diuersos habitus habentes. et sunt multo maioris austeritatis et obseruantie quam religiosi latinj

DE yndia maiorem partem ego uidi. et quesiuj de alijs partibus indie. et esset magnus profectus predicare eis fidem xpisti si fratres uenirent. Set non essent mittendi nisi uirj Solidissimj. Nam Regiones sunt pulcerrime plene aromatibus. et lapidibus pretiosis. Set de fructibus nostris parum habent. Et propter magnam temperantiam et caliditatem aeris et regionis. Nudi uadunt. modico coopertorio uerenda cooperientes. Et propterea artibus nostris sartorum et cordonum. et artifitijs non indigent. Jbj est semper estas et nunquam hyemps Battizauj ibj circa centum personas.

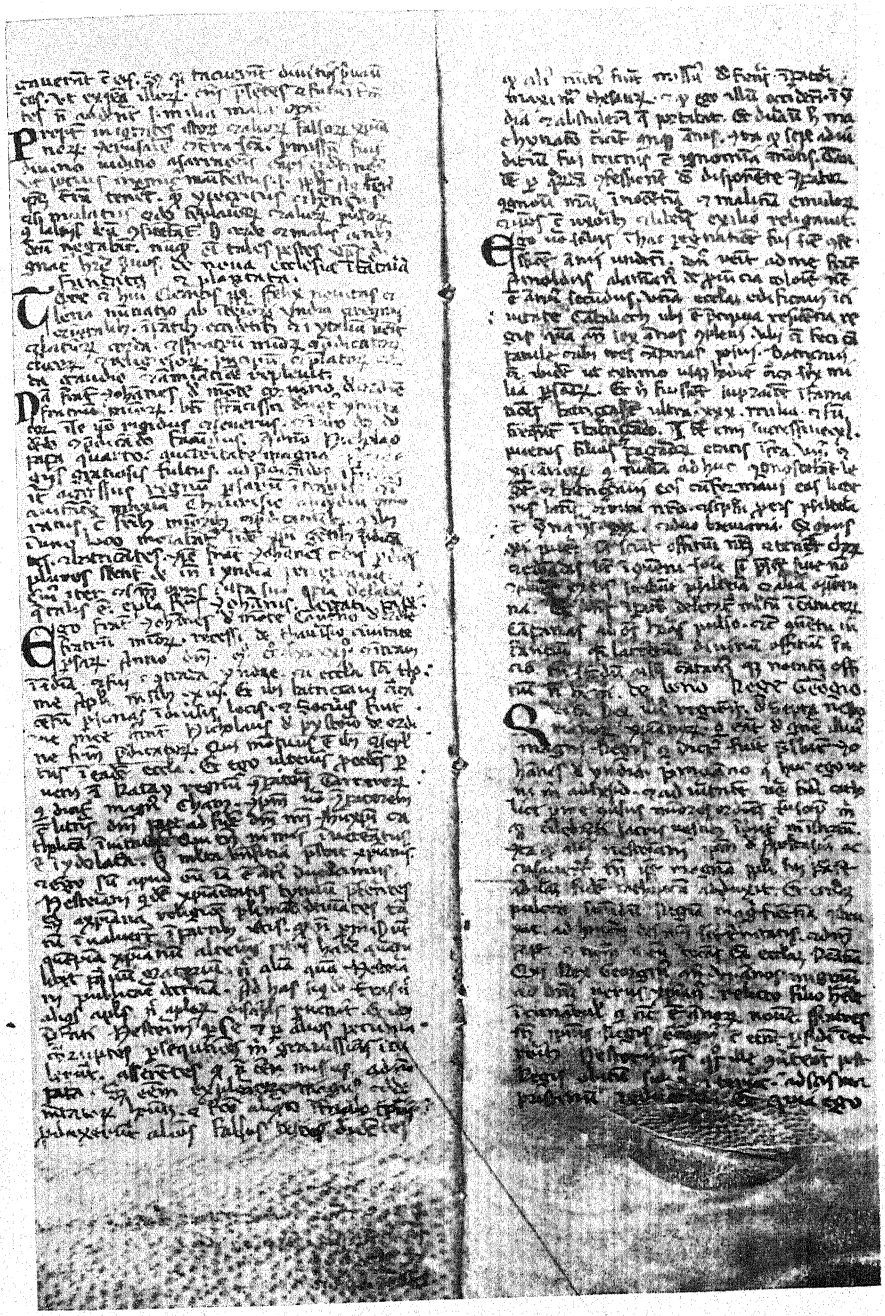
In eadem epistola[1] dicit ipse frater Johannes. quod sollempnes nuntij venerunt ad

[1] Wadding separated the following paragraphs from the preceding by about twenty pages, and introduced them with a sentence which made Colonel Yule suppose that he (Wadding) considered them to be part of a third letter, whereas he himself perceived that they formed the end of the second letter. Wadding's words are: Ex nostris Scriptoribus nullus est qui exacte aut plena historia hujus optimi Viri assumptionem ad prædictum Archiepiscopatum, & res præclare gestas recenseat: solus inter omnes beatus Odericus de Foro-Julio in Chronicis, quæ a principio mundi, usque ad initium Pontificatus Benedicti XII. brevi methodo concinnavit, largius de his tractavit, ex quo potiora hic exscribo: *Ultra ea quæ scripsit anno superiori frater Joannes a Monte Corvino*, inquit beatus Odoricus, *hoc anno narrat in alia a se scripta Epistola quod solemnes Nuncii venerunt ad eum de quadam parte Aethiopiæ, rogantes, ut illuc pergeret* etc.: with the marginal reference:—B. Oder. ad an. 1306. This passage, with its definite quotation (*Ultra ea*, etc.) and marginal reference, is a rather serious objection to our supposition that the Paris MS. (Latin 5006) is the actual book which Wadding used. The words "ad an. 1306." refer back perhaps to the first part of the letter in Wadding's own *Annales*, tom. vi, pp. 71, 72. The passage just quoted is on p. 91. Monsieur H. Cordier tells me that he knows of no other copy of the Chronicles, but at the same time is inclined to doubt that the Paris MS. (Latin 5006) is the copy used by Wadding. I therefore give the variations between the MS. and Wadding's text which occur in that part of the first letter of which a facsimile

eum de eThyopia[1] rogantes ut illuc pergeret ad predicandum uel mitteret predicatores bonos. Quia a tempore

accompanies this article, omitting all mere differences of spelling. The reading of the MS. comes first in each case, followed by that of Wadding's text (2nd edition): Fol. 170 v°. indie. et in ecclesia: Indiæ ad Ecclesiam; Socius fuit vie mee: socius fuit meæ viæ; Jpsum uero Jmperatorem cum: ipsum vero cum; inueteratus est in ydolatria: inveteratus est idololatria; ego sum apud eum iam est annus duodecimus. Nestorianj quidem: ego sum apud eum jam ante duos annos. Nestoriani quidam; quod non permiserunt: quod non permittant; nec aliam quam Nestorianj: nec aliam, quam Nestorianam; prefati Nestorinj: præfati Nestoriani; explorator magus et dementatorum hominum: magnus explorator et dementator hominum; facto aliquanto interuallo: facto aliquo intervallo; fol. 171 r°. quod alius nuntius fuerit: quod aliquis nuntius fuit; quinque annis: quinque annos; Jta quod sepe: Ita persæpe: Tandem per quorumdam: Tandem per cujusdam; emulorum et ipsos: æmulorum, quos; sine confessione: sine socio; supradicte infamationes: supradictæ informationes; .xl. pueros: CL. pueros; litteris latinis et ritu nostro: litteris Latinis, & Græcis ritu nostro; in conuentu siue sim presens: in Conventibus fit, sive præsens sim; imperator delectatur multum: Imperator delectat multum; tamen secundum usum: & secundum usum; de bono Rege Georgio: *omitted*; de Septa nestorianorum: Georgius de secta Nestorianorum; de genere illius magni Regis: de genere illustri Magni Regis; sacris uestibus indutus ministrauit. Jta quod alij: regiis vestibus indutus ministravit: sed quidam alii; pape. et nomen meum vocans: Papæ, vocans; herede in cunabulis: hærede ferme incunabilis. To these may be added one passage from Andrew's letter, fol. 186 v°—et sum sano corpore et quantum longeuitas uite patitur vigorosus et agilis. nichil quidem preter Canitiem habens de defectibus naturalibus et proprietatibus senectutis: & sum sano corpore, & quantum longævitas vitæ patitur, aliquibus adhuc annis in hac messe laborare potero, licet canitiem habeam ex defectibus naturalibus & proprietatibus senectutis. None of these differences (except possibly the one to which this note primarily refers) seem to me to make it unlikely that Wadding used or made a rather hurried copy of the actual MS. which is now at Paris and was formerly, according to Colonel Yule (*Cathay*, vol. i, p. 17), at Rome; and in any case the differences have to be accounted for, and they may as well be due to Wadding (or his friend) as to any other scribe. Apart from clerical errors like "explorator magus et dementator*um*", "uia breuior et securior*um*", "aduenientibus . . . et uident*es*", etc., the reading of the MS. is, I believe, in no instance inferior to that of Wadding's text.

[1] Ethyopia no doubt represents some part of Asia rather than Abyssinia or any other part of Africa, but its exact situation seems to be hard to fix. Colonel Yule (*Cathay*, vol. i, p. 168) points out that this deputation probably reached John in India, and suggests that Ethiopia may mean Socotra. Herodotus (bk. vii, 70) speaks of the straight-haired "Ethiopians from the sun-rising".



The first letter of John of Monte Corvino

Beati Mathej euangeliste et discipulorum eius. predicatores non habuerunt qui eos instruerent in fide xpisti. et multum dessiderant ad ueram xpisti fidem peruenire. Et si fratres ibj mitterentur omnes conuerterentur. ad xpistum. et fierent ueri xpistianj. Nam sunt plurimj in oriente qui sollo nomine cristiani dicuntur. et in xpistum credunt. Set de scripturis et sanctorum doctrinis aliud nesciunt sinpliciter uiuentes cum non habeant predicatores et doctores..

Item dicit ffrater Johannes quod post festum omnium sanctorum battizauit .cccc. [172 r°, col. 2] personas. et quia ipse audiuit quod plures fratres utriusque ordinis ad persas et ad Gaczariam accesserunt ortatur eos ad predicandum feruenter fidem dominj nostri Jhsuxpisti. et ad faciendum fructum animarum Data dicebat littera. ipsa. in Cambaliech ciuitate regnj Katay. Anno dominj .m°. cccvj°. in dominica quinquagesime. mensis februarii.[1]

FRater uero Thomas de Tolentino[2] a tartaria rediens cum istis epistolis. qui et ipse frater minor et predicator deuotus. iam per annos plures predicauerat inter infideles. ueniens in ytaliam. accessid ad curiam Romanam ultra montes in vaschoniam. vbj papa Clemens morabatur cum cardinalibus. prius hec dei magnalia ffratrj Johannj de Murro[3] olim generali ministro fratrum minorum. et

[1] Quinquagesima fell on 13 February in 1306.

[2] Thomas suffered martyrdom in April, 1321, at Tana in India, together with three others. Our MS. speaks on fol. 185 v° of the landing of the bones of these martyrs at Zaitun by Odoric and his companions as follows :—"Et cum ab ejs [i.e. the scrutinizing officials] euasissemus. per dei gratiam ad ciuitatem Zaitan ad locum fratrum nostrorum peruenimus. Et cum alijs fratribus nostris congaudentes de glorioso martirio sanctorum fratrum nostrorum et gratias deo agentes simul cum alijs xpistianis. ossa sacra. Sanctorum fratrum. Thome. de marchia [?]. de oppido tulentino. Et fratris Jacobj. de Padua. Et fratris petrj de senis [Siena]. Et ffratris Demetrij layci. qui linguas nouerat plures. cum ipse in tartaria natus esset. et adultus. in ecclesia nostrorum fratrum recondita sunt reuerenter. et ibj cum multa deuotione conservantur." Cf. p. 541, n. 3.

[3] Johannes de Muro Vallis was elected Minister General in June, 1296, made Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia in 1302, and died in 1312 or 1313. Cf. *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi, pp. 7, 200; Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, tom. iv, pp. 423 (*b*), 429 (*d*).

tunc cardinali nuntiauit. Et ipse frater Johannes domino pape et cardinalibus retulit. Et aduocatus frater thomas in concistorium. Coram domino papa et cardinalibus et prelatis sermone preclaro ista dej nostrj ammiranda opera sic bene incepta et prosequta. per fratrem Johannem de monte coruino et alios fratres. recitauit. rogans dominum papam et cardinales. ut operam darent ut hoc opus dej augeretur. et perficeretur. de .vij. fratribus episcopis

Et dominus papa clemens gaudio magno repletus cum cardinalibus de ista maxima conmutatione dextre excelsi. Auidus et sollicitus ut tam sanctum opus dei prosequeretur. ffratri Gun Saluo[1] Generali ministro fratrum minorum imposuit. ut statim cum consilio fratrum eligeret .vij. bonos fratres minores. ornatos uirtutibus. et approbatos sensu. et eruditos in scripturis diuinis. et ipsos fratres auctoritate sua. Episcopos ordinare et consecrare faceret. et illos transmitteret in tartariam. cum priuilegijs dominj pape. ut fratrem Johannem in Archiepiscopum et patriarcham. totius orientis ordinarent et consecrarent. Et [?] ipsi vij. episcopi. sicut suffraganej illi astarent. in propinquis ciuitatibus magnis. iuxta Cambaliech constituti Episcopi. vt sicut deus per sanctum ffrancisscum. latinam ecclesiam illuminauerat uerbo pariter et exemplo. et ad salutem multa milia animarum reduxerat. Jta et per discipulos eius. populos orientis infideles. et cristianos scismaticos. et herrantes. ad fidem xpistianam reduceret. et lumen fidej quod per ipsos fratres minores Jhsusxpistus in regnis tartarorum accenderat. Jta per eos continue augeretur. et conseruaretur. ne posset extinguj. Electi ergo fuerunt .vij. boni fratres. a Generali ministro. in

[1] "Hoc anno [1304] in festo Pentecostes celebratum est Assisii Capitulum Generale trigesimum quartum, præsidente Cardinale Joanne de Muro, Ordinis Vicario. Electus est in Ministrum Generalem frater Gondisalvus de Valle-bona, vulgo Balbona Gallæcus, uti aliqui volunt, Lusitanus vero Ulyssiponensis apud Willotum, provinciæ sancti Jacobi alumnus, sed provinciæ Castellæ Minister. . . ." Gondisalvus died in 1313. Cf. *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi, pp. 39, 200.

episcopos. Scilicet. duo. de prouincia sancti ffrancissci. que est capud ordinis. ffrater Andreas lector. de perusio. et ffrater peregrinus de castello. [fol. 172 v°] ffrater Nicholaus de apulia. minister olim prouincie sancti ffrancissci. ffrater Guilielmus de ffranchya. et alij. tres fratres episcopi. de alijs prouincijs ordinis. Et cum priuilegijs domini pape Misit illos Generalis minister in tartariam interiorem et in yndiam. ad fratrem Johannem. exemplar priuilegij ad fratrem Johannem. epistola clementis. pape ad fratrem Johannem.

X. Clemens Episcopus. Seruus seruorum dej. Dilecto ffilio in χρisto. ffratrj Johanni de monte coruino ordinis fratrum minorum per nos in Archiepiscopum Cambaliensem electo et constituto. salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. etcetera. (Rex regum, salvator noster Iesus Christus, inter alia caritatis opera, quae hominibus laborantibus in hac valle miseriae magis necessaria et in conspectu divinae maiestatis plus accepta fore noscuntur, evangelicae praedicationis officium, in quo fratres tui ordinis habent incumbere assidue ut solliciti pastoribus ecclesiae adiutores, maioris priuilegii uoluit praerogativa praeferri. Propterea, ut sermo Domini dignis progressibus provehatur, oportet viros spirituales, vitae munditiam et intelligentiae gratiam cum Iohanne sortitos, qui populis et gentibus, linguis regibusque multis Christum Dominum praedicent, praesertim in partibus illis, ubi negotium catholicae fidei patrocinium salutaris propagationis implorat, in partem huiusmodi pastoralis sollicitudinis deputari.)[1] infra. Sequitur.

Sane nuper ad notitiam nostram. et dicte sedis apostolice fide digna relatione peruenit. Quod tu olim zelo orthodoxe fidej xpistiane accensus et caritate. de mandato sedis eiusdem ex premisso consensu ac ordinis tuj et Generalis ministri licentia spetiali. vt lucrj faceres animas infidelium

[1] This passage enclosed in brackets and similar passages below are taken from Sbaralea (Eubel), *Bullarium Franciscanum*, tom. v, 1898, p. 37, etc.

deo uiuo. ad ipsas infidelium orientalium partium te personaliter transtulisti. Et in terris dominij tartarorum quam plures infidelium per lauacrum sacri batismatis ad ueram fidem xpisti fauente tibi spiritus sancti gratia redusisti fideliter et attente. etcetera que sequntur. ([Considerantes igitur attentius clara huius sanctae operationis studia te in dictis partibus existentem de fratrum nostrorum consensu et apostolicae plenitudine potestatis in civitate Cambalien., magna utique et honorabili regni magnifici principis magni regis Tartarorum in archiepiscopum assumimus et praeficimus in pastorem, curam et sollicitudinem animarum omnium existentium in toto dominio Tartarorum tibi plenariam committentes tibique exercendi omnia, quae ad jura archiepiscopalia spectare noscuntur, prout permittunt canonicae sanctiones eadem auctoritate concedentes plenam et liberam potestatem. Dat. Pictavis, x kalendas augusti, anno secundo.])[1] Concedit dominus papa clemens fratrj Johannj in hoc priuilegio. ut ipse factus archiepiscopus. Episcopos instituere et consecrare possid et sacerdotes et clericos in ciuitatibus et prouintijs orientalibus. et omnem [?] auctoritatem suam concedit sibj. ut sicut dominus papa. in occidentali et latina ecclesia presidet summus pontifex super omnes episcopos et prelatos. beati Petri vicarius. Jta et frater Johannes summus Archiepiscopus presideat super omnès episcopos et prelatos in partibus illis. hoc pacto et titulo. ut semper se subditum romano pontifici confiteatur. et ab eo usum pallij recongnosscat. tam ipse frater Johannes. quam omnes Archiepiscopi Cambalienses futuri per secula. romane ecclesie subiaceant in his pactis. Commendat etiam dominus papa fratrem Johannem quod ecclesias construxerit. et picturas noui et ueteris testamenti in eis depingi fecerit. in testimonium mirabilium operum dej nostrj. ut rudes populi qui nunquam ista audierunt. nec sciuerunt. per picturas ipsas. disscant deum

[1] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, tom. v, pp. 37, 38.

intelligere [172 v°, col. 2] et ammiranda opera eius. Et ut frater Johannes Archiepiscopus. et alij fratres in hoc opere diuino melius prosperarentur. dominus papa clemens ad dominum Chaan misit epistolam honorificam in hac data.[1] . . . [fol. 173 r°] . . .

XI. Illi uero septem fratres Episcopi. et alij fratres cum eis quam plurimj diuino repleti spiritu pronpti ad obediendum pro nomine domini nostri Jhsuxpisti. licentia et benedictione accepta profecti sunt. predicando ubique. domino cooperante. fructum plurimum fatiendo animarum. de fratribus minoribus uisitantibus captiuos. . .

XII. (86. *Dilecto filio fratri Andreae de Perusio ord. fratrum Minorum per nos assumpto in episcopum archiepiscopalis sedis Cambalien. in dominio Tartarorum.*

Rex regum *etc. m. m. ut supra n.* 85 [p. 559] *usque* potestatem.[2] Ut autem in eisdem partibus incrementum

[1] Here follow in the MS. letters ad regem tartarorum, occupying the greater part of fol. 172 v°, col. 2, and epistola domini clementis. pape. fratribus minoribus euntibus in tartariam ad predicandum fidem xpisti. occupying the first twenty-two lines of fol. 173 r°, col. 1.

[2] Raynaldus (*Ann. Eccles.*, tom. xv, p. 26, an. 1307. n. 29) begins this letter thus: *Clemens etc. Dilecto filio fratri Andreæ de Perusio Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, per nos assumpto in Episcopum suffraganeum archiepiscopalis sedis Cambaliensis in dominio Tartarorum.*

Nuper considerantes attentius clara sanctæ operationis studia, quæ dilectus filius frater Joannes de Monte Corvino in Archiepiscopum Cambaliensem per nos assumptus in partibus Tartarorum, secum Domino faciente virtutem, operatus est hactenus, ac in partibus ipsis existens assiduè operatur, ipsum fratrem Joannem Ordinis fratrum Minorum professum, & in dictis partibus existentem de fratrum nostrorum consilio & Apostolicæ plenitudine potestatis in civitate Cambaliensi, magna utiq ; & honorabili regni magnifici principis magni Regis Tartarorum in Archiepiscopum assumpsimus & præfecimus in pastorem, curam & solicitudinem animarum omnium existentium in toto dominio Tartarorum sibi plenariam committentes ; eiq ; exercendi omnia, quæ ad jura archiepiscopalia spectare noscuntur, prout permittunt canonicæ sanctiones, eadem auctoritate plenam & liberam potestatem. Ut autem . . .

Wadding (*Ann. Min.*, tom. vi, p. 86) mentions the letter *Nuper considerantes etc.* addressed to Andrew on July 23, but does not give the text. It is evidently from this letter that Eubel restored the lost letter to John (p. 560 above). Mosheim (*Hist. Tart. Eccles.*, p. 123)

salutis animarum perfectius provenire valeat et fides catholica semper de bono in melius per evangelicae praedicationis doctrinam auctore Domino prosperetur, nos (summi regis magisterio eruditi, qui inclinata coelorum altitudine, ut hominem redimeret, factus homo, discipulos, quos elegit, in universum mundum misit evangelium praedicare) cupientes viros providos et discretos, scientes ad salutem populos incredulos erudire, in partem hujusmodi sollicitudinis evocare, qui rectas faciant semitas Dei nostri et populum acceptabilem ei reddant, te sufficienter in lege Domini eruditum, vita et religione conspicuum, morum honestate decorum ac multarum virtutum titulis commendatum, de fratrum nostrorum consilio et apostolicae potestatis plenitudine in adiutorium commissae dicto fratri Ioanni sollicitudinis pro maiori animarum salute specialiter deputamus ac in dicto dominio in episcopum assumimus et praeficimus in pastorem, mandantes auctoritate praesentium venerabili fratri Ioanni Portuensi [1] et dilectis filiis nostris Ioanni tituli Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri presbytero ac Lucae sanctae Mariae in via lata diacono cardinalibus, ut tibi auctoritate nostra faciant munus consecrationis impendi, et constituentes te suffraganeum archiepiscopi supradicti, tibi nihilominus et successoribus tuis episcopis in eodem dominio succedentes, ut omnibus et singulis gratiis et concessionibus, quas nuper per litteras nostras fratribus dicti ordinis in terras Saracenorum, Paganorum et aliorum infidelium proficiscentibus auctoritate apostolica duximus indulgendas, auctoritate nostra libere uti possis. Volumus itaque ac tibi in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum, quatenus, huiusmodi commissum tibi pastorale officium in Dei et nostro nomine devote

gives a similar letter, beginning *Considerantes olim*, addressed to William of Villa-nova, and (on p. 126) a letter beginning "Rex regum" (cf. p. 559 above) addressed to Peter of Florence. It seems to be impossible to say exactly how the text of these various letters stands in the Vatican Registers without access to the Registers themselves.

[1] i.e. Ioannes de Muro ; cf. p. 557, n. 3.

suscipiens, cum divinae benedictionis gratia ad partes easdem te personaliter transferas, propositurus ibi verbum divinum, prout Spiritus sancti gratia dabit tibi, ac de nostro et apostolicae sedis favore plene confisus dictum officium sic solerter et sollicite secundum datam tibi a Deo prudentiam exequi studeas, ut fructum afferas et fructus tuus manens in prolem filiorum adoptionis excrescat, et sponsa Christi ecclesia, de sua foecunditate in Christo sponso suo congaudiens, fidelem et utilem ministrum se destinasse laetetur, et dictarum partium populi salutis et quietis angelum suscepisse in Domino glorientur, tuque proin nihilominus ipsius ecclesiae gratiam et divinae retributionis gloriam uberius merearis. Datum Pictavis, X kalendas augusti, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

*In e. m. dilecto filio Nicolao de Bantia eiusdem ordinis.*

*In e. m. dil. fil. fr. Gerardo Albuini eiusdem ordinis.*

*In e. m. dil. fil. fr. Ulrico de Soyfridstorf eiusdem ordinis.*

*In e. m. dil. fil. fr. Peregrino de Castello eiusdem ordinis.*

*In e. m. dil. fil. fr. Guilelmo de Villanova eiusdem ordinis.*

87. *Dilectis filiis Gerardo Albuini, Ulrico de Seyfridsdorf [Seistdstorf], Guilelmo de Villanova, Nicolao de Bantia [Bontra], Andreae de Perusio et Peregrino de Castello, ord. fratrum Minorum, per nos assumptis in episcopos suffraganeos archiepiscopalis sedis Cambalien. dominii Tartarorum.*

Nuper considerantes *etc.* Dat. Pictavis, X kal. augusti, anno secundo.

88. *Dilecto filio fratri Iohanni de Montecorvino de ord. fratrum Minorum per nos in archiepiscopum Cambalien. assumpto.*

Pridem considerantes *etc.* Dat. Pictavis, X kal. augusti, anno secundo.)[1]

[1] *Bull. Franc.*, tom. v, pp. 38, 39.

[fol. 186 r°, col. 2.]

XIII. Et quia vir Religiosus et venerabilis. ffrater Johannes de ordine minorum primus in Regno Kathay. et in campaliech ciuitate magna seminauit uerbum dej. et fundauid ecclesias. et plusquam .x. milia tartarorum conuertit ad xpistum et batticzauid. Ad quem Clemens. papa .v. plures fratres consecratos in episcopos. trasmisit et pallium pontificale: pro se et omnibus successoribus sujs.

Vnus uero de illis fratribus episcopis. post annos plurimos tales remisit epistolas. que sub breuitate inferius describuntur. ita continentes.

XIV. FRater Andreas. de perusio. de ordine minorum fratrum. Diuina permissione vocatus Episcopus. Reuerendo Patri. ffratrj .+. Guardiano perusini conuentus salutem et pacem in domino sempiternam. et infra. Sequitur.

Nam propter immensam terrarum mariumque distantiam inter me et vos interiectam uix sperare possum quod littere ad uos per me transmisse ad manus uestras ualeant peruenire. et infra subsequitur. Noueritis me itaque cum bone memorie fratre peregrino Coepiscopo et mee peregrinationis indiuiduo comite post multos labores et langores inedias uariaque incomoda atque pericula in terra pariter et in mari ubj fuimus rebus omnibus et etiam tunicis et habitibus spoliati. Demum deo Juuante ad Cambaliensem ciuitatem que sedes est imperij magni Chanis anno dominice. incarnationis. Millesimo. ccc°. xviij.[1] ut credo peruenisse. vbj secundum mandatum a Sede Apostolica nobis datum. Archiepiscopo consecrato moram ibj per quinquennium ferme contraximus. Jnfra quod temporis

[1] This date is manifestly wrong, but whether Wadding's MCCCVIII is the right correction is very doubtful. MCCCXIII is perhaps more plausible, as Andrew says that he spent five years in Khanbalig and went to Zaitun four years before 1322.

spatium procurauimus. Alapha :[1] ab Jmperatore magnifico pro uictu et vestitu octo personarum. Est autem alafa impense quas imperator quas imperator tribuit nuntijs magnatorum. oratoribus. bellatoribus. et diuersorum artium artificibus. et Joculatoribus pauperibus. et diuersis diuersarum conditionum personis. que impense plurium latinorum Regum introitus expensas que transscendunt. De diuitijs magnificentia et gloria huius magnj Jmperatoris. de vastitate Jmperij. multitudine populorum. numerositate Ciuitatum et magnitudine earundem. et de ordinatione Jmperij in quo nemo aduersus alium ausus est leuare gladium. transeo. quia longum foret [fol. 186 v°] scribere et audientibus incredibilia uiderentur. Nam ego ipse qui presens sum talia audio quod uix ipsa credere possum. etcetera. Sequitur. infra. Est quedam magna ciuitas iuxta mare Occeanum que uocatur lingua persica Zayton[2] in qua ciuitate vna diues domina Armena Ecclesiam erexit pulcram satis et grandem. quam quidem de ipsius uoluntate per Archiepiscopum cathedralem effectam cum conpetentibus dotibus. ffratri Gerardo Episcopo et fratribus nostris qui cum eo erant donauit in uita et in morte reliquid. qui primus eandem cathedram suscepit. Mortuo autem dicto Episcopo injbj que sepulto uoluid Archiepiscopus in eadem ecclesia me facere successorem. Set ego huius modi locationi et sucessioni me non

[1] This is one of many indications in this letter of the many foreigners and of the prevalence of foreign languages in China under the Mongol rule. Colonel Yule (*Cathay*, vol. i, p. 222) says that Quatremère (*Rashideddin*, p. 371) points out that Rashid ed-Din uses *'alafah* to signify (1) the allowance made by the prince for the keep of animals such as elephants, and (2) an allowance for the entertainment of ambassadors and other like personages. Yule himself compares the Arabic *'alaf*, fodder, and *'uluf*, a soldier's wages, a stipend or provision.

[2] The identity of Zaitun is much disputed, but the weight of evidence appears to be in favour of it being 泉州 Ch'üan-chou in Fukien. Among other evidence which has been neglected is the discovery at or near Ch'üan-chou in 1619 and 1638 of three stones carved with crosses. In the date below (p. 567) "in Zaito in Zayton" is perhaps a copyist's error.

prebente assensum ipsam contulit fratri Peregrino Episcopo memorato qui illuc habita opportunitate se contulit. et posquam paucis annis rexid eandem. anno dominj m°. ccc. xxij°. in crastino octaue Apostolorum Petri et pauli diem clausid extremum. Ante cuius decessum per quattuor fere annos ego qum in Cambaliech non eram consolatus ex aliquibus causis. procurauj quod dictum Alafa elymosina imperialis mihi daretur in prefata ciuitate Zayton. que distat a Cambaliech itinere mensium fere trium ut dixi sollicite procurauj. Et cum octo equitaturis ab imperatore mihi concessis ad eandem ciuitatem cum magno honore perrexi et applicuj adhuc fratre Peregrino prefato uiuente. Et in quodam nemore proximo ciuitati ad quartam partem vnjus miliarij Ecclesiam conuenientem et pulcram hedificari feci cum omnibus officinis sufficientibus. pro .xx. fratribus. et cum .iiij. cameris quarum quelibet esset pro quocumque prelato sufficiens. Jn quo quidem loco moram traho continuam et uiuo de elymosina regia memorata. que iuxta mercatorum Januensium extimationem ascendere potest annuatim ad ualorem . C . florenorum aureorum uel circa. et de hac elomosina magnam partem in hedificatione loci predicti expendi. cuj similem in hermitorijs in tota nostra prouincia nullum scio quo ad pulcritudinem et omnem conmoditatem.

Denique non longo elapso tempore post obitum [186 v°, col. 2] fratris peregrinj recepi decretum Archiepiscopi de locatione mea in memorata ecclesia Cathedrali. cuj locationi assensum prebuj causa rationabili suadente. et nunc in loco uel ecclesia ciuitatis nunc in hermitorio moram facio iuxta mee libitum uoluntatis. et sum sano corpore et quantum longeuitas uite patitur vigorosus et agilis. nichil quidem preter Canitiem habens de defectibus naturalibus et proprietatibus senectutis. Sane in isto vasto Jpperio sunt gentes de omni natione que sub celo est et de omni septa. Et conceditur omnibus et singulis uiuere secundum septam suam. Est enim hec opinio

apud eos seu potius error. quod unus quisque in sua septa saluatur. Et nos predicare possumus libere et secure. Set de iudeis et sarracenis nemo conuertitur. De ydolatris batticzantur quam plurimj. Set battizatj non recte incedunt per uiam xpistianitatis. de sanctis fratribus.

Quattuor nostri fratres martiriczati fuerunt in yndia a sarracenis. quorum unus bis in ignem copiosum iniectus illesus euasid. Et tamen ad tam stupendum miraculum nullus est a sua perfidia permutatus. hec omnia supradicta sub breuitate uestre paternitati destinare curauj. ut per uos ad aliorum notitiam deuoluantur. ffratribus spiritualibus et amicis meis precipuis non scribo quia qui decesserint et supersint ignoro. vnde rogo quod me habeant excusatum. omnes saluto me que omnibus reconmendo intime quantum possum. Et vos pater Guardiane reconmendetis me Ministro et custodi perusino. et alijs fratribus uniuersis.

Omnes episcopi suffraganej facti per dominum papam clementem Kambaliensis sedis migrauerunt in pace ad dominum. Ego solus remansi. ffrater Nicholaus de Banthra et frater Andrutius de Asisio et unus alius episcopus mortuj fuerunt in ingressu yndie inferioris in terra quadam calidissima ubj et plures alij fratres mortuj sunt et sepulti. valeat in domino uestra paternitas nunc et semper. Data in Zaito in Zayton anno dominj. m°. ccc°. xxvj°. in mense Januarij.

Finally we give the full text of a passage from the Chronicle of John of Winterthur to which Colonel Yule only alludes (*Cathay*, vol. i, p. 173) without translating or quoting it. The passage has many points of interest. First it contains probably a reference to the German Brother Arnold (cf. p. 547), John of Monte Corvino's earliest companion at Khanbalig. Then it gives a summary of what is beyond doubt a letter (No. VI, above) of John (although it ascribes the authorship to the German), in which the following points are to be noticed. It is

interesting to find the author at that date drawing attention to the bearing of the letter on the question of the extent of St. Thomas' travels in Asia (cf. p. 547, n. 1). Secondly we notice that the correct number of John's foundlings, forty, is preserved as against all the printed texts of the letter itself. The confusion between King George and Prester John is carried a step further by the statement that John of Monte Corvino had converted Prester John; but perhaps the writer had read Marco Polo, who says "Et de ceste provence en est rois un dou legnages au Prestre Johan, *et encore est Prestre Johan*, son nom est Giorgie." (*Recueil de voyages*, tom. i, p. 74). Then, again, the destination of the letter, though we can gather it from the second letter (cf. p. 552), is plainly told us. It was "directed to his General of the Northern Vicariate". Pascal of Vittoria, whose letter of 1338 is translated by Colonel Yule (*Cathay*, vol. i, pp. 231–7), speaks of "Gazaria in the Vicariat of the North, and in the empire of the Tartars", and again of "Sarray, a city of the Saracens of the Tartar empire, in the Vicariat of the North." Lastly we seem to have some fragments of the original letter preserved for us which would otherwise be lost, for the statement that John used to be summoned to appear before the Khan, taking with him four or six or eight of his choristers, cannot be explained as a summary or even as a vague recollection of any part of either of John's letters as they now exist.

The passage is as follows:—

XV. Paucis annis evolutis ante prædicta [i.e., very vaguely, A.D. 1330], quidam frater ordinis Sancti Francisci, oriundus de partibus inferioris Alemaniæ peregre profectus ad partes infidelium, ad evangelizandum eis Christum, cujus epistolam ab eo directam suo generali de vicaria aquilonari legi, latam & diffusam, laudabiliter ibi gessit, fructum animarum pinguem faciendo. Nam, ut ex epistola sua elicui & excerpsi, multam gentem in imperio Canis

Magni Tartarorum Imperatoris, fonte baptismatis & verbo salutifero prædicationis ad fidem Christi convertit: immo maximum fructum animarum fecisset, si Nestoriani hæretici sive falsi Christiani illic multiplicati, ipsi non obstitissent. Nam illi felicibus eorum actibus invidentes, ipsi pro viribus adversabantur. Interdum aliquos per calumnias, detractiones falsas, adulationes de majoribus natu illius terræ contra eum concitabant, flagellationes, incarcerationes, & varias castigationes apud potentes per plures dies & annos procurabant ei nefarie fieri: quæ omnia patienter pro Christo sustinuit. Quandoque Canis Magnus, quia eum intime dilexerat, percipiens eum innocenter pœnis adstrictum, turris vel arctæ custodiæ mancipatum, clementer eripuit ipsum a captivitate, & a cunctis tribulationibus suis, libertati eum restituendo, pœnas graves eis minando, qui eum de cætero verbis vel factis læderent. Aliquot annis in plagis orientalibus & aquilonaribus degens, postquam ipsas intraverat, forte VIII. vel IX. Tam perfecte idioma terræ illius vel gentis didicerat, quod potenter & audacter in eo seminare poterat verbum Dei. Tantum etiam prædicationibus suis in populo fructificavit & profecit, homines ad Christi fidem trahendo, quod frequenter infra spatium unius mensis vel hebdomadæ multa millia hominum ad ejus baptismum convolarunt, in locis ubi prædicaverat, ut fatetur in epistola. Ante nunquam Evangelium Christi fuerat prædicatum: quanquam enim de beato Thoma legatur, quod per eum India, quæ sibi in sorte prædicationis advenerat, in magna parte, & per duos pueros Romanos tempore Silvestri Papae, & Constantini Imperatoris Romani, ut legitur in Ecclesiastica hystoria, in Christum crediderint; tamen juxta verbum suum ad loca, ubi ipse evangelizavit Christum, nullus Katholicus ante ipsum fundamenta, vel saltem lapidem primarium fidei orthodoxæ qui poneret, venit. Nulla insitio, immo nec plantula fidei Apostolicæ ante eum illic pullulavit: sed ipse primus

large ibi semen Christianæ serens doctrinæ in terram bonam, vomere prædicationis & conpunctionis scissam, uberem messem credentium sive ad Christum conversorum messuit; diligens enim et indefessus quia fuerat operarius in vinea Christi & in agro Dominico, manipulos non paucorum conversorum, sed plurimorum millium reportavit. Presbiterum & Johannem, Regem opulentum & potentem, de quo plura hyperbolice in uno libello apud nos leguntur, ad Christum & per eum totam suam gentem convertit. Sed heu post mortem suam disciplinæ Christianæ perniciosam ad vomitum paganismi compulsa rediit, per successorem suum ydolatram pessimum & tyrannum; quos revocare oves errantes & perditas ad caulas seu ovile fidei, frater memoratus non prævaluit, quia nimis ab illo regno elongatus, degens in ditione Canis Magni, Domini dominantium ultra XX. vel XXX. dietas fuit. Hic sæpe dictus frater XL. pueros terrigenos emit, litterasque Latinas & Gramaticam eos docuit: tandem vero post lactis & pulmenti pueris congruam refectionem ipsis ministratam, solidum cibum ipsis præbuit, eos in Musica & in Sacra pagina inbuendo, horas quoque canonicas & cantum adeo perfecte didicerunt, quod eas alternatim in choro psallere egregie noverunt; Quidam etiam eorum ingeniosi, & vociferati præ aliis existentes chorum gloriose rexerunt. In cantu ipsorum Canis magnus summe delectabatur: unde prædictus frater ipsorum magister & instructor frequenter vocatus ab ipso fuit, ut assumptis secum IIII. vel VI. solatium sibi per cantum ipsorum faceret, qui sibi libenti animo obtemperans, & in hoc satisfacere & complacere affectans, alternatim ex pueris præfatis IIII. VI. vel VIII. secum assumptis coram Cane Magno & suis Satrapis in aula regia comparens pluries, per svavem melodyam ipsorum sibi gaudium & lætitiam non modicam impendebat, eum cum suis taliter intime demulcendo, & mirabiliter recreando. Hanc ob causam frater ille, & propter vitæ suæ simplicem puritatem, &

sanctam laudabilemque conversationem, tantam gratiam invenit, quod eum propitium patronum, protectorem, & quasi præcipuum & singularem amicum in cunctis suis necessitatibus gratiosissime sentiebat, in oculis Principis sæpe dicti.[1]

## English Versions of the above Latin Texts

I. To Kubilai the great Khan, famous Prince of the Tartars, grace in the present time to lead to glory in the future.

We rejoice in the Lord, noble Prince, and give Him devout and abundant thanks that He, in whose hand are the hearts of the Princes of the Earth, preventing you, as we have heard with joy, with gentle piety by the gift of His grace, has filled your inmost heart with such feelings that the desire of your mind is directed towards the enlarging of the boundaries of Christianity. For shortly after the beginning of our promotion we received in audience trustworthy messengers who had been sent by the Magnificent Prince Arghun, famous King of the Tartars, who told us very plainly that your Magnificence bears a feeling of great love towards our person and the Roman Church and also towards the nation or people of the Latins. And the said messengers earnestly begged on behalf of the king that we would send some Latin monks to your court. But we, when we heard such pleasing and acceptable reports of so great and so sublime a Prince, rejoiced exceedingly in the Lord, sincerely desiring the increase of your health and the glory of your name, and humbly beseeching the Father of Lights, from whom is every good gift and every perfect gift, that He will

[1] *Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi* etc., a Jo. Georgio Eccardo, Leipsic, 1723; No. XXIV (beginning at col. 1734). Johannis Vitodurani Chronicon a Friderico II. Imp. ad an. 1348. procedens, cols. 1895–7. John of Winterthur was a Minor Friar and his *Chronicle* seems to be in a fourteenth century MS. at St. Gall.

lighten your heart, ever proceeding from good to better, with the gift of His inspiration, and will sprinkle you with the dew of His grace to the praise and honour of His glorious Name. Wishing, therefore, to fulfil the King's desires in this respect, and greatly longing that you may readily consent, and be prepared, and very eagerly agree to accept the Christian faith which the aforesaid Church holds and preserves, since without His help accompanying no one is able to please the Most High: Lo, we have chosen our beloved son Brother John of Monte Corvino, with his fellows of the Order of the Minors, the bearer of the present letter, to be sent to you, earnestly praying you to receive him and his aforesaid companions with kindness (to whose teaching we desire that you may cleave close, since it tells of things meet for salvation), and to grant them the help of your Royal favour for the healthful work committed to them, which has in view the salvation of souls, that trusting in that protection they may be able to conduct themselves with more advantage and effect in the same, and that you may win from the Lord, who repays the least service with great rewards, the prize of eternal blessedness.

Dated at Rieti the third day before the Ides of July in our second year (July 13, 1289).[1]

II. To the Noble Jolus of Pisa.

We rejoice in the Lord because, according to trustworthy report, you make laudable and wise efforts to extend the boundaries of the Christian faith by diligently bringing those who are not yet lightened with its light to the knowledge of the faith; and that to all the clergy who pass through the land you grant in reverence for Jesus Christ help and kindness, showing yourself no less their chief and special protector. Wherefore we commend

[1] *Ann. Min.*, tom. v, pp. 196, 197; *Reg. Vat.*, tom. 44, c. 55, fol. 314 r°. This is followed by a letter to Kaidu, in which again there is no hint of John or any other missionary having gone to his domains before.

the zeal of your laudable diligence all the more fully as we seek the safety of each one the more. And so we stir up your diligence and exhort you in the Lord Jesus Christ so that you increase the zeal of your carefulness about your salutary deeds of this kind and untiring work, that thence you may be rendered more pleasing and acceptable to your Saviour in proportion as more are brought by you from pathless wandering to the way of truth, and from the mists of unbelief to the clear light of the catholic faith. And we send you our benediction according to the tenor of the present letter for the remission of your sins.

Dated as above (July 13, 1289).[1]

III. To Arghun, famous King of the Tartars, grace in the present time to lead to glory in the future.

. . . . . .

Our wellbeloved son, Brother John of Monte Corvino, of the Order of the Minors, the bearer of the present letter, who has come into our presence from the Eastern Lands, has made it plain to our Apostleship by his careful accounts that you . . . bear a feeling of great love towards us and the Roman Church, and also towards other Churches of Christians. The said Brother added too that your Mightiness had been good enough to show great kindness to him and to his companions while they stayed in your country pursuing the service of Christ . . .

Moreover, most excellent prince, as in our other letter to your Royal Magnificence we thought it right to intimate to you by our venerable brother Rabban Barsauma, Bishop in the East, and certain of your envoys who were sent to us, we, who though unworthy are the Vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter the chief of the Apostles, exceedingly wish and ardently desire that those whom the water of Baptism has not washed nor the Church of the Christian faith included may altogether forsake the

[1] *Ann. Min.*, tom. v, p. 198.

pathless wanderings in which they stray with dangerous steps, and be brought back to the right way and faithfully keep the aforesaid faith. . . .

And in confidently sending back Brother John, of whom you have had a foretaste, and his companions to your country to carry on the work of salvation which they have begun, we earnestly pray that you will accept our introduction and receive them kindly in reverence for God and from respect for the Apostolic See and for us, granting them the Royal favour for the carrying on of such work . . . ; and that you will keep some of them with you continually that they may put the word of God before you and your people, and may be able to work for the salvation of souls.

Dated at Rieti on the Ides of July in our second year (July 15, 1289).[1]

IV. To the venerable brother . . . [Jabalaha], Patriarch of the Nestorians, health and Apostolic benediction.

. . . . . .

And so we exhort you, Brother, with fatherly love, as also in the Son of God the Father we persuade you with a sincere heart to observe the catholic faith which the Roman Church holds and keeps inviolate as it is handed down, and to remove every obstacle and delay and break the bands of difficulty and to hasten . . . to be united with the same church ; and so shall you win the prize of a greater recompense from the Lord as you shall provoke the more to it (i.e. to union) by your laudable example ; for subjects are wont to be easily drawn to follow the example of what they see done by those set over them.

For we hope and most confidently think that you will gladly and thoroughly fulfil what we set before you, by diligently and carefully persuading the people who are subject to you to it, since our beloved son, Brother

[1] *Ann. Min.*, tom. v, pp. 195, 196 ; *Reg. Vat.*, tom. 44, c. 54, fol. 313 r°.

John of Monte Corvino, of the Order of the Minor Friars, the bearer of this letter, has thought good to tell us, concerning your zeal, many good and laudable works, of which we have heard with joy. Accept then with reverence the sincere exhortation and devoutly receive the salutary persuasion of the Vicar of Christ, that you may study so laudably to behave yourself to the honour and glory of the Creator of all things as to render yourself by increase of merit more pleasing in His sight. Moreover, we urge you to accept our special introduction for the same Brother and his companions, and to treat them with kindness and favour, that, fortified with such and so great protection, they may be able to conduct themselves in their ministry more profitably and conveniently, and more effectually to carry on the work of Jesus Christ to the praise of the Divine Name. . . .

Dated at Rieti on the Ides of July in the second year (July 15, 1289).[1]

MS. Latin 5006.

V. Concerning the foundation and planting of a new Church in Tartary.

In the time, likewise, of this Pope Clement happy news and good tidings from Inner India and the kingdoms of the East came in the parts of the West and into Italy, and filled the hearts of the Latins, and the hearts of the Minor and Preaching Friars, clergy and lay, of the Princes and Bishops with joy and wonder.

For Brother John of Monte Corvino, of the Order of Minor Friars, a devout imitator of the blessed Francis, stern and severe to himself, and eloquent in teaching and preaching the word of God; supported with great

[1] Chabot, *Hist. de Mar Jabalaha*, pp. 218, 219; *Reg. Vat.*, tom. 44, c. 48, fol. 312 r°. Chabot copies the text from Langlois, col. 391, No. 2218. Jabalaha III, Patriarch from 1281 to 1317, was a Uigur born in 1245 at Koshang in China. He travelled to the West with his master Bar Sauma (or Rabban Sauma), a native of Khanbalig, about the year 1275. Bar Sauma was sent by Arghun on an embassy to the Pope, the Kings of France and England, and other European potentates in 1287.

authority and gracious privileges by lord Pope Nicholas IV, set out on his journey to preach to the infidels and entered the kingdom of the Persians. And after he had sojourned some time in the vast city of Tauris with the Minor and Preaching Friars, who were dwelling there in one place preaching the faith of Christ to the heathen and baptizing, Brother John himself stayed with them for many days. Thence he made his way into India. And his journey and holy work are described in this his letter, which is as follows.

The letter of Brother John, the legate of the Pope.

VI. I, brother John of Monte Corvino, of the Order of the Minor Friars, departed from Tauris, a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord MCCLXXXXI, and entered into India; and I was in the country of India, and in the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and I baptized there in different places about a hundred persons. And the companion of my journey was Brother Nicholas of Pistoia, of the Order of the Preaching Brothers, who died there and was buried in the same Church. And I, proceeding on my further journey, made my way to Cathay, the realm of the Emperor of the Tartars, who is called the Great Khan. To the Emperor I presented the letter of the lord Pope, and invited him to adopt the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; but he had grown too old in idolatry. However, he bestows many kindnesses upon the Christians, and I have now been abiding with him for eleven years. The Nestorians indeed, men who bear the Christian name but deviate very far from the Christian religion, have grown so powerful in these parts that they have not allowed any Christian of another ritual to have ever so small a chapel, or to publish any other doctrine than the Nestorian. For to these regions there never came any Apostle or disciple of the Apostles. And so the Nestorians aforesaid, both directly and through others whom they bribed, have brought on me persecutions

of the sharpest; declaring that I was not sent by the lord Pope, but was a spy and magician and impostor; and after some while they produced other false witnesses who said that another messenger had been sent with presents of immense value to the Emperor, and that I had murdered him in India and stolen what he was carrying. And these intrigues went on for about five years, so that many a time I was dragged before the judgement seat with the ignominy [of threats] of death. At last, by God's providence, through the confession of certain individuals, the Emperor came to know my innocence and the malice of my rivals, and sent them with their wives and children into exile.

I, indeed, was alone in this pilgrimage without confession for eleven years, until Brother Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne, came to me last year. I have built a Church in the city of Khanbalig, where the king has his chief residence. And this I completed six years ago; and I also made a bell-tower there, and put three bells in it. I have also baptized there, as I reckon, up to this time about six thousand persons; and, if the above-named slanders had not been made, I should have baptized more than thirty thousand; and I am often engaged in baptizing. Also I have bought one after another forty boys, the sons of pagans, of the age of between[1] seven and eleven years, who so far knew no religion. And I have baptized them and taught them to read Latin, and our ritual; and I have written for them thirty Psalters with Hymnaries and two Breviaries, with which eleven boys now know our office and attend services and take their weekly turn of duty as in a convent, whether I am present or not.[2] And

[1] *Infra* here and below is perhaps meant for *intra*, *t* and *f* being sometimes confused.

[2] The following notes are kindly supplied by Canon Christopher Wordsworth:—

"In a Minorite Breviary printed at Rome in 1829 *Hebdomadarius* and *Chorus* correspond (roughly speaking) to our 'Priest' or 'Minister'

several of them are writing out Psalters and other necessary books. And the lord Emperor is greatly delighted at their chanting. I strike the bells at all the hours, and with the congregation of babes and sucklings I perform divine service. But we sing by ear, because we have no service-book with the notes.

## Concerning the good king George.[1]

A certain king of that region, of the school of the Nestorian Christians, who was of the family of that great

and 'Answer' or 'the People'. The Sarum rubrics have for the former either *Hebdomadarius* or *Excellencior persona*, scilicet *Sacerdos*. But there are *boys* of the week as wells as priests, vicars, etc., of the week. *Puer hebdomadarius* occurs occasionally in the *Temporale* rubrics of the Salisbury Breviary (ed. Cantab.). e.g., col. xxi. Solus puer ebdomadarius ex parte Chori stans dicat primum versum Responsorii (post i. lectionem ad matutinas). *Chorus respondeat . . .* & in col. clxvii. *puer ebdomadarius* served the thurible or censer of the principal officiant at Christmas Evensong, when he and the priest next in seniority went out at the beginning of *Magnificat* to cense the altars round the church.

"The Sarum Custom book or Consuetudinary distinguishes the *puer ebdomadarius responsorii*, or *responsoriorum*, already mentioned, from the *puer ebdomadarius lectionis*, whose special duty it was to carry and hold the book for the priest to read the collect after *Magnificat* at Evensong.—Cf. W. H. Frere's *Use of Sarum*, i, pp. 45, 52. Presumably the Minorite boys had some weekly duties in their turn similar to those at Salisbury and elsewhere."

Of the service books mentioned only the *Psalters with Hymnals* and the *Short Lessons* need any comment.

(1) Mr. H. Littlehales says: "Psalters sometimes have hymns appended to them, as in the seventh-century MS., Brit. Mus. Vesp., A. 1.; the thirteenth-century MS., Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,888; and the printed Psalter of 1524" (*The Old Service Books of the English Church*, p. 110). And among the books at Mere in Wilts (A.D. *c.* 1220) was a new Antiphoner, so called, containing psalter, chapter-book, and hymnary.

(2) The Short Lesson is attached to the daily office of Prime in Chapter for persons living in community or under a religious rule. A set of five is printed in the Franciscan Breviary (Rome, 1829), viz. II Thess. iii, 5—after Epiphany to the 1st Sunday in Lent, and after Trinity; Isaiah xxxiii, 2—Advent; Isaiah lv, 6—1st Sunday in Lent to Palm Sunday Eve; Isaiah l, 6, 7—Holy Week; Col. iii, 1, 2—Easter to the Ascension. They are printed in the Psalter at the end of the order for Prime on Sundays. The same set is in the Roman but not, apparently, in the Sarum Breviary.

[1] This and similar headings below were probably added by the compiler of the Chronicle, or sometimes by a later hand. Cf. p. 548, n. 1.

king who was called Prester John of India, attached himself to me in the first year of my coming hither and, being converted by me to the truth of the true catholic faith, took the lesser Orders, and when I celebrated Mass he served, wearing the sacred vestments. So that the other Nestorians accused him of apostasy. Nevertheless, he brought over a great part of his people to the true catholic faith. And he built a beautiful Church on a scale of royal magnificence to the honour of our God, of the Holy Trinity, and of the lord Pope, and of my name,[1] calling it the Roman Church. And this king George departed to the Lord six years ago a true Christian, leaving a son and heir in the cradle who is now nine years old. But the brothers of king George, since they were perfidious followers of the errors of Nestorius, subverted, after the king's death, all whom he had converted, taking them back to their former schism. And because I was alone and was unable to leave the Emperor the Khan I could not go to that Church, which is twenty days journey distant. Yet if some good helpers and fellow-workers come I trust in God that all may be retrieved; for I still possess the grant of the aforesaid king George deceased.

I say again that if there had not been the aforesaid slanders great fruit would have followed. If I had had also two or three comrades to aid me, perhaps the Emperor the Khan too would have been baptized. I ask for such brethren to come, if any are willing to come, as will study to show themselves as an example, and not to make broad their own phylacteries. As for the road, I tell you that the road through the land of Toctai,[2] Emperor of the Northern Tartars, is the shorter and safer, so that they will be able to come with the envoys in less than five or six months. But the other road is very long and most

[1] The words *nomen meum*, which cannot be translated as they stand, are indistinct in the original and were omitted by Wadding. I have translated them provisionally as if they were *nominis mei*.

[2] See n. 1, p. 550.

dangerous, including two voyages, of which the first is equal to the distance between Acre and the province of Provence, while the other is equal to the distance between Acre and England; and it might happen that they would scarcely accomplish that route in two years. Because the first way has not been safe for a long time on account of wars, it is consequently twelve years since I have received any news of the Roman Court and of our Order and the state of the West. It is now two years ago that a certain Lombard physician and surgeon came and filled these parts with incredible blasphemies about the Court of Rome and our Order and the state of the West, and on this account I much desire to learn the truth.

I pray the Brothers whom this letter may reach to do their best that its contents may be able to come to the knowledge of the lord Pope and of the Cardinals and of the agent of our Order at the Court of Rome. The Minister General of our Order I beg for an Antiphonary, a Legend of the Saints, a Gradual, and a Psalter with the music for a copy, for I have nothing but a portable Breviary with the Short Lessons and a little Missal. If I have a copy, the aforesaid boys will write [out others]. Now I am in the act of building another Church, with the view of distributing the boys in more places than one. I am now old and grey, more from toil and trouble than from age, for I am fifty-eight years old. I have a competent knowledge of the Tartar language and character, which is the usual language of the Tartars; and I have now translated in that language and character the whole New Testament and the Psalter, and have had them written in their fairest character; and I understand the language and read, and preach openly and in public as it were in testimony of the law of Christ. And I was in treaty with the aforesaid king George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin office that it might be sung throughout the whole land in his dominion. And whilst

he was alive Mass used to be celebrated in his church according to the Latin ritual in that character and language —both the words of the Canon and the Prefaces. And the son of the said king is called John after my name; and I hope in God that he will walk in his father's steps. According, indeed, to what I have heard and seen I believe that no king or prince in the world can equal the lord Khan in respect of breadth of territory, multitude of people, and greatness of wealth. The end. Dated in the city of Khanbalig of the kingdom of Cathay in the year of the Lord MCCCV, on the viii day of the month of January.

VII. This letter Brother John, the legate aforesaid of the Apostolic See, sent to a certain Brother Preacher, a spiritual man who was travelling round the parts of the East preaching the faith of Christ to the heathen, by certain Venetian merchants who returned from Tartary and gave to the said Brother Preacher a tablet of the great Khan the Emperor as a pledge of truthfulness. And the Brother himself sent it on to the Minor and Preaching Brothers in several places this side of the sea. And the Brother made it known that [there were] many Preaching Brothers who had learned the Latin, Greek, and Tartar letters and speech very well, and have hastened to go to Upper Tartary bearing books and chalices and vestments. And the aforesaid Brothers began their journey and came as far as Gazaria of the Northern Tartars; but they were unable to go further on account of wars, and so they abode in the same city preaching and baptizing the heathen there until the war should cease.

A letter of Brother John, legate of the Pope in Tartary, Archbishop.[1]

VIII. To the Reverend Father in Christ . . to Brother . to Brother . Vicar of the Minister General of the Order of Minor Friars, and to the Vicar of the Brothers and

[1] Archiepiscopo should probably be Archiepiscopi.

Master of the Order of Preachers, and to the Brothers of either Order dwelling in the province of the Persians, brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Friars, an unprofitable servant of Christ, preacher of the holy Christian faith, legate and envoy of the Apostolic See of Rome; health and love in Him who is true love and the health of all. The requirements of love demand that those who are separated far and widely, and especially those who travel for the law of Christ, when they cannot see one another with unveiled face, shall at least comfort each other by words and letters. I have thought that you may reasonably be surprised that living so many years in so distant a province you have never received a letter from me. But I have wondered no less that never until this year have I received letter or greeting from any Brother or friend, and it seems that no one has remembered me; and most of all when I heard that rumours had reached you that I was dead. But now I tell you that last year, at the beginning of January, I sent a letter in few words about my state and position to the Father Vicar and the Brothers of the province of Gazaria by the hand of a certain friend of ours who was in the retinue of lord Toctai[1] Khan, who came to the lord Khan of Cathay. In which letter I asked the same Vicar that they would send on copies of it to you. And now [it has been told] me by good persons who have now come with the envoys of the aforesaid lord Toctai to the lord Khan of Cathay, that my letter reached you and that that same messenger who carried my letter came to Tauris afterwards from the city of Sarai. And so I do not think I will mention the facts contained in that letter or repeat what I wrote. And the first thing is about the persecution of the Nestorians. The second about the Church and the completion of the houses. I have had six pictures made of the Old and New Testament for the

[1] See n. 1, p. 550.

instruction of the ignorant; and [the explanations] are written in Latin, Tarsic, and Persian letters so that all tongues may be able to read. The third thing is that some of the boys whom I bought and baptized have departed to the Lord. The fourth is that from the time in which I have been in Tartary in Cathay I have baptized several thousands. In this year of the Lord MCCCV, moreover, I began another new place before the gate of the lord Khan, and between the palace and our place there is but the street, distant a stone's throw from the door of the lord Khan.

Master Peter of Lucalongo, a faithful Christian and a great merchant who was my companion from Tauris, himself bought the site for the place of which I have been speaking, and gave it to me by the love of God and the working of the Divine grace. For a more useful and suitable place for building a Catholic Church could not be had in the whole Empire of the lord Khan. I received the site in the beginning of August, and by the assistance and help of benefactors up to the feast of St. Francis[1] it was finished, with an enclosure wall and houses, complete offices, and an oratory which will hold two hundred persons. But on account of the winter I have not been able to finish the Church. But I have the timber collected at the house, and, by the mercy of God, I shall finish in the summer. I tell you it seems a sort of marvel to all who come from the city and from elsewhere, because they had not a rumour of it[2] before, and when they see the place new built and the red Cross placed aloft at the top.

And we in our oratory sing the office regularly by ear, because we have not the notes. The lord Khan can hear our voices in his chamber; and this wonderful fact is published far and wide among the heathen, and will have a great effect, as the Divine mercy shall dispose and fulfil.

[1] October 4. See n. 2, p. 553. [2] Or "hence".

From our first Church and residence to the second Church which I have since built is a distance of two miles and a half inside the city which is very great. And I have divided the boys, and placed part in the first [Church] and part I have established in the second; and they perform the service by themselves. But I, as chaplain, celebrate in either Church by weeks, for the boys are not priests.

### Concerning the great Empire of the Tartars

Concerning the regions of the Orientals, and especially concerning the Empire of the lord Khan, I give you to know that there is none greater in the world. And I have a place in his court, and a regular right of entrance, and of sitting, as legate of the lord Pope; and he honours me above all other prelates, whatever may be their titles. And although the lord Khan himself has heard many things about the Roman Court and the state of the Latins, yet he much desires to see envoys coming from those parts. In these countries there are many schools of idolaters of various creeds, and there are many monks of the different schools wearing different habits, and they are of much greater austerity and obedience than Latin monks are.

Of India I have seen the greater part, and made inquiries about other parts of India, and it would be of great profit to preach to them the faith of Christ if Brothers would come. But none should be sent except men of the most solid character, for the regions are very beautiful, full of aromatic spices and of precious stones. But they have few of our fruits. And on account of the great mildness and warmth of the air and region they go naked, covering the loins with a scanty covering. And consequently they have no need of our arts and crafts of tailors and cordwainers. There it is always summer and never winter. I baptized there about a hundred persons.

In the same letter Brother John himself says that a formal deputation came to him from Ethiopia, asking him to go thither to preach or to send good preachers, because since the time of the Blessed Matthew the Evangelist and of his disciples they had not had preachers to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and they had a great desire to attain to the true faith of Christ. And if brothers were sent there they would all be converted to Christ and become true Christians. For there are very many in the East who are called Christians and believe in Christ in name alone, but know nothing else about the Scriptures and the doctrines of the Saints, living in ignorance because they have no preachers and teachers.

Brother John also says that after the feast of All Saints he baptized four hundred persons; and as he has heard that a number of Brothers of either Order have gone to the Persians and to Gazaria, he exhorts them fervently to preach the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bring forth fruit of souls. The letter itself said it was dated in Khanbalig, a city of the kingdom of Cathay, in the year of the Lord MCCCVI, on Quinquagesima Sunday in the month of February.[1]

[1] A third letter (anonymous, but certainly by John of Monte Corvino) exists. As it does not mention China or missionary work it does not seem necessary to print it here. It is in Italian and the MS. (? of the fourteenth century) is in the Laurentian Library. The text was printed by Kunstmann in the *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 41r Band. München: Iuli bis December, 1855; Bulletins der drei Classen, München, Nr. 22. 25 Dezembers, 1855, col. 171—Allo in Christo Frate Bartolomeo . . . col. 175—Iscritta fù questa lettera in Mabar cittade della Provincia di Sizia dell'India di sopra die xx. Dicembre anno Domini MCCX. The English version will be found in Colonel Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i, pp. 209–218. The date of the letter was probably 1292 or 1293.

Other letters from John are mentioned by Sbaralea in his *Supplementum*, p. 443, as having been extracted by Wadding from the Vatican Registers. I have not yet been able to trace these in Wadding, and Mr. J. A. Twemlow kindly informs me that it is improbable that such letters would be found in the Papal Registers at Rome.

IX. Now Brother Thomas of Tolentino, who being himself too a Minor Friar and devoted preacher had already preached among the heathen for many years, returning with this letter from Tartary [and] coming into Italy, went into Gascony to the Roman Court beyond the mountains where Pope Clement was staying with the Cardinals. He brought the news of these mighty works of God first to Brother John of Muro[1] sometime Minister General of the Minor Friars and then a Cardinal. And Brother John himself reported to the lord Pope and the Cardinals. And Brother Thomas, being called into the Consistory, rehearsed in a notable speech before the Pope and the Cardinals and prelates these wonderful works of our Lord so well begun and maintained by Brother John of Monte Corvino and other Brothers, asking the lord Pope and the Cardinals to take care that this work of God might be increased and perfected.

Concerning the seven Brothers, Bishops.

And lord Pope Clement, filled with great joy, together with the Cardinals, at this vast change of the right hand of the Most High, longing and anxious that so holy a work of God should be maintained, charged Brother Gonzalvus, Minister General of the Minor Friars, that with the advice of the Brothers he should immediately choose seven good Minor Friars, men adorned with virtue, of approved good sense, and learned in the divine Scriptures, and that he should cause the Brothers to ordain and consecrate [them] Bishops[2] by his authority, and should

[1] Johannes de Muro Vallis was elected Minister General in June, 1296, made Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia in 1302, and died in 1312 or 1313. Cf. Sbaralea, *Bull. Franc.*, tom. iv, pp. 423 (*b*), 429 (*d*); *Ann. Min.*, tom. vi, p. 200. John presided at the general chapter held at Assisi at Whitsuntide, 1304, when Gondisalvus de Vallebona, a Portuguese, was elected Minister General. Gondisalvus died in 1313. Cf. *Ann. Min.*, tom. vi, pp. 39, 200.

[2] "Et ipsos fratres auctoritate sua. Episcopos ordinare et consecrare faceret." Perhaps we should read "ordinari et consecrari".

send them over into Tartary with the license of the lord Pope that they should ordain and consecrate Brother John to be Archbishop and Patriarch of the whole East; and that the seven Bishops should assist him in the neighbouring great cities, having been appointed Bishops at Khanbalig; that, as God had enlightened the Latin Church through St. Francis, by word and example alike, and had brought home to salvation many thousands of souls, so too through his disciples He might bring back to the Christian faith the infidel peoples of the East and schismatic and erring Christians, and the light of faith which Jesus Christ had kindled in the realms of the Tartars through the Minor Friars, might by them be so continually fostered and increased that it might never be put out. Seven good Brothers were therefore elected by the Minister General to be Bishops; to wit, two from the province of St. Francis which is the head of the Order, Brother Andrew, Reader, of Perugia and Brother Peregrine of Castello; Brother Nicholas of Apulia, formerly Minister of the province of St. Francis, Brother William of Franchya, and three other Brothers Bishops from other provinces of the Order. And the Minister General sent them with the licences of the lord Pope to inner Tartary and to India to Brother John.

A copy of the licence to Brother John.

The letter of Pope Clement to Brother John.

X. Clement, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to the beloved son in Christ, Brother John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Friars, chosen and appointed by us to be Archbishop of Khanbalig, health and Apostolic benediction. Etc.

(The King of kings, our Saviour Jesus Christ, wished the duty of preaching the Gospel, in which the Brothers of your Order have to labour diligently as careful helpers to the pastors of the Church, to be put forward as entitled

to a greater reward among the other works of charity which are recognized as more necessary to man labouring in this vale of misery and more acceptable in the sight of the Divine Majesty. Wherefore, in order that the word of the Lord may make worthy progress, it is right that spiritual men who have received pureness of life and the grace of wisdom with John, should be deputed for the duty of such pastoral care, to preach Christ the Lord to many peoples and nations and tongues and kings, especially in those places where the business of the catholic faith begs for the protection of the propagation of the Gospel of Salvation.)[1] Below follows: It has quite lately been brought to the notice of us and of the said Apostolic See by trustworthy report that you, fired with love and with zeal for the orthodox Christian faith, betook yourself once in person by command of the same See with the previous consent and special permission of your Order and of the Minister General to the very countries of the infidels of the East to gain for the living God the souls of the unbelievers; and that in the lands of the dominion of the Tartars you have, by the favour of the grace of the Holy Spirit, faithfully and diligently brought many of the infidels through the washing of holy baptism to the true faith of Christ. and the rest which follows. (Taking, therefore, into very careful consideration your conspicuous diligence in this holy work, we choose you, living in the said countries, by the consent of our brothers and the fullness of Apostolic power, to be Archbishop in the great and honourable city of Khanbalig, in the realm of the magnificent prince the great king of the Tartars, and appoint you chief pastor,

[1] The passage in brackets is added from Sbaralea, *Bull. Franc.* (continued by Eubel), tom. v, p. 37, No. 85. The Vatican Registers for the year 1307 appear to be lost or at least to be incomplete, and Eubel (l.c., n. 4) says: "The mutilated text of this bull has been restored from the bull which follows. Cf. *Ann. Min.*, an. 1307., Raynaldi *Ann. Eccles.* an. 1307, no. 20."

committing to you the full charge and care of all the souls living in the whole dominion of the Tartars, and granting you by the same authority full and free power to exercise all the rights which are recognized as belonging to Archbishops according as is allowed by canonical permission. Dated at Poictiers, 23 July in the second year (MCCCVII).)[1]

In this licence lord Pope Clement grants to Brother John that when he has himself been made Archbishop he may be able to appoint and consecrate Bishops and priests and clergy in the cities and provinces of the East, and grants him all his authority, that, as the lord Pope presides in the Western and Latin Church as chief Pontiff over all Bishops and Prelates, as vicar of the blessed Peter, so also may Brother John preside as Archbishop over all Bishops and Prelates in those parts, with this agreement and specification that he always confesses his subjection to the Roman Pontiff and acknowledges [that he receives] the use of the pall from him;—as well Brother John himself as all future Archbishops of Khanbalig for ever to be subject to the Roman Church on these conditions. The lord Pope also commends Brother John because he has built Churches, and has caused pictures of the New and Old Testament to be painted in them in testimony of the wonderful works of our God, that ignorant people, who have never heard of these things nor known them, may learn by these pictures to understand God and his wonderful works. And that Brother John the Archbishop and the other Brothers might prosper the more in this divine work, the lord Pope Clement sent a complimentary letter to the lord Khan on this date. . . .

XI. But they, the seven episcopal Brothers, and a very large number of other Brothers with them, filled with the Divine Spirit and ready to obey for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, set out as soon as they had received permission and benediction, preaching everywhere, the Lord working

[1] *Bull. Franc.*, tom. v, p. 37.

with them, [and] making a very great harvest of souls . . .

XII. ((86) To the beloved son Andrew of Perugia of the Order of Minor Friars, taken by us to be a Bishop of the Archiepiscopal See of Khanbalig in the dominion of the Tartars.

The King of kings, etc.[1] In order, however, that the growth of the salvation of souls in the same parts may go forward more perfectly and that the catholic faith may always progress by the help of the Lord from good to better through the teaching of the evangelical message, we (instructed by the orders of the King on high, who bowing the height of the heavens and becoming man that He might redeem man sent the disciples, whom He chose, to preach the gospel in all the world), wishing to call out men to undertake such a charge who are prudent and discreet and know how to instruct the unbelieving peoples for salvation, that they may make straight the paths of our God and render the people acceptable to Him, do specially depute you who are sufficiently learned in the law of the Lord, conspicuous for religious life, adorned with honesty of manners and commended on the score of many virtues, by the advice of our Brothers and the fulness of Apostolic power, to assist in the charge committed to the said Brother John for the greater salvation of souls, and take you to be Bishop in the said dominion and appoint you pastor, ordering by the authority of the present letter the venerable Brother John of Ostia and our beloved sons the Cardinals John, priest of the title of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter, and Luke, deacon of St. Mary in Via Lata, to grant

[1] These bulls, numbered 86, 87, 88, are taken from the *Bull. Franc.*, tom. v, pp. 38, 39. The original references are given as follows :—86 : *Registrum Vaticanum*, tom. 54, fol. 138, ep. 652 (nn. 2216–2221); 87 : id., tom. 54, fol. 108, ep. 45 de Curia (n. 2300); 88 : ibid., ep. 46 de Curia (n. 2301). The opening sentences of 86 are transferred by Eubel to the bull granted to John of Monte Corvino ; see p. 587 above.

you by our authority the gift of consecration, and appointing you suffragan of the above-named Archbishop, granting none the less to you and to the Bishops who succeed you in the same dominion that you may be able by our authority to use all and each of the gifts and concessions which we lately thought right to grant in our letter by Apostolic authority to the Brothers of the said Order who were going to the lands of the Saracens, Pagans, and other infidels. And so we wish and enjoin upon you for the remission of sins that, devoutly undertaking such pastoral office as has been committed to you in the name of God and of us, you betake yourself in person to the same parts with the grace of the Divine blessing to set forth the word of God as the grace of the Holy Spirit shall give you, and that, fully relying on the favour of us and of the Apostolic See, you so diligently and carefully take heed to carry out the said duty according to the wisdom given you by God, that you may bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remaining may grow into a race of sons of adoption, and the bride of Christ, the Church, rejoicing at her fertility in Christ her spouse, may rejoice that she has sent a faithful and useful minister, while the people of the said parts boast in the Lord that they have received an angel of salvation and peace, and that you, accordingly, may none the less merit more richly the thanks of the Church and the glory of the Divine reward.

Dated at Poictiers, July 23, in the second year of our pontificate.

To the same effect to the beloved son Nicholas of Bantia, of the same Order.

To the same effect to the beloved son Brother Gerard Albuin, of the same Order.

To the same effect to the beloved son Brother Ulrich of Seyfridsdorf,[1] of the same Order.

[1] This name seems to be Soyfridstorf in the MS. here, and Seistdstorf where it occurs below.

To the same effect to the beloved son Brother Peregrine of Castello, of the same Order.

To the same effect to the beloved son Brother William of Villanova, of the same Order.

(87) To the beloved sons Gerard Albuin, Ulrich of Seyfridsdorf, William of Villanova, Nicholas of Bantia,[1] Andrew of Perugia, and Peregrine of Castello, of the Order of Minor Friars, taken by us to be Bishops Suffragan of the Archiepiscopal See of Khanbalig of the dominion of the Tartars.

Considering lately *etc.* Dated at Poictiers, July 23, in the second year.

(88) To the beloved son Brother John of Monte Corvino, of the Order of Minor Friars, taken by us to be Archbishop of Khanbalig.

Considering long since *etc.* Dated at Poictiers, July 23, in the second year.)

XIII. And whereas the religious and venerable man Brother John, of the Order of the Minors, was the first to sow the seed of the word of God and found Churches in the realm of Cathay and in the great city of Khanbalig, and converted to Christ and baptized more than ten thousand of the Tartars, and Pope Clement V sent him the aforesaid Brothers, who were consecrated Bishops, and the pontifical pall for himself and all his successors; one indeed of those episcopal Brothers, after very many years, sent home such a letter as is transcribed in brief below, with the following contents.[2]

XIV. Brother Andrew of Perugia, of the Order of Minor Friars, by divine permission called to be bishop, to the Reverend Father Brother +, Warden of the convent at Perugia, health and peace in the Lord for ever.

[1] The MS. reads Bontra.

[2] It seems to be better to take the two short paragraphs of the original as forming in this way one sentence. Throughout the Latin text the original has been copied as exactly as possible, with no attempt to correct the many blunders, the erratic use of capital letters, or the misleading punctuation.

And below follows:

For on account of the immense distance of lands and seas intervening between me and you, I can scarcely hope that a letter sent by me to you can come to your hands. And below follows: You will have learnt then how with Brother Peregrine of blessed memory, my fellow Bishop and the inseparable companion of my travels, after much labour and weariness, hunger and various inconveniences and perils by land and by sea alike, in which we were plundered of everything and even of our tunics and cassocks, I came at last by the help of God to the city of Khanbalig, which is the seat of the rule of the great Khan, in the year, as I believe, of the Lord's incarnation MCCCXVIII. And when the Archbishop had been consecrated there according to the orders given us by the Apostolic See, we continued to abide there for about five years; during which space of time we obtained *Alafa* from the magnificent Emperor for the food and clothing of eight persons. *Alafa*, moreover, is the expenses which the Emperor grants to the messengers of magnates, to ambassadors, warriors, and the practisers of different arts, and to poor jugglers and different persons of various classes; and these expenses surpass the incomes and expenditure of several Latin kings. With regard to the wealth, magnificence, and glory of this great Emperor, the vastness of the empire, the multitude of peoples, the large number of cities and the greatness of the same, and the orderly rule of the empire, in which no one dares lift a sword against another, I pass them by, because it would be long to write and the things would seem incredible to those who heard. For I myself who am on the spot hear such things that I am scarcely able to believe them. etc. Below follows: There is a certain great city near the Ocean sea which is called in the Persian tongue Zaitun,[1] in which city a wealthy Armenian lady built

[1] 泉州 Ch'üan-chou in Fukien; cf. p. 565, n. 2.

a large and sufficiently beautiful Church, which indeed, after it had been made a cathedral by the Archbishop, she gave of her own free will while she was living and left at her death, with adequate endowment, to Brother Gerard the Bishop and our Brothers who were with him. And he was the first to occupy that see. But when the said Bishop was dead and buried there, the Archbishop wished to make me the successor in the same Church. But I when I did not give my assent to such an appointment and succession, he conferred it on Bishop Brother Peregrine aforesaid, who, as soon as he found an opportunity, proceeded thither, and, after he had ruled the same for a few years, brought his last day to a close in the year of the Lord MCCCXXII, the day after the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul.[1] And for nearly four years before his death, since I had not been comfortable for some reasons at Khanbalig, I obtained leave that the said Imperial charity *alafa* should be given me at the aforesaid city of Zaitun, which is about three months journey distant from Khanbalig. As I said, I obtained leave at my earnest request and with eight horses allowed me by the Emperor proceeded on my journey to the same city with great honour, and arrived there, the aforesaid Brother Peregrine being still alive. And in a certain grove at a quarter of a mile from the city I caused a convenient and beautiful Church to be built with all the offices sufficient for twenty Brothers, and with four chambers of which any one would be good enough for any Prelate. And in this place, indeed, I stay continually and live upon the royal charity which I have mentioned, which may amount, according to the reckoning of the Genoese merchants, to the annual value of a hundred golden florins or thereabout.[2] And of this charity I have spent a great part in the building of the aforesaid place,

[1] July 7.

[2] Less than £50 sterling according to Colonel Yule.

the like of which I do not know among the hermitages in the whole of our province for beauty and every convenience.

Finally, no long time having passed after the death of Brother Peregrine, I received a decree of the Archbishop about my appointment in the said cathedral Church, and to this appointment I was reasonably persuaded to give my consent. And I stay now in the place or Church of the city, now in the hermitage, according to my inclination. And I am of sound body and, as far as my age allows, vigorous and active, having indeed none of the natural defects or properties of old age except white hair. In this vast empire truly there are peoples of every nation under heaven and of every school. And each and all are allowed to live according to their school. For there is with them this opinion or, rather, error, that each one is saved in his own school. And we are able to preach freely and unmolested. But of the Jews and Saracens none is converted. Of the idolaters a very large number are baptized, but having been baptized they do not walk straight in the path of Christianity.

Concerning the holy Brothers.

Four of our Brothers were martyred in India at the hands of the Saracens.[1] And one of them was cast twice into a great fire, but escaped unhurt. And yet at so stupendous a miracle no one was converted from his misbelief. All these things aforesaid I have been careful to send briefly to your Paternity, that through you they may be passed on to the notice of others. To the spiritual Brothers and my particular friends I do not write because I do not know who are departed and who survive; so I ask them to have me excused. I send my greeting to all, and commend myself to all as cordially as I can. And do you, Father Warden, commend me to the Minister and Custos of Perugia and to all the other Brothers.

[1] Cf. p. 557, n. 2.

All the Bishops made Suffragans of the See of Khanbalig by the lord Pope Clement have departed in peace to the Lord. I alone remain. Brother Nicholas of Bantia and Brother Andrutius of Assisi and one other Bishop died as they entered lower India, in a certain country of extreme heat where several other Brothers also died and were buried. Fare you well in the Lord, Father, now and always. Dated at Zaitun in the year of the Lord MCCCXXVI, in the month of January.[1]

XV. A few years before the above events a certain Brother of the Order of St. Francis, a native of Lower Germany, went abroad to the lands of the infidels to preach to them the Gospel of Christ. And I have read a long and full letter of his which he sent to his General of the northern Vicariate. He did laudable work there, bringing forth rich fruit of souls, for, as I have learnt and copied from the letter, he converted in the Empire of the great Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, much people to the faith of Christ by the fountain of baptism and the saving word of preaching; indeed he would have produced very great fruit of souls if the Nestorians, heretical or false Christians, who are grown many there, had not stood in his way. For they were jealous of their [? his] success and opposed him with all their might. From time to time they incited some of the elders of that land against him by means of calumny, false accusation, or flattery, and contrived that scourgings, imprisonments, and various punishments before the magistrates should be wickedly inflicted upon him for many days and years. But all these things he bore patiently for Christ. At length the great Khan perceiving (for he loved him dearly) that he was punished for no crime and made the prisoner of a tower or narrow dungeon, mercifully rescued him

[1] This letter on fol. 186 of the MS. is written in a hand slightly more easy to read but less accurate than that of fols. 171–3. On fol. 185 v° Zaitun is written Zaitan. Cf. p. 557, n. 2.

from captivity and from all his troubles, restoring him to liberty and threatening with severe punishment those who should hurt him thereafter by word or deed. Living in the eastern and northern regions for some years, perhaps eight or nine, after his arrival there, he had learnt the language of that country or nation so perfectly that he was able with power and boldness to sow in it the seed of the word of God. He bore fruit and prospered so greatly among the people by means of his preaching, drawing men to the faith of Christ, that often many thousands flocked together to his baptism in the space of one month or week in the places where he had preached, as he confesses in the letter. The Gospel of Christ had never been preached [there] before. For although we read about the blessed Thomas that India (which had fallen to him in the lot of preaching) in great part believed in Christ through him and through two Roman boys in the days of Pope Sylvester and of Constantine the Roman Emperor, as is read in ecclesiastical history, yet according to his own statement to the places where he preached the Gospel of Christ no Catholic came before him to lay foundations or even the corner stone of the orthodox faith. No graft, nay, no little plant of the Apostolic faith sprouted there before him, but he being the first to sow there broadcast the seed of Christian teaching on good ground which had been broken up by the ploughshare of preaching and repentance, reaped a rich harvest of believers or converts to Christ; for being a diligent and unwearied labourer in the vineyard of Christ and in the Lord's field, he brought home sheaves not of a few but of very many thousands of converts. He converted also Prester John, a wealthy and powerful king, about whom many exaggerated stories are read in a little book which we have, and through him his whole tribe to Christ. But alas, after his death, a fatal blow to the Christian doctrine, the tribe was compelled to return

to the vomit of paganism through his successor, a most wicked idolater and tyrant: and these wandering and lost sheep the said Brother was unable to fetch back to the enclosure or fold of the faith, because he was too far removed from that kingdom, living in the realm of the great Khan, the lord of lords, more than twenty or thirty days journey away. This oft-mentioned Brother purchased forty native boys, and taught them Latin and Grammar. At length, however, after he had fed them with milk and soft food suited to children, he gave them solid meat, instructing them in Music and the Sacred Page. They also learnt the canonical Hours and the singing so perfectly that they were able to chant them very well alternately in the choir; and some of them also, who were more intelligent and had better voices than the others, led the choir gloriously. The great Khan took exceeding delight in their singing, and consequently the aforesaid Brother, their master and teacher, was often invited by him to bring with him four or six [boys] and solace him with their singing. And he, willingly obeying him and glad to give satisfaction and pleasure in this way, used often to repair to the presence of the great Khan and his satraps in the royal palace, taking with him alternately four, six, or eight of the aforesaid boys, and gave him no little joy and happiness through their sweet melody, charming him and his attendants so deeply, and wonderfully refreshing them. For this reason, and because of the simple purity of his life and his holy and laudable behaviour, that Brother found so great favour in the eyes of the prince whom we have often mentioned that he used most gratefully to regard him as a kind patron and protector and as it were a chief and particular friend in all his necessities.

NOTE

In writing about King George's capital (p. 548, note) I had failed to notice that the Syriac form Koshang is

confirmed by Odoric, who says Prester John's "principal city is called TOZAN [for which the majority of texts read Cosan, Cosam, Casan, or the like], and chief city though it is, Vicenza would be reckoned its superior [or: elle est meilleure et plus grande que Vincensie]. He has, however, many other cities under him, and by a standing compact always receives to wife the Great Khan's daughter". (*Cathay*, new ed., vol. ii, pp. 245, 246). Why Colonel Yule was confident that Tozan was Ta-t'ung I cannot say. One text (B.N., lat. 3195) gives the distance of Prester John's land from Cathay as "XV dietas", which agrees well with John of Monte Corvino's ".xx. dietas", and with the statement that Jabalaha reached Khanbalig from Koshang in fifteen days. The population of Ta-t'ung circuit in Odoric's days is given as 128,496, and the subordinate cities were not less than twelve. The Ta-t'ung circuit (though it may be that to which Odoric refers) was not, however, in fact identical with King George's apanage. Cf. *Yüan Shih*, c. lviii, fol. 14 v°, etc. Odoric's Prester John may have been John, the son of King George.

## XVI

# UDDYOTAKARA, A CONTEMPORARY OF DHARMAKIRTI

By Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSANA, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.A.S.B.

## Uddyotakara's Quotations from Dharmakīrti and Vinītadeva

UDDYOTAKARA is well known as a Brāhmaṇa logician and author of a sub-commentary on Gotama's Nyāya-sūtra called the Nyāya-vārttika, in which he mentions two treatises on Logic called respectively the Vādavidhi and Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā.

The definition of a proposition (pratijñā) given in the Vādavidhi is thus quoted by Uddyotakara: Yad api Vādavidhau "sādhyābhidhānaṁ pratijñā" iti pratijñā-lakṣaṇam uktam . . . (Nyāyavārttika, 1–33, pp. 121, ASB.). "Though in the Vādavidhi, 'a proposition is the speaking out of that which is to be established,' is given as the definition of a proposition. . . ."

In criticizing Dignāga's definition of a side (Pakṣa) Uddyotakara extracts a passage from the Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā in which that definition has been supported: Yad api Vādavidhāna-ṭīkāyāṁ sādhayatīti śabdasya "svayaṁ pareṇa ca tulyatvāt svayam iti viśeṣaṇam" . . . (Nyāya-vārttika, 1–33, p. 120, ASB.). "In the Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā the qualifying clause 'by one's self' is no doubt justified on the ground that a side [Pakṣa] taken up by a person is to be established by himself and not by any other, though it might be established by the latter as well."

In the following passage Uddyotakara cites the definition of a discussion (vāda) as given in the Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā: Apare tu "sva-para-pakṣa-siddhyasiddhyarthaṁ vacanaṁ

vāda" iti vādalakṣaṇaṁ varṇayanti (Nyāyavārttika, 1–42, p. 151, ABS.). "Others again define a discussion [vāda] thus: a discussion consists of assertions for the establishment of one's own side and refutation of the other side."

## The Tibetan Versions

Now, the Vādavidhi is only another name for the Vādanyāya by Dharmakīrti, while the Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā is identical with the Vādanyāya-ṭīkā by Vinītadeva. The original Sanskrit texts of these two works are not available, but the Tibetan versions of them, called respectively *Rtsod*-pa*h*i-rig*s*-pa and *Rtsod*-pa*h*i-rig*s*-pa*h*i-*h*grel-wa are contained in volumes Ce and Ze of the Tangyur.

Dharmakīrti's definition of a proposition (pratijñā) quoted by Uddyotakara from the Vādavidhi or Vādanyāya is identified in the Tibetan version of that work with what follows: Dam-*bca*h-pa yaṅ *bs*grub-bya *b*stan-pa*h*i phyir-ro (Vādanyāya in Tangyur, Mdo, Ce, fol. 399). "A proposition serves the purpose of showing what is to be established."

Similarly the passage relative to the definition of a side (Pakṣa) extracted by Uddyotakara from Vinītadeva's Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā or Vādanyāya-ṭīkā, is identified in the Tibetan version of that work with the following: *B*dag-ñid-ma-yin-pa*h*i ṅo-wo-ni *b*dag-ñid-kyi ṅo-wo-ni *g*shan-gyi ṅo-wo ma-yin-no shes-bya-wa*h*i don-to (Vādanyāya-ṭīkā in Tangyur, Mdo, Ze, fol. 50). "The clause 'by one's self' signifies that the side [Pakṣa] taken up by a person is to be established by himself and not by any other."

The definition of a discussion (vāda) quoted by Uddyotakara from the Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā or Vādanyāya-ṭīkā is identified in the Tibetan version of that work with the following: *R*gol-wa daṅ phyir-*r*gol-wa dag-gi*s* raṅ daṅ *g*shan-gyi don grub-par-byed-pa daṅ (ma) grub-pa*h*i don-du

*brjod*-nas *rtsod*-pa yin-no (Vādanyāya-ṭīkā in Tangyur, Mdo, Ze, fol. 41). "A discussion consists of assertions by a disputant and his opponent for the establishment of their respective side and refutation of the opposing side."

## Dharmakīrti cites Uddyotakara

Dharmakīrti in his Nyāyabindu mentions a śāstra (dogmatic work) which refers evidently to the Nyāyavārttika, and a "śāstrakāra" (author of the dogmatic work) who seems to be the same as Uddyotakara. The passage of the Nyāyabindu, which refers to the śāstra and śāstrakāra, runs as follows: Svayam iti vādinā yas tadā sādhanam āha. Etena yady api kvacic chāstre sthitasādhanam āha, tacchāstrakāreṇa tasmin dharmiṇy anekadharmābhyupagame 'pi yas tadā tena vādinā dharmaḥ svayaṁ sādhayitum iṣṭaḥ sa eva sādhyo netara ity uktaṁ bhavati (Nyāyabindu, ch. iii, pp. 110–11, Peterson's edition). "'By one's self' refers to the disputant who undertakes to establish a property. In a certain śāstra this clause has been considered redundant; but it serves the purpose of indicating that though the author of the śāstra admits many properties as belonging to a thing, the property to be established is the one which is chosen by the disputant himself and not any other."

The passages quoted above induce me to conclude that Dharmakīrti, Vinītadeva, and Uddyotakara were contemporaries, and that the Vādavidhi and Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā preceded the Nyāyavārttika, while the Nyāyabindu followed it.

## Subandhu, Bāṇa, Harṣa, and Hiuen-thsang

The Vāsavadattā, an immortal work of the poet Subandhu, mentions[1] Uddyotakara as a rescuer of the

[1] Nyāyasthitim iva Uddyotakarasvarūpāṁ Bauddhasaṅgatim iva alaṅkārabhūṣitām . . . Vāsavadattāṁ dadarśa (Vāsavadattā, p. 235, Hall's edition).

Nyāya, while the Vāsavadattā itself is mentioned[1] in the Harṣacarita by Bāṇa as a classical work which humbled the pride of all previous poets. The Harṣacarita describes Bāṇa as a poet who lived at the court of King Śrī Harṣa or Harṣavardhana; and the manner in which the poet introduces himself[2] in the work leaves no room for doubt that he was a very young man while his patron the king was mature in age and experience. King Harṣa reigned in Thāneśvara during the whole of the period (A.D. 629–44) that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-thsang travelled through India. This leads us to conclude that Bāṇa flourished about A.D. 650, which is the latest date that can be assigned to Uddyotakara. As Dharmakīrti lived about A.D. 635[3] his contemporary, Uddyotakara, must have flourished about A.D. 635–50.

## The Residence of Uddyotakara

The name Bhāradvāja[4] as applied to Uddyotakara is derived from the family to which he belonged, while he

[1] Kavīnām agalad darpo nūnaṁ Vāsavadattayā
Śaktyeva Pāṇḍuputrāṇāṁ gatayā karṇa-gocaram
(Harṣacarita, Ucchvāsa i).

[2] Pṛṣṭhato niṣannasya Mālavarājasūnor akathayat "mahān ayaṁ bhujaṅga" iti . . . Brāhmaṇo smi jātaḥ somapāyināṁ vaṁśe Vātsyāyanānām yathākālam upanayanādayaḥ kṛtāḥ saṁskārāḥ samyak paṭhitaḥ sāṅgo vedaḥ śrutāni yathāśakti śāstrāṇi dāra-parigrahād abhyāgāriko smi kā me bhujaṅgatā? (Harṣacarita, Ucchvāsa ii, p. 58, Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara's edition).

One day King Harṣa while sitting in his court looked back towards the Prince of Malwa and spoke of Bāṇa as follows: "This [Bāṇa] is a great 'bhujaṅga' [snake or dissolute person]." Bāṇa remaining mute for a while replied thus: "I am by birth a Brāhmaṇa descended from the Soma-drinking Vātsyāyana family, have duly passed through all the sacraments, such as the wearing of a sacred thread, etc., have studied completely the whole Veda with its auxiliary parts, have listened to the śāstras to the best of my power, and have, by accepting a wife, become a householder: wherein, then, consists my *bhujaṅgatā* [snakishness or dissoluteness]?"

[3] For the date of Dharmakīrti see my *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 105, published by the University of Calcutta.

[4] Iti Śrī-paramarṣi-Bhāradvāja-Pāśupatācārya-Śrīmad-Uddyotakara-kṛtau Nyāyavārttike pañcamo 'dhyāyaḥ (Nyāyavārttika, colophon).

is called Pāśupatācārya on account of his being a preceptor of the Pāśupata Śaiva sect.

Nothing is definitely known as to the place in which Uddyotakara was born. The only place mentioned by him is Śrughṇa, which is situated on the western Jumna canal 40 miles north of Thāneśvara. The passage of the Nyāyavārttika in which he mentions Śrughṇa runs as follows: Eṣa panthāḥ Śrughṇaṁ gacchati (Nyāyavārttika, 1–33, p. 113), "This way leads to Śrughṇa." From this it appears that Uddyotakara, while writing the Nyāyavārttika, resided at Thāneśvara, which was connected with Śrughṇa by a high road. It was very probably this route[1] by which Hiuen-thsang reached Śrughṇa on April 1, A.D. 635. Thāneśvara was a great centre of learning about the time when Harṣavardhana reigned there. It is not unlikely that Uddyotakara received some time in his career patronage at the court of Thāneśvara. He seems, however, to have been a native of Padmāvatī, the modern Narwar in Malwa, which was a headquarter of the Pāśupata cult, and in which names such as Uddyotana, similar to Uddyotakara, occur. It was perhaps owing to the skill of this able controversialist that Padmāvatī acquired so much renown as a seat of Nyāya philosophy. In the Mālatī-mādhava, a Sanskrit play composed by Bhavabhūti early in the eighth century A.D., we read of Mādhava and his friend Makaranda going from Vidarbha to Padmāvatī to prosecute their studies in Ānvīkṣikī (Nyāya).[2]

[1] *Vide* Beal's *Buddhist Records*, pp. 186–90. Cunningham observes: "The importance of the position [of Śrughṇa] is shown by the fact that it stands on the high road leading from the Gangetic Doab, via Mirat, Saharanpur, and Ambala, to the Upper Panjab and commands the passage of the Jumna. By this route Mahmud of Ghazni returned from his expedition to Kanoj, by this route Timur returned from his plundering campaign at Haridwar, and by this route Baber advanced to the conquest of Delhi" (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 347).

[2] Tad idānīṁ Vidarbharājamantriṇā satā Devarātena Mādhavaṁ putram ānvīkṣikīśravaṇāya Kuṇḍinapurād imāṁ Padmāvatīṁ prahinvatā suvihitam (Mālatī-mādhava, Act I).

The defiance [1] hurled at the Buddhist logicians by Uddyotakara in the opening lines of his Nyāyavārttika and the host of Buddhist logical treatises criticized by him in the work, prove beyond a doubt that he was a logician of no small eminence, whose name shed lustre on the place of his birth.

[1] Yad Akṣapādaḥ pravaro munīnāṁ śamāya śāstraṁ jagato jagāda Kutārkikājñānanivṛttihetuḥ Kariṣyate tasya mayā nibandhaḥ (Nyāyavārttika, opening line).

## XVII

# LAWS OF KING GEORGE V, OF GEORGIA, SURNAMED "THE BRILLIANT"

## FROM THE BODLEIAN MS. OF THE CODE OF VAKHTANG VI, FORMERLY THE PROPERTY OF PRINCE DAVID OF GEORGIA

TRANSLATED BY OLIVER WARDROP

THE following translation is made from a MS. of Vakhtang's Code of Laws, purchased from a dealer in Tiflis in January, 1911, which is now the property of the Bodleian Library. The MS. is in good condition and bound in wooden boards covered with stamped leather. It is on yellow glazed paper, watermarked 1746, paged from 1 to 851; and then there follows, unpaged, a Code compiled by Prince David, son and heir of the last King of Georgia, which was hitherto unknown and bears that prince's autograph with the date "November 26, 1800" and a colophon by Gabriel, priest of Anchiskhati Church, dated 1805. The size of the page is 12 by 8 inches, of the text 8½ by 5½ inches. There are eighteen lines to the page and eight folios to the quire. A note on p. 57 says it was written by Ose Decanozishvili by the King's command in 1750, but this entry seems to have been made later in lighter ink and may only refer to the index. A remarkable feature of the MS. is that certain words (apparently those about which the scribe felt some doubt) are marked // or ///; this seems to show a conscientious transcription of an old original. The MS. begins with an alphabetical list of contents (paged 1–57), the earlier part of which (before ბ) had apparently been lost before the pages were numbered. Then comes the usual

tabular index of subjects (pp. 62–136), with references to all the sections of the code for comparative purposes, so that the laws of Vakhtang, George, the Athabegs, and the Catholicos may be compared with each other, and with Greek, Armenian, and Mosaic legislation, at a glance. On p. 142 (which bears the note საქართველოს მეფის ძის დავითისა არის, showing that it was the property of Prince David, son of King George XIII) is Vakhtang's Introduction, followed by the Mosaic Law (p. 147), the Greek (Byzantine) Code of Leo VI (A.D. 886–912), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 912–59), and other emperors (p. 172). Between pp. 236 (art. 147 of the Greek Code) and 448 (art. 203 of the Armenian Code of Mekhitar) 212 pages are missing. The Armenian Code ends on p. 620. On p. 624 begin the Laws of the Catholicos of Georgia; p. 639, the Laws of George V (which we hereafter translate); p. 660, the Laws of the Athabegs Aghbugha and Beka; pp. 714–851, the Code of Vakhtang and (p. 825) rules for writing judgments.

All this mass of legislation is only known in Europe by hearsay. It is of extraordinary interest to students of comparative jurisprudence; and the large section which bears the name of Vakhtang, though edited by that prince in the eighteenth century, is based upon the most ancient customs of the Georgian race and might profitably engage the attention of Assyriologists. There appeared in 1828, for the use of officials in the Caucasus, a Russian translation of the Georgian Laws, issued by the Ruling Senate; but by 1887 it had become so rare that a new edition with a preface was published in that year at Tiflis by A. S. Frenkel & D. Z. Bakradze under the title Сборникъ Законовъ грузинскаго царя Вахтанга VI. A liberal use has been made of Bakradze's notes, and the Russian translation has been an invaluable aid to the interpretation of the text. From a manuscript German

version of this publication Dr. Felix Holldack prepared his book *Zwei Grundsteine zu einer Grusinischen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1907). The great Georgian scholar, M.-F. Brosset, had made a complete French translation of Vakhtang's Code and sent it to the printers, but it never saw the light. Professor Maxim Kovalevsky in his Законъ и обычаи на Кавказѣ (Moscow, 1890) has made use of Frenkel & Bakradze's edition. In Georgian there are a few monographs on the subject, including N. Urbneli's accounts of the Laws of George V and the Laws of the Athabegs. There is not even a published text with which to collate our MS. The only section published in Georgian up to the present time is that bearing the name of the Athabegs Aghbugha and Beka (A.D. 1361–91 and 1444–51), which was incorporated by D. Chubinov in his Chrestomathy (St. Petersburg, 1863). Mr. Sargis Cacabadze has just printed on a sheet, apparently with a view to publication in some more complete form, the Laws of King George V. He does not give any information about the source from which the text is taken, but his variants are of little importance. He dates the Laws between 1325 and 1338 A.D.

The Laws of George are the oldest original fragments of Georgian legislation. For the present it must suffice to present an English translation and a few explanatory notes. The reader should remember that these Laws are not those of the kingdom of Georgia, but ordinances, influenced by Georgian law and based on the customs of a remote and disorderly district and designed to pacify that district. Though of local application they are founded on those general Georgian principles of jurisprudence which were held in common by both highlanders and lowlanders.

Most of the MSS. of Vakhtang's Code contain only the legislation peculiarly associated with that prince's name.

We have, however, in the Bodleian Library another complete text written in 1819 by Nicoloz Balinovi, but it cannot be compared in value with the much older text we have used. It may be added that Vakhtang compiled his Code before 1709 A.D. and that its adoption in Bokhara was recently proposed, and it is said to have been translated into the Sart language of that State for the purpose.

## LAWS OF KING GEORGE[1]

### *The Statute*[2] *of George, king of kings*

We, Giorgi, king of kings, son of the excellent-among-all king of kings, Dimitri, by the grace of God established this ordinance at the time when we entered into the Highlands (Mthiuli) for the survey thereof as the inalienable heritage of our realm and integral territory of our throne and sceptre. We set forth from our metropolis and arrived at our palace of Zhinvani[3]; and thence we went to Khada-Tzkhaoti,[4] and we summoned all the disaffected Elders of the Glens and the Notables[5] and heard their statements and investigated their affair, and on arrival at Dariel[6] we learned that the cause wherefore the worshipful kings, crowned of God and of blessed memory, our predecessors, had not of old established a firm statute concerning the penalty for

[1] The translator has to thank Mr. M. Tseretheli for his kindness in reading through this translation in MS. and making several valuable suggestions.

[2] *Dzeglis dadeba*, "the setting up of the pillar, or column"; cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, i, pp. 648-9; *Laws of Vakhtang*, § 102; *Dasturlamala*, i, §§ 23, 66, and ii, §§ 1-23.

[3] In Cakhethi, at the junction of the two Aragvis, "grande et forte citadelle, ville autrefois, maintenant déserte" (Brosset, *Wakhoucht: Descr. géogr.*, p. 299).

[4] "Résidence royale," in Mthiulethi (*Descr. géogr.*, 475, 223, 231).

[5] *Herovani.* Urbneli uses the form *haerovani.* There are some who translate as "people", deriving from *eri.*

[6] The fortress commanding the road over Mount Caucasus; "résidence royale, où s'arrêtaient les souverains dans leurs expéditions contre l'Oseth" (*Descr. géogr.*, 229).

bloodshed and for divers other deeds of lawless violence was that some of them, guided by circumstances and of their good pleasure, suffered disorders among the Highlanders, while others, by reason that the times were unpropitious, failed to make ordinances for the suppression of disorders among them. But we, with God's help, on our journey back from Dariel, having prayed before the Grand Martyr (St. George) at Lomisa,[1] and, having gone down and settled local matters in the Tzkhra Zma[2] Glen, returned to Mukhrani[3] as our winter quarters and thence fared to the metropolis and took with us the chiefs (*eristhavni*) of the various territories (*themi*),[4] Headmen of the Glens, Elders, and Notables. We summoned to the session the holy lord (*meuphe* = king) Catholicos of Karthli Euthymius, the Vazirs, the Bishops, and the Mouravis,[5] and found on inquiry that much disorder and violence of one upon another took place, and, because of the lightness of the penalty for bloodshed, were esteemed trivial; treacherous assaults of one upon another, pulling down of strongholds, manslaughter, carrying off wives and desertion without lawful cause, and many kinds of violence, so that no sort of justice was any longer observed. On this account, without entering into examination of past cases, for that it was impossible to grant unto each the fitting compensation, we deemed it well henceforth to ordain rules for guidance in the future as to the penalty for blood to be exacted for all and every crime, (in the

[1] *Descr. géogr.*, 223. This has always been the most sacred Christian shrine for the mountaineers, and their most binding oath is by St. George and Lomisa; cf. § 42 *infra*.

[2] *Descr. géogr.*, 223, 233. A mountain and river, the latter running from Lomisa to join the River Ksan.

[3] *Descr. géogr.*, 217. "Un bel endroit et une résidence royale," near the confluence of the Rivers Ksan and Mtevari (Kura).

[4] Greek *thêma*; ? clan; cf. Rambaud, *L'empire grec au x^e siècle*, 175–89; Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas Empire*, xi, 461; *Laws of Vakhtang*, § 256.

[5] Head of a city, district, village. In this case perhaps synonym of *gamgebeli* = steward.

region) beginning from Cross Mountain,[1] in Khada Tzkhaoti, the Zanduci[2] Glen, Cibethi, Kveshethi, and higher up than Menes, in judicial and ecclesiastical cases and various other matters, such as manslaughter, sacrilege, desertion of wives without lawful reasons, or their abduction. In other cases relating to religion, the investigation pertains to the Catholicos, and according to their ordinances let the bishops make inquisition. We only for civil and criminal cases have ordained the following rules to be henceforth observed.[3]

[1] On modern Russian maps "Крестовая гора", in Georgian "Djvaris Mtha"; the summit of the pass over the Caucasus (*Descr. géogr.*, 213).

[2] *Descr. géogr.*, 219. On the military road near Ananur.

[3] D. Bakradze here gives a note which is summarized as follows: George V, who expelled the Mongols and for a short period welded the fragments of Georgia into a whole, and organized the civil and ecclesiastical administration, designed these Laws to reform the manners of the Georgian population at the headwaters of the Aragvi and Ksan. His Laws are monuments of the language as well as the jurisprudence of Georgia, but many of the terms need explanation. The Highlanders were under the local Eristhavni (Chiefs) of Ksan and Aragvi, under whom were Mouravni or Gamgebelni (Stewards), Khevis Thavni (Heads of Glens), Khevis Berni (Elders of Glens), and Mamasakhlisni (lit. house fathers). Important cases passed, with reports from the Eristhavni and Mouravni, through the Vezir (Vaziri, Chief Minister of the Crown) to the Darbazi (assembly, council, court). Vendetta was so common in the Highlands that it had to be legalized. There seems to have been, previous to these Laws, no recognition of the rights of the Crown, or of the central Church, or of landlords; order and law were eclipsed. In the Laws of George, and in those of Aghbugha and Beka, a century and more later, the professional judge does not yet appear; cases are settled by Shuani (intermediaries, mediators), or Bdcheni, whose task it was to compromise matters without recourse to judicial forms. The Bdcheni seem to have been chosen by the parties interested. Bdche in the *Laws of Vakhtang* (§ 215) has already the sense of official arbitrator, but even then there was no organized judicial body, and the Mdivan Begs and Mdivanis of the eighteenth century were not professional lawyers, they were also notaries, etc., and landlords, Mouravs and other officials judged in their own districts (cf. Dasturlamala). We may add that the word *eristhavi* means literally "head of the people" (cf. Джаваховъ: О государств. строй древн. Грузіи); he was assisted in his administration by the *gamgebeli*, his inferior in power, who replaced him in his absence. The only MS. of the Laws of George to which Bakradze had access was the copy which had belonged to Prince Theimuraz.

1. *Murder of Eristhavi.*—Since up to the present time no one has dared to slay an Eristhavi, so in the future let none venture to do so. But if God shall be wroth with any man and he commit so great a crime and kill an Eristhavi, according as it is so monstrous and immeasurable a misdeed, so on the judgment of the King's Council let him be exceedingly greatly punished and mulcted: deprived of estate, expelled from his patrimony, and subjected to the penalty for blood according to rank. We do not here determine for what length of time such criminal shall be deprived of his property, for such misdeed is immeasurable and no case of the kind has yet happened. If it take place, the king then reigning is free to act with all possible severity.

2. *Collective Murder of Steward.*—If a whole district (*kvegana*), or one village, or an individual, or a glen slay a steward (*ganmgebeli*) while he is serving (*msakhuri*)[1] as steward, the wergild of 6,000 pieces of silver[2] is to be exacted, and, moreover, an enumeration of the men taking part in the murder having been made,[3] an impost, as of old established, once for all shall be laid on them for ever to furnish every year one horse for the service[4] of the Crown.

3. *Murder of a Steward.*—He who chances singlehanded to slay a steward is to be punished by expulsion from his estate and confiscation thereof for ever by the Crown. If he be unable to pay in addition the wergild, the Council may hand over the slayer's property to the victim's family, or leave the property to the Crown, the king himself paying for the blood.

[1] ? Not of noble birth; cf. § 4, *infra*. Or perhaps the phrase means "let an officer be steward" (?). For *msakhuri* in the sense of "veteran", cf. *Laws of Vakhtang*, § 32.

[2] *Thethri*; cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, Introd., lxxxi.

[3] The text of this passage is very obscure and the translation is doubtful.

[4] *Begara* = statutory labour (French *corvée*).

4. *Murder of Noble Steward.*—If the steward be of noble birth and they kill him, wergild is to be exacted according to his rank.

5. *Murder of Steward by Elder of Glen.*—If the Elder of a Glen slay a steward he is to be banished for three years from his estate, his stronghold and estate are to be taken by the Crown, and the Eristhavi is to take the management of his house. After the three years, on his return, he addresses a petition to the Eristhavi, who makes a report concerning him through the Vezir [1] to the Royal Council, which restores to the Elder of the Glen his estate; but he must give compensation for the blood of the steward according to the ordinance above set forth, and in addition he shall lose the rank of Elder of the Glen. And if anyone of the kinsfolk of that Elder of the Glen be found not to have partaken, whether patently or privily, in the murder of the steward, the Council shall appoint that man to be Elder of the Glen; and if there be no one of his blood, then the Eristhavi and the new steward shall choose some man loyal to the king and eminent in the community, and the Royal Council shall appoint him Elder of the Glen.

6. *Killing of one Elder by another.*—As regards Elders of Glens, we have thus ordained: If an Elder of a Glen slay another Elder of a Glen, he is to be banished from his patrimony for three years, the Eristhavi and the steward are to take his house in hand, the patrimony is to be seized by the Crown for three years. In the third year he petitions the Eristhavi and the steward and they report through the Vezir to the Council, and the patrimony is restored to him and he pays the wergild of 6,000 pieces of silver.

[1] The *vizir*, *vezir*, *vazir*, or, in the older native form of the title, *ezoth-modzghvari*, was the Governor of the Royal Court, and in all matters the king's first counsellor. Sometimes he was an ecclesiastic of high rank (*Descr. géogr.*, 20, 40; *Hist. de la Géorgie*, 307–8). He and the other officers of the Court formed the Royal Council.

7. *Murders in families of Elders.*—If any kinsman of an Elder of a Glen slay an unpartitioned kinsman of his residing with him—father, uncle, brother, cousin, nephew, or any other of his near kin, there shall be exacted from this slayer also 6,000 silver pieces, he shall be banished from his patrimony for two years, and the Eristhavi and steward shall take his house into their hands; and his patrimony is afterwards restored to him, according to the above ordinance (§ 6), on the report of the Eristhavi and the steward through the Vezirs and Mouravs to the Council.

8. *Collective Murder of Elder.*—And if a community (or glen-*kveqana*) slay the Elder of the Glen it is subject to the same penalty, impost of statutory labour[1] and wergild, as for the killing of a steward, and the impost shall be for ever.

9. *Murder of Elder's Kinsman.*—And if a man slay a partitioned kinsman of an Elder of a Glen, whether a brother or any other near relation, he shall for such partitioned kinsman pay a wergild of 3,000 pieces of silver, and be banished for two years and his patrimony shall be seized by the Crown. After two years he shall through the Eristhavi and steward appeal in the manner above described to the Council by means of the Vezirs, and on their motion and by order of the Council his patrimony is thereupon restored to him.

10. *Near and distant Kinsmen of Elders.*—We have not ordained an equal wergild for the distant and partitioned kinsfolk and the nearest and unpartitioned kinsfolk of an Elder of a Glen. For though they be all kinsfolk dwelling under the headship of the Elder of the Glen, appointed by the Council to be the leader in war of his glen, and near to him, nevertheless as to them that are partitioned we ordain a wergild for distant kinsfolk not equal to that of near kin, but one-half thereof.

[1] *Begara* = French *corvée.*

11. *Murder of Notables.*—Concerning Notables, we thus ordain: Any Notable who slays another Notable is to be banished for three years, subjected to a wergild of 200 drahcanis, or 1,200 pieces of silver,[1] and his patrimony is to be seized by the Crown. And if he be worthy of the cognizance of the Council, then, in accordance with the above ordinance, the Eristhavi and the steward having reported to the Council, shall restore to him his patrimony. But if he be not worthy of the cognizance of the Council, the Eristhavi and the steward may not let him in again and restore his patrimony.

12. *Murder of Notable by Elder.*—If an Elder of a Glen slay a Notable in order to take his patrimony, let him be banished from his patrimony for a year; should the killing happen involuntarily, let him pay as we have above ordained.

13. *Murder of Castellan of Khada.*—In Khada there shall be two castellans. The rule is that if a resident of Khada, an Elder of a Glen or any other person, slay a Castellan appointed by authority and not divested of the command, he shall be banished from his patrimony for three years, and his patrimony shall be seized by the Crown and a wergild of 3,500 pieces of silver shall be exacted from him. After three years he may return and his patrimony shall be restored to him according to the foregoing rule and ordinance.

14. *Murder of ex-Castellan.*—If anyone shall slay a dweller in Khada who is not Castellan, but has been formerly appointed Castellan and is no longer Castellan, he shall pay wergild as for a Notable, and shall be banished from his patrimony for the period we have ordained above for a Notable; he shall afterwards return after the form above prescribed. And if anyone slay a Castellan's brother or son he shall pay wergild as for a Notable.

[1] The *drahcani* thus = 6 *thethris*; cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, Introd., clxxviii.

15. *Parricide.*—It is unnatural for children to slay their parents, and God avert such audacity! And if God be wroth with any man and he attempt this, he deserves whatever is worst, every misfortune and misery, capital punishment, eternal banishment, uprooting, and destruction. For such a crime we ordain no wergild; it would be monstrous, unseemly, and unnatural, and become an example for others. Nor is it natural to subject strangers sharing with children in the murder of parents to the same penalty with them, and for this we fix no wergild because in our times it has not happened, and God grant that it may not.

16. *Tenure by Service.*—If a father grows old and his son has grown up and the father be not able to serve the king (*batoni*), it is more fitting for them to dwell together, and if for any reason they cannot do this and the purchased estate (i.e. the property the father has acquired in addition to his patrimony) be adequate, let the father take the purchased property and let the son do service to us with the patrimony, and if the purchased property be inadequate for the father, let there be an allotment made also from the patrimony. And if (the father) agree with the son the purchased estate also passes to the son, but if he agree not the son has no power over the purchased estate. If the father wishes he may sell it, and if he wishes he may bring in the buyer (into possession).[1] The father may do what seems good to him; the son cannot claim the purchased property.

17. *Fratricide.*—If God be wroth with anyone and brother slay brother, let that murderer be banished for ten years from his patrimony and let the estate be seized by the Crown. And in the tenth year let him petition the Eristhavi and the steward. They shall report to the Vezirs, the Vezirs lay the matter before the Council, and the man is permitted to return. According to the rank

[1] The text is obscure.

so shall he pay wergild and shall again be granted the patrimony, and if there be not surviving a son of that slain man, nor any unpartitioned kinsman, that brother as wergild for his brother shall be mulcted of one half of the patrimony for his brother's soul's sake [1] and half shall be seized by the Crown. And that half wergild ordained for the soul's sake shall be handed over to any surviving kinsman of the slain man who shall provide for his soul, and if there be none such survivor the Eristhavi and the steward shall give it into the hands of the clergy and laity [2] of that community.

18. *Disposal of Victim's Estate.*—And if there be four, five brothers, however much they may be partitioned, the nearest of kin shall take and use it for his soul, and if that slain man have left a wife and she do not remarry, from the wergild of that slain man there shall be allotted to her, so far as possible, an alimony; and if they be worthy of the cognizance of the Council let the Council be appealed to and let it be ordained by the Council, and if they be not worthy let the Eristhavi and the steward ordain and assign to her from the wergild one-tenth part.

19. *Tenure by Service.*—Touching campaigns, we thus ordain: Whatever glen (*kveqana*) or community (*themi*) the Eristhavi and the steward summon by (royal) command and they do not come forth in due time, that glen or village, or be it one man, however many men be lacking to the host they shall not be pardoned for one year and their patrimony shall be seized for the Crown and one ox per homestead shall be driven off for the Crown; and in the second year the patrimony shall be restored through the good offices of the Eristhavi and the steward. This applies both to Notables and villagers, and if an Elder of a Glen be lacking and go not forth, his Eldership of the

[1] Vakhtang's Code, §§ 224, 248.

[2] Our MS. reads ვაჭრთა (men); Cacabadze reads ვაჟთა (? Catholicos).

Glen and his patrimony shall be taken away; and after one year his patrimony shall be regranted, if he be meritorious and have committed no other crime.

20. *Substituted Service.*—If an Elder of a Glen be unwell at the time of a campaign his brother and nearest kinsman must go forth, and the Elder of the Glen shall be forgiven for not going to the host.

21. *Wife Desertion.*—If a man desert his wife without cause and she be faultless towards him, and he separate from her, he shall pay half the wergild due to that woman's rank.[1]

22. *Wife-stealing.*—If a man ravish another man's wife, however much her husband may have burned, carried off, looted of the ravisher's property during a year, even if the value thereof exceed the compensation due for such a deed, is not to be set down in the account; but after one year, whatever hostilities he commits are to be counted and the ravisher is only bound to pay him half the wergild according to rank. If during the hostilities he slay any one of the ravisher's men, this murder is reckoned to his account in computing the wergild, excepting the ravisher himself, concerning whom we have ordained hereafter.

23. *Abduction without adultery.*—If a man carry off a wedded[2] wife, if they have not had carnal connexion, he shall pay half the wergild according to rank.

24. *Abduction of Betrothed.*—If a man carry off a betrothed bride[3] he shall pay one-sixth of the wergild according to rank.

25. *Wife Desertion.*—He who deserts his wife without cause, and it shall appear that though she was not at fault in anything yet he has separated from her innocent, shall pay half the wergild according to her rank.[4]

[1] Cf. § 25, *infra*.
[2] Lit. "crown-blest".
[3] Lit. "cross-exchanged wife"; cf. *Laws of Aghbugha*, § 40.
[4] Cf. *supra*, § 21.

26. *Reprisals for Wife-stealing.*—If a man carry off a man's wife, it is ordained above how the ravisher may be treated as an enemy,[1] and if the husband make an attack when they are not yet reconciled, have not yet affiance one in the other, and wergild has not yet been paid, the husband shall not be considered an aggressor even if he slay. When they both meet and fight and the ravisher is slain, the Catholicos and the Bishops fix a fine for the requiem; and if the woman take part in the fight and be armed and be slain, no wergild is to be paid for that woman, but if the slain woman be innocent[2] double wergild shall be paid for her, and for a wound[3] it is equal for all: monks, priests, and women who are nuns;[4] and if the woman be not a nun double wergild shall not be paid and the wergild shall be equal; for monks, deacons,[5] priests, and women the wergild is double. And if any such be without cause slain or wounded, compensation shall be paid according to their rank. If a monk or a secular priest or a woman come as mediator, if it so be that they are not armed and be thus slain, whoever slays them shall pay double wergild according to their rank.

27. *Burg-bryce: Private War.*—If anyone without the command of the Council destroy another's stronghold, whether he be an Elder of a Glen, or a community against a community, or an equal against an equal, in a word, whoever he may be, and the destruction takes place by reason of enmity and there be between them any suit at law, such suit shall be decided in accordance with our ordinance; and for the destruction of the stronghold half wergild according to rank shall be exacted, and according to the rank of the lord of the castle the

[1] § 22.

[2] Bakradze says some interpret "a stranger, outsider".

[3] *Gershi*; cf. Professor Marr's monograph on the word *gershi*, also the Georgian version of Leviticus xxiv, 19, 20, and §§ 29, 32, *infra*.

[4] *Mtsirveli* = servant of God; cf. Chubinov's Dictionary.

[5] *Mtsirveli*? = nuns.

destroyer shall rebuild the castle suitably. And if there be an order (of the Council) and they destroy by command they have no responsibility and nothing is due from them.

28. *Escheats: Tenure by Service.*—If any untilled patrimony be left an escheat because the owner has disappeared, and men of his family be discovered, it is to be granted to them that are nearest to him in kin and in the sharing of sorrow and joy, so that the community lack not the commissariat, military service, and statutory labour. And should none of their family be left and some other man worthy of a grant from the Council assume the burdens of commissariat, statutory labour, and military service, let the Council make the grant to him. And if he be one who is unworthy of a grant from the Council, let the Eristhavi and the steward hand it over to him so that he perform the statutory labour and service.[1]

29. *Resistance to Authority.*—Concerning aggressors we ordain: He who having a dispute with another asks for judgment and the defendant goes not to plead, then applies to the steward and says, "I have asked this man to plead and he has not appeared." The steward shall report this to the Eristhavi,[2] and the man shall be summoned twice, thrice to judgment. If he appear not either on the summons of the Eristhavi or on that of the steward, and trustworthy, unprejudiced, and disinterested

[1] Bakradze. In Karthli, Cakhethi, and Imerethi escheats became the property of the Crown, the landlord, or the Church, according to the overlordship in each case; but they were almost always regranted, either to distant kinsfolk or, failing them, other men of merit; cf. *Laws of Vakhtang*, §§ 232, 248; *Customs*, § 31; Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, ii, livr. ii, p. 480. Among the mountaineers there seems to have been no rule prior to this enactment.

[2] The text is not clear. An alternative reading is: "He who having a dispute with another summons him two or three times to justice, and the party summoned goes not, must, appearing before the steward, explain the matter to him, and he is bound to report to the Eristhavi."

witnesses declare that he had been summoned to justice three times but appeared not, should the plaintiff make an attack upon the defendant, however many may be killed and wounded on either side, the wergild and smart-money are to be equal on both sides, for the aggressor and the resident, inasmuch as the latter was called three times and appeared not. The Eristhavi and the steward testify that their man came and the defendant presented himself not for judgment, therefore the aggressor and his victim have their wergild equalized after their rank, according to the families of the men. When the raid is made upon a man who was employed on the errands of the Council and thus received not the first and last summons of the Eristhavi and steward, and was thus raided without just cause, then the aggressor has no wergild; however many may be slain it is naught, and to that man and that community who have been raided it is just that for all, so many as are innocent, whom the raider shall slay, for all he shall pay according to their rank.

30. *Reprisals for Wife-stealing and Murder: Prices for Outrage.*—If any man steal another's wife or slay any guiltless person, and the man make a raid upon that murderer and wife-stealer because of the outrage, he is not called an aggressor.[1] Of patrimony or anything else, thus it is: To him whose wergild is 12,000 pieces of silver, for him the price of one injury is 300 pieces of silver, for noblemen (who are) Elders of Glens 150 pieces of silver for one injury.

31. *Outrages on Notables.*—For Notables a compensation of thirty pieces of silver, and we have thus ordained: To all whether great or small according to the amount of the wergild.

[1] The remainder of this paragraph should form a separate section, and thus the reduplication above in §§ 21 and 25 would be avoided while preserving the number of articles in the statute.

32. *Disfiguring Wounds.*—Let it be thus with regard to smart-money: He on whose face an indelible wound shall be inflicted, or whose nose shall be cut off, shall receive one-fifth of the wergild of his rank. If the wound be on a visible part but without mutilation thereof, the penalty shall be that for three injuries and the price of the medicine of the surgeons.

33. *Loss of Right Hand.*—In the matter of members of the body, we thus ordain: To him whose right hand is cut off or mutilated by wounding, one-third of the wergild is due.

34. *Left-handed Men.*—If a man be left-handed and use his left hand as a right hand, he receives for the cutting off of the left hand as if it were the right hand.

35. *Loss of Eye or Foot.*—If a man's eye is put out or his foot mutilated or cut off, the fourth part of the wergild is levied.

36. *Hands, Feet, Eyes.*—For mutilation in an affray of both hands, or feet, or eyes, half wergild is due, according to his rank, and the price of the medicine of the surgeons, whatever be expended; for mutilation of any one of these in an affray, but not of two together, it shall be as we have above ordained.

37. *Thumb and Fingers.*—If a man cut off or mutilate another's thumb, half the compensation appointed for the hand is to be levied, according as it be the right or left hand, and for cutting off or maiming any other finger, one-third of the compensation for the hand is to be levied.

38. *Hidden Wounds.*—Wherever a man be wounded so that by reason of the clothing it is not seen, nor is there any mutilation on account of the wounding, each shall be compensated by the price of one injury, according to rank, and he shall also be paid the price of the medicine of the surgeon, whatever has been spent.

39. *Front Teeth.*—If a man knock out any of a man's four upper front teeth or four lower front teeth, for each

tooth of those which are visible he shall pay the price for two injuries according to condition and rank.

40. *Other Teeth.*—For knocking out the other invisible teeth beyond those four, for each tooth he shall pay the price of one injury.

41. *Killing or Wounding of "Comrades".*—Should anyone take to himself a comrade[1] and he be slain or wounded, no wergild is due from the slayer nor shall smart-money be paid. And with regard to him whose comrade the slain or wounded man was, let it be as follows: If there were between them a pact that they should be comrades one to the other and live and die together, then they are subject to equal responsibility for everything. And if they should for any reason separate and there be none of the kinsfolk of the slain man to pay wergild, then he is bound to pay for the blood of his comrade, out of the booty received, a compensation suitable to rank and to compensate in full him who has been robbed, and if there be no booty he has nothing to pay.[2]

42. *Killing of Peasants of Lomisa.*—He who slays a peasant of Lomisa[3] who has been presented thereto by the king or by anyone else shall be fined 1,500 pieces of silver. From of old the boundaries of Lomisa have been ordained: the hither side of Khada to Tzkhaoti, and so let it be ordained.

43. *Confederacies forbidden.*—Elders of Glens and Notables dwelling on this side must not unite themselves

[1] *Asabia.* The reference is probably to sworn brothers who had made a pact of *adelphopoiia*; cf. note to p. 48 of Rusthaveli's *Man in the Panther's Skin* (vol. xxi, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series). It is evident that the association was for the purpose of brigandage. M. Tseretheli says: "I think ასაბია is an Arabic borrowed word. صَحِبَ, *ṣaḥaba* = to be a comrade."

[2] The text of the second half of this paragraph is almost unintelligible.

[3] This church, dedicated to St. George, is situated on one of the tributaries of the River Ksan, on the ridge of Lomisis Mtha, on the boundaries of the districts of Mthiulethi, Zhanuri, and Tzkhra Zma (*Descr. géogr.*, 223).

with those dwelling on the farther side in any military expeditions or civil matters saving those affecting their own Eristhavi's district, on pain of deprivation by the Council of estate and destruction of stronghold.

44. *Horse- and Cattle-stealing.*—Concerning brigandage we thus ordain: If any man steal a horse, sheep, cow, or other beast, or forcibly break into a house and carry off anything, and thereafter fight with the pursuers who have overtaken him and be slain, however many such brigands be slain no penalty is to be exacted for their blood; but, on the other hand, there shall be handed over to them that have been robbed, in satisfaction for the robbery, the leader himself and two others of his band: Should the robbers slay the owner or anyone on his side during the pursuit, full wergild is to be exacted for all the slain and thrice the value of what was stolen.

45. *Reprisals for Theft when justice is delayed.*—If anything be stolen from a man by anybody and the thief cannot be discovered at that time, but they afterwards find the stolen property and the truth be revealed and the man go and ask for redress, whether the community or an individual have been the robber, when the owner of the property goes and petitions he has right on his side and they must make restitution and proper compensation according to the preceding ordinance. And if they do not so, he shall inform the steward and he shall tell the Elder of the Glen of that community and they shall exact the penalty fixed by that ordinance; and if they heed not his summons and he petition twice, thrice, if there be an Eristhavi in the neighbourhood let him be informed, and if he exact not the compensation and the owner of the property make a raid upon that brigand, he is not to be considered an aggressor, nor is he to be called upon for wergild for the thief or any of his comrades and associates whom he may slay in fight, but however many may be slain on the side of the owner of the property, for all of

them wergild shall be exacted because the brigands have refused (to restore his property)[1] and the steward and the Elders of the Glen testify that the brigands were summoned twice, thrice, and so their wergild is naught.

46. *Money Pleas, Usury.*—Concerning debt we have thus ordained: The taking of interest is not in accordance with the Georgian laws, nor is it prescribed by other laws, and interest is unnatural. But if for any reason a lender be so wicked that he levies interest, whatsoever time shall have elapsed let him have two pieces of silver on ten.[2] However long the time that has passed let him have no more than this, nor is it just to take more, and unless he be a very wicked man it is not right that he should levy even this. Let justice thus be done of all.

[1] Translation doubtful.

[2] *The Laws of Aghbugha and Beka* (§ 95) also fix 20 per cent as the maximum and forbid compound interest. *Vakhtang's Laws* (§ 125) make 12 per cent the legal rate.

## XVIII

# THE VEDIC CALENDAR

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

IN an article in the *Indian Antiquary*[1] Mr. R. Shamasastry has made a new attempt to prove the existence in Vedic India in the period of the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of a really elaborate calendar. He starts from the admitted existence of an intercalary month, which is referred to from the *Ṛgveda* onwards, and from the fact that in the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda* we find the Ekāṣṭakā, traditionally identified with the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha, treated as the commencement of the year. "Whether we will or no," he concludes, "the fact cannot be denied that the idea of a thirteenth month, i.e. an intercalated month, could not have dawned upon the mind of the Vedic poets unless they had been quite familiar with the true lengths of several kinds of years."

This assertion is so important in judging the argument of Mr. Shamasastry that it is necessary to point out that it is wholly without foundation. We do know that the Vedic Indian, for whatever ground, regarded the year as consisting of 360 days; that is vouched for by the *Ṛgveda* and by all the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts. Now this year is not a year of the ordinary kind; it is shorter by over five days than the solar year, and therefore it is admitted that the need of intercalation existed from the first, nor is it denied that this intercalation did take place. But it is sufficient for all the notices of the texts before the Sūtra period that we should accept the facts which are given, namely, the traditional 360 days

[1] xli (1912). Reprinted as *The Vedic Calendar* (Bombay, 1912).

year, its incompatibility with the actual facts of the case, and the necessary efforts at intercalation. We need not assume that the Indians knew the true length of any kind of year whatever, much less the true lengths of several kinds. We are never told that in this period there was any realization of the fact that the year of 360 days was either 5 or 6 days too short. The most that we can say on this head is that there are traces of a tendency to intercalate a month every fifth or sixth year, but that even for this the evidence is not cogent.[1]

But before the practice of intercalary months was adopted Mr. Shamasastry argues that it was usual to add sets of intercalary days, such as 9, 11, 12, 21, and so on, and finds proof of this custom in a passage of the *Kaṭhaśākhā Brāhmaṇa* quoted in the *Smṛtitattva*.[2] That passage reads as follows: "The half-months, being inferior, desired, 'May we be months'; they had recourse to the twelve-day sacrifice; having made as the thirteenth a Brāhmaṇa, having wiped off (their sin) on him, they rose up. Therefore (they say) 'the Brāhmaṇa, having no support, depends on others'; therefore on the twelve-day sacrifice there should be a Brāhmaṇa as a thirteenth priest." From this is deduced the meaning that, giving up a practice of adding 12 days to the synodic lunar year of 354 days to adjust it to the sidereal solar year of 366 days, the Vedic priests allowed the 12 days to accumulate to the extent of a month in the course of 2½ years, and then performed the sacrifice at the close of the thirteenth month with thirteen priests, of whom the thirteenth represented the thirteenth month and took on him the sins of the sacrifice. But the *Kaṭha* says not a word about (1) a 354 day year, (2) an intercalation of 12 days, (3) an intercalation after 2½ years; and the whole interpretation is purely visionary.

[1] See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 412–13.
[2] Calcutta ed. (1895), p. 782.

The passage does show that the intercalary month was regarded as an indefinite one; *anāyatana*, "having no support," shows that, and it is borne out by the name *Malimluca* given elsewhere to the month. Mr. Shamasastry, however, goes further than this: quoting again the *Smṛtitattva*,[1] he shows that the astrological treatises (*jyotiḥśāstra*) recognize the intercalary month as sinful and destructive; and he points out that in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] the 13th priest is called the seller of the Soma and connected with the 13th month, which is therefore regarded as sacrificially undesirable. But Mr. Shamasastry deduces from this the fact that during an intercalary period the Vedic poets regarded themselves as being bound with Varuṇa's noose, and that the removal of sin or Varuṇa's fetters at the close of a period of 12 or 21 days is a technical expression of the Vedic poets implying the intercalary nature of these days. This he finds in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] where the Dvādaśāha rite is mentioned as having a period of 12 days Dīkṣā and 12 Upasad days (they are not the same 12 days, as apparently held by Mr. Shamasastry); the Dīkṣā and the Upasads render the sacrifice pure. But that the Dīkṣā or Upasad days were intercalary is not for a moment hinted at. As little is there any mention of intercalation in the 12 days vow of Prajāpati in the *Atharvaveda*,[4] or the release from Varuṇa's fetters at the close of 21 days in that text,[5] or the mention of 27 cows or rivers in the *Sāmaveda*.[6] Hence it is wholly impossible to accept the conclusion "that expressions such as 'the milking of the kine', 'the destruction of evil spirits or of enemies', and 'the release from the fetters of Varuṇa or of Nirṛti' are Vedic expressions

[1] p. 778. [2] i, 12. [3] iv, 24.

[4] iv, 11. 11, with which Mr. Shamasastry connects iv, 15. 13 (= *Ṛgveda*, vii, 103. 1). [5] iv, 16. 6.

[6] i, 560 (= ii, 773); *Āraṇya Saṃhitā*, iii, 5 (as cows); *Sāmaveda*, ii, 173 (as streams).

implying the passing off of an intercalated period". It is further utterly incredible that the first two Anuvākas of the first Kāṇḍa of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* should refer to "the cutting off of an intercalated branch or month, and to the separation of some New Year's Days or bissextile intercalated days, termed 'cows', from their calves or the consecutive days of the subsequent year or cycle of years". No hint of such an idea occurred to either Bhāskara or Sāyaṇa, and the Sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, whose authors were *ex hypothesi* familiar with the calendar, interpret the passage in a wholly different manner, at once consonant with the text and in harmony with common sense.

Another argument is adduced by Mr. Shamasastry based on the fact that a period of 12 days is chosen for the vow of Prajāpati in the *Atharvaveda*, that a period of 12 days was added at the end of the year, and that this must represent a deliberate attempt to bring the synodic lunar year of 354 days into harmony with the sidereal year of 366 days. The fatal objection to this view is that there is an obvious explanation of 12 days being added at the end of a year—if it is admitted that they were added[1]—viz., that the year having 12 months 12 days were a reflex of the year (*pratimā*), as stated in the Brāhmaṇas; that there is no trace of a year of either 354 days or 366 days in the Brāhmaṇas; and that even in the *Nidāna Sūtra* and the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* there is no mention of any intercalation to equate a year of 354 and 366 days, though these two years are perfectly well known to these texts. Dhānaṃjayya (Dhānaṃjapya is a mere misprint of the *Nidāna* text) says nothing of the sort; he merely states[2] *ūrdhvaṃ dvādaśāhāt sāṃvatsarikāṇīti*, and what precisely he did mean we simply do not know. It may be

[1] There is nothing of this in the passage of the *Atharvaveda*, iv, 15. 13, cited by Shamasastry, nor in iv, 11. 11, to which he seems also to refer; see also Whitney, JAOS. xvi, p. xciv.

[2] See *Nidāna Sūtra*, vi, 6.

added that in any case Dhānaṃjayya is not an authority for what the Brāhmaṇa texts meant.

A further question is raised as to the knowledge of a year of 365 or 365¼ days. Both seem to Mr. Shamasastry to be referred to in the *Nidāna Sūtra*, if somewhat indirectly. But even if this is the case, which is most doubtful,[1] is either found in the Brāhmaṇas? In the *Taittrīya Saṃhitā*[2] he finds a reference to a year of 360 days, put in order by the sacrifice of 5 nights. The passage is of importance, for if this is really the sense it is a proof that the 365 day year was in the time of this text at least realized as a more correct version than 360 days. It would not indeed carry us much beyond the admitted fact that intercalation was practised on the basis of a 360 day year, but it would be at any rate a definite statement that a 365 day year did exist. Unhappily the whole argument depends on the version of *ta ṛtavas sṛṣṭā na vyāvartanta*; it is rendered by Mr. Shamasastry as "The seasons, once ended, did not regularly return again". But *vyāvartate* has not this sense; it has the same sense as immediately after in *vi pāpmanā bhrātṛvyenāvartate*; as Bhāskara has it, *nā vyāvartanta vibhaktasvabhāvabhajo nābhavan ekarūpā eva sarve 'py ṛtavo 'bhavan*; the seasons were undiscriminated; the sacrificer is discriminated from his rival; the sense of the verb is not completely changed as it has to be in Mr. Shamasastry's version ("regularly returned" and "gets rid of"), but the addition of the instrumental renders precise the sense in the second case.[3] The 5 night rite is appropriately explained by the legend, because the seasons are 5 as the text itself says: *pañca vā ṛtavas saṃvatsaraḥ*, just as because they are 6, in a later passage,[4] the 6 night rite is explained as connected with them.

[1] The passages cited are too vague to yield any certain sense.
[2] vii, 1. 10. [3] See Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* p. 131.
[4] vii, 2. 1.

With this correction of a mistranslation disappears the only support for a 365 days year before the *Nidāna Sūtra*. A further refinement is suggested by Mr. Shamasastry: the 21 kine or 21 fetters of Varuṇa he considers as representing an intercalation of 21 days in the last of 4 Sāvana years to equate them to 4 solar years of 365¼ days. Now the fact is that in one form of the Gavām Ayana, instead of inserting a period of 9 days in the centre, some authorities inserted 21; this we are told by Lāṭyāyana,[1] and it is undoubtedly so understood by Agnisvāmin. The treatment of this passage by Mr. Shamasastry is interesting. He first holds that the 9 days are really part of a period of 12 intercalary days—without any authority; next he thinks that the 12 days are added to a year of 354 days; finally the 21 days are to be added to a year of 360 days. It is perfectly clear that the days must be added to one kind of year in both cases, and that we have a choice between the year of 369 or 381 days. That either was intended to make up the correspondence of the Sāvana and the solar year is not hinted, and to conclude from such evidence, even for Lāṭyāyana, a 4 year cycle with an intercalation of 21 days is impossible. To proceed further and say that we may "take it for granted that the statement of the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa*[2] that 4 times 50 periods of 21 days make 1,000 years of the Viśvasṛks is one which was based upon an actual practice", is wholly illegitimate. It is hardly surprising that after this flight Mr. Shamasastry tells us that "Prajāpati seems to have been the first to observe for verification 3 cyclic years with 21 intercalary days in the course of 12 solar years", or that "It is thus clear that the Vedic poets were quite familiar with the true solar year of 365¼ days and were adjusting the Sāvana year to it by adding 21 days once in every 4 years, and that they kept

[1] *Śrauta Sūtra*, iv, 6. 12.
[2] xxv, 18. 1.

an account of the number of intercalations, calling it the Gavām Ayana or 'cow's walk'".

The fundamental error of Mr. Shamasastry as regards the Ayanas is his view that Gavām Ayana does not denote a form of sacrificial session of a year's duration (the exact form of year differing in different schools) but an intercalary period made up of any number of intercalary days. This sense of Gavām Ayana is not even hinted at by any ancient authority; it is wholly contrary to the treatment of the rite in all the ritual textbooks, and to the clear sense of every passage where the term occurs. The determination to read this amazing sense into the word leads Mr. Shamasastry to a mass of wild interpretations of the passage with which he deals, which simply cannot be treated seriously, for it is not as if we had before us texts unintelligible on any other theory; on the contrary, we have texts which make perfectly good sense on other theories, and which on his are wholly meaningless. To take a simple case: Śāṅkhāyana[1] says in discussing a series of elaborate, doubtless mainly theoretical, rites of great duration—*abhyāso bahusaṃvatsare gavāmayanasya*; it is perfectly true that *saṃvatsara* and *gavām ayana* cannot be synonymous, but no one ever suggested that they were; one is a kind of rite and one a year. Mr. Shamasastry's next argument also begs the whole question: "Nor can," he says, "we take the term Gavām Ayana in the sense of a year with an intercalary period, for in that case the Sūtra would mean that when the number of years is great, all those years with these intercalary periods should be repeated: a statement which is unpractical." The conclusion is a pure *non sequitur*, but apart from that the dilemma is imaginary. Gavām Ayana is a rite occupying normally a Sāvana year, not a year at all and this sense makes the Sūtra perfectly intelligible.

[1] *Śrauta Sūtra*, xiii, 27. 5.

This form of reasoning has a sequel in the treatment of the *Nidāna Sūtra*.[1] There the author raises the question if a man can perform the Sattras of the Śāktyas of 36 years duration, or whether that is a Sattra for the gods only. He answers that by the view that *bahavas saṃniviśya sunuyuḥ putrāḥ pautrāḥ praputrā iti*, and he also mentions that the 12 years' session of the Tapaścits is equal to 12 times the duration of the Gavām Ayana. To any ordinary view this means that 12 Gavām Ayanas = 12 years = 12 years' session of the Tapaścits. But "had these and other sessions been ordinary years, the question raised by the author of the *Nidāna Sūtra* about the possibility of all the sessional sacrifices being performed by a single man would not have cropped up at all; for it is quite possible for a man to live for 56 or 60 years so that he may commence a sacrifice in his 20th or 24th year and bring it to a close after 36 years". Hence the sessional days are not ordinary consecutive days, but periodical intercalary days; the Vedic poets know that the solar year exceeded the synodic lunar year by $11\frac{1}{4}$ days, the Sāvana by $5\frac{1}{4}$: when the $11\frac{1}{4}$ made a 12th day, as they would every fourth year, and the $5\frac{1}{4}$ days amounted to 21 days in the course of every fourth year, the Vedic poets performed the session on the 12th or 21st day and counted those days apart as Gavām Ayana; hence a Gavām Ayana of 360 days = $360 \times 4 = 1{,}440$ years. The Tapaścit period was also 1,440 years ($= 12 \times 360 \times 4 \div 12$), because they counted the 12 days apart (how 12 Gavām Ayanas = 12 years' session of the Tapaścits on this theory is not explicable[2]),

[1] x, 9.

[2] The simple sense of course is that 12 yearly sessions on the one hand is equivalent to a session lasting 12 years in time. Mr. Shamasastry has to turn this into a declaration that the Tapaścits celebrated 12 days, not one, each four years. For this he cites *Nidāna Sūtra*, iv, 12, which does not contain any allusion whatever to a celebration once in four years. Nor does any other passage of that text or of Lāṭyāyana, or of anyone else.

and so was that of the Śāktyas, who counted 36 days in each 4 years (why is not explained). One man could not have accomplished such a sacrifice, but "generations consisting of sons, grandsons, sons of grandsons, and others" could have done so. Unhappily the *Nidāna* has nothing about "generations" or "others", but only says that a 36 years' session could be carried out by sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons assisting and carrying on the rite. It is not surprising that Jaimini should have failed to realize the sense now found by Mr. Shamasastry. Nor after this are we surprised to learn that *ahīna* as a form of sacrifice means the 11 full days, which are added to the lunar to make the solar year, the name being chosen because the 11 days were not so incomplete as the quarter-day over at the end of the solar year.

Further conclusions from his main thesis are drawn by Mr. Shamasastry in a series of notes on the *Ādityas* published in the *Indian Antiquary*.[1] These gods, he holds, are intercalary months of the 5 years cycle. This cycle he illustrates from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*.[2] In it he finds mention of two sets of priests, viz., one set, the Ṛtuyājins, who did not intercalate, and whose year thus fell back by 11¼ or 12 days yearly, regaining its original position at the close of 32 or 30 months; another set, who offered the four monthly sacrifices and who added 2 months in 5 years, making the year of 354 days up to 366; further he deduces that the Cāturmāsyas are intercalary periods of 4 months. Unhappily the whole structure rests on misrenderings. The rotation of the seasons is meant by "the expression that what was the spring became the summer, and that what was the summer became the autumn". There is no such expression: the text is *yo vasanto 'bhūt prāvṛḍ abhūt śarad abhūd iti yajate*

[1] xli and xlii. A reprint of these articles, as of his article on the Vedic Calendar, I owe to the author's courtesy, which I gratefully acknowledge.

[2] i, 10. 8.

*sa ṛtuyājī*, which means "He who sacrifices (saying), 'It has become spring; it has become the rains; it has become autumn,' is the sacrificer at the seasons". The error of Mr. Shamasastry is in not realizing that *yo* goes with *yájate*; apart from the fact that the sentence cannot be construed as it is taken by Mr. Shamasastry, the accent on *yájate* is decisive against him. Therefore the rotation of the seasons disappears from view. The intercalation is also not as stated; all that is said is that the Cāturmāsya sacrificer gains a 13th month; he is to omit 1 (month) after 3, then 1 after 2; there are 36 months in 3 years, 24 in 2; then *ye 'mī saṭtriṃśaty adhi tān asyāṃ caturviṃśatyām upasampādayati | eṣa vāva sa trayodaśo māsaḥ*. This is rendered as "those (*days*) which exceed (*an intercalary month*) in 36 full moons, he puts (*in the next*) 24 full moons". This sort of supplement is wholly impossible: *ye* must refer to the omitted *months*, not *days*, and the theory that from the 36 intercalary days of the first 3 years 6 are put in the 24 of the next 2, falls to the ground. The 13th month shows that the year of 12 months was not recognized as disposing of all chronological possibilities, but we are not told how the month was used or when. But, if we may very vaguely see in the *Maitrāyaṇī* passage a hint that the 13th month could be connected with a 5 year cycle, then we have to do with a rude attempt to fit in 5 years of 360 days with 5 very roughly calculated solar years of 366 days, and even this is open to grave doubt, as the *Maitrāyaṇī* does not say so.[1] The difficulty in regard to the question of intercalation arises from the fact that when we hear of a 13th month, as we do not rarely,[2] there is normally

[1] There is no evidence even in Sūtras for a 366 day year as actually recognized as such, *Vedic Index*, ii, 159. On *Nidāna*, v, 12, see Fleet's note in *The Vedic Calendar*, p. 14, n. 21.

[2] See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 161.

no hint that there is any question of a cycle of years in question. It is perfectly possible that the 13th month is at times merely a diverse reckoning of the year as 13 months of 27 days; this fact is quite adequate to account for the reckoning of 13 months, and the only ground for accepting intercalation is the fact that the 13th month in some passages appears as vague and fugitive, and that it is probable *a priori* that the sacrificial ritual rendered some sort of intercalation needful.

Again, in Mr. Shamasastry's view the new and full moon sacrifices are nothing more than sacrifices performed during an intercalary month, for the gods worshipped in them are the gods worshipped during the intercalary month. The gods in question are Agni, Soma, and Indra, the gods whose worship is regular and essential, and the conclusion is wholly unfounded.

A further step is to find that the Asuras are intercalary months, the Devas the ordinary months, and that the use of the 4 months rite by Prajāpati [1] to drive away the Asuras and to create children is really the fact that by the intercalation of 4 months in 10 years the calendar was restored to order. From this it is an easy step to the conclusion that Indra is a god of an intercalary month, and that his slaying of Vṛtra is an act of getting rid of the sinful intercalary months through the worship of Indra. Aditi,[2] whose son is Indra, is the cycle of 5 luni-solar years; her sets of three twins are the three pairs of intercalary months, and thus explain Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṃśa, and Bhaga. Indra is the 7th in a series of 20 years, and the dead Mārtāṇḍa is the broken 8th month, for as the solar year is 365¼ days, not 366, to keep the seasons straight, at the end of the period, not a full month but half only must be intercalated. Vṛtra is nothing else than this broken 8th month coming after the 7th month, Indra; and more precisely, as he is connected

[1] *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, i, 10. 5. [2] Ibid. i, 6. 12.

with Agni and Soma, the light half of that month. Two passages of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*[1] are pressed into service to show this, but neither has anything whatever of the kind in it. Then from the identification of Aṃhaspatya and the Avestan Ameshaspenta,[2] it is deduced that as the Ādityas are the Ameshaspentas and are seven, there were seven Aṃhaspatyas, although this statement is wholly unsupported by any Vedic passage. But evidence is sought in a large number of passages where 7 occur (*Atharvaveda*, vii, 9. 17, 18, 21, 23; ix, 9. 2, 3, 13, 14, 16; x, 3. 8–10; 5. 4, 5, 7, 18; xii, 3. 16; xiii, 2. 24; xix, 53. 1, 2); or 8 (x, 8. 7, 13; xii, 4. 22); or $7\frac{1}{2}$ (ix, 10. 17), and an exposition of the *Aruṇopaniṣad* is given on the theory that it deals with an intercalated year. Incidentally it is shown that *drapsa* is a name of 100 years, a sense also found in the *Atharvaveda*,[3] and the "seven suns", which are normally conceived to be planets and the earliest clear mention of those bodies, are reduced to intercalary months. The 7 logs of Agni, 7 tongues, 7 Ṛṣis are all found to be the intercalary months.[4] That Indra slew Śambara in the 40th year,[5] and that Vṛtra had 100 forts[6] which Indra destroyed, are pressed into the service. and if the latter notice can be taken as a 100 times repetition of the cycle of 20 years, the chronology of the Vedic period is fixed at $20 \times 100 = 2{,}000$ years. The laying down of 7 bricks 101 times in the building of the fire altar[7] shows that the number of the 20 years cycles amounts to 101 in the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, proving that then there had elapsed 2,020 years in the Vedic era. Another calculation based on the same Brāhmaṇa gives 2,172 years. The latter

[1] ii, 5. 2; vi, 5. 1.

[2] That this identification can be accepted is inadmissible, but the argument is, even on the identification, without value.

[3] xviii, 18. 29. [4] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 1. 1. 2; ix, 2. 3. 44–5.

[5] *Ṛgveda*, ii, 12. 11. [6] Ibid. i, 130. 7; iv, 30. 20.

[7] *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, x, 2. 4. 7.

train of reasoning is too elaborate to reproduce[1]; it is headed by the postulate that the "Vedic poets usually represent a day by a syllable". The evidence adduced for this statement is a Brāhmaṇa passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*,[2] which merely says that there are as many days in the year as syllables in the Sāmidhenī verses, and has nothing whatever about days being represented by syllables.

The importance of the question lies in the problem of method. It is a legitimate and important object of research to determine in so far as is possible the knowledge of the Vedic Indian of the calendar. It is clear that by the time of the *Nidāna* and the *Lāṭyāyana Sūtras* that knowledge was to some extent developed, though still very imperfect. Intercalation was practised in certain ways. But to deduce from this fact that we are to find the systematic practice of intercalation in the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas is illegitimate; we have every reason to suppose that the Indian mind steadily advanced in knowledge. There is, therefore, no *a priori* ground to find a system of a 5 year cycle in these texts, and in point of fact no one has ever adduced a single Brāhmaṇa passage which states that the year was of any other duration than 360 days, or that there was a 5 year cycle at all. All that we can see is that the length of the year was theoretically 360 days, that there was doubt if there were to be reckoned only 12 or 13 months (of unspecified duration or expressly stated at 30 days),[3] and we can deduce thence that the need was felt of assimilating the conventional year to the real movement of the seasons. That any further advance had been made we have not the slightest ground for believing. To turn to the large mass of scattered references to numbers and mystic allusions of the texts and to read into them references to intercalation is to abandon all sure ground. In one sense it is advantageous, for if it is asserted that 7 Ṛṣis are an

[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 5. 2. 10. [2] i, 7. 3. [3] *Atharvaveda*, xiii, 3. 8.

equivalent for 7 intercalary months and 21 streams for 21 intercalary days, then one rises superior to the ordinary canons of logic and common sense. The only real reply is that this view has never suggested itself to the Occidental commentators as a possible meaning of the terms used, or to the Oriental commentators as the mystic meaning of the texts, and that it is open to any other ingenious person to show, doubtless with equal conviction, that something quite different is implied. It may further be added that where the argument rests on actual renderings of Vedic texts it is possible to show that serious misapprehensions have occurred.

It is unnecessary in considering the Vedic Calendar to deal in detail with the interpretations of the *Nidāna Sūtra* put forward by Mr. Shamasastry. So far as these are based on the theory that the sacrifices were made on intercalary days in series of years, they are wholly implausible and run counter to the language of the text. But it is essential to remember that the *Nidāna Sūtra* is not an authority for the Vedic period of the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. It is a late work of the Sūtra period of undetermined and probably undeterminate date, and has little better title to be cited in this connexion than the *Jyotiṣa* itself. The *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* is of greater value and antiquity, but it also is not an authority for the period of the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, though in point of fact it gives very little of his material to Mr. Shamasastry, the reason for this being doubtless that its wording is in the main too plain to allow even of the appearance of supporting his theory of intercalation. Dr. Fleet has already[1] pointed out that Mr. Shamasastry in the *Nidāna*, without ground, introduces the idea of intercalary months to the expression *saṃbhārya*, which denotes "capable of contraction", being an appropriate term for months from which days are omitted.

[1] *The Vedic Calendar*, pp. 13, n. 18; 14, n. 24; see also Weber, *Naxatra*, ii, 281 sqq.

## XIX

# THE INSCRIPTION ON THE MANIKIALA STONE

By F. E. PARGITER

THIS record has been treated by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique* (sér. IX, vol. vii), 1896, i, 5 ff. (where he has described its provenance and appearance and has mentioned earlier notices of it), and by Professor Lüders in this Journal, 1909, pp. 645 ff. My treatment of it is based on my own reading of the two facsimile plates published with M. Senart's paper, and I have to thank Dr. Fleet for various criticisms and suggestions. Where pages are cited in connexion with M. Senart's or Professor Lüders' readings, they mean the pages of their respective articles; and when quoting their readings of particular words, I distinguish the readings by adding S or L, using these letters for the sake of brevity.

In considering the record it is well to notice the salient features, because they may reveal its general character and supply criteria as to what may, and what may not, be expected or permissible.

First, as to the writing. A careful look shows at once that there are three different handwritings on the stone. In the two lines on the right side, which contain the engraver's name and the date, the letters are irregular and of various sizes, markedly different from the bulk of the inscription; in fact, they are a scrawl, such as might be expected from a workman-engraver who was not a practised scribe. Moreover, he writes *ṁ* in *Saṁdha* differently from *ṁ* in the rest of the inscription. These two lines are evidently his own work entirely and form no part of the inscription proper; hence in the remainder of these remarks I refer only to all the rest as the "inscription" or "record".

The record is well written, and clearly was not engraved by the workman unaided. It is too good to be wholly his handiwork: that is, it must have been written out by some scribe with ink or paint on the stone, and he merely incised the written letters. This is the obvious inference, and it is fully corroborated by what has been revealed of the method of engraving by the copper plate found at Kasiā.[1]

The inscription consists of two parts, which I will call (1) the middle section, and (2) the left section, comprising all the writing on the left side. These two sections are not uniform, but betray two hands. The writing in the middle section from line 2 to *sthavayeti* in line 7 differs from that in the left section in three respects: (1) in the latter the letters are narrower and neater than in the former; (2) the tails of the letters, when not straight, have a leftward curve in the former and a rightward curve in the latter; and (3) the characters for *ṇ* and *n* are interchanged in the two sections. M. Senart and Professor Lüders make no definite distinction between these letters, but a scrutiny will show there is a difference. Thus, in the middle section *n* has a straight stem, as in *janayago* (*nayago*, S and L; l. 4) and *asvanana* (*atra nana*, S; *etra nana*, L; l. 6); but the character with the curved stem appears in places where, as my reading will show, *ṇ* should properly occur, as in *Guṣaṇo* (l. 2) and *apaṇage* (l. 5). In the left section, however, *ṇ* has the straight stem, as in *parivareṇa* (l. 9), and *n* has the curved stem as in *mulena* (l. 10). These distinctions will be found to hold good throughout the two sections—with only a single variation in *dana* (or *etana*; l. 9), where the stem is bent to the right. I may add, however, that these distinctions are not material to the reading of the inscription, and the reading is unaffected, even if I should follow M. Senart and Professor Lüders in ignoring them.

[1] JRAS, 1913, p. 151.

Two passages, however, are doubtful, namely, line 1 and the second half of line 7. The writing of the latter seems intermediate between that of the two sections, yet appears rather to belong to the middle section, because the final nasal has the stem straight in the three words *taena Vespaśiena Khudeṇṭiena* (though the tail is slightly curved in the last), and, as the nasal is certainly *n* in *Vespaśiena*, it must be read *n* alike in all, thus showing agreement with the characters in the middle section. Line 1 may be different, and the view taken of it will depend on the explanation of it. It would be by a fourth hand, if my suggestion regarding it be sound (p. 658).

There appear to be several new letters in this Kharoṣṭhī script, namely, *kṣ* (or *kś*) and probably *θr* in *kṣaθra* (l. 2); a letter that seems (speaking provisionally) to be *ṇṭi* in *vihaṇṭi* (l. 5) and *Khudeṇṭiena* (l. 7); and *nt* in *Spantakahi* (l. 10); while *sth* in *sthavayeti* (l. 7) deserves notice. As regards the vexed letter which M. Senart reads as *spa* and Professor Lüders as *e*, I cannot but agree with the former that it is *spa*, because there are undoubted *e*'s in *patiaśae* (l. 1), *taena*, *Vespaśiena* and *Khudeṇṭiena* (l. 7) and *karaphaeṇa* (l. 8), and there is no good reason to suppose that the scribe quite unnecessarily wrote *e* sometimes like *sp* with the probability of confusing the two, especially in the same word if we follow Professor Lüders' reading of *Veeśiena* for *Vespaśiena* (l. 7). It is but reasonable to suppose that the scribe meant a difference where he made a difference. The letter when read as *spa* yields good sense, and that is one main test whether the reading is right. There is one clear mistake in *parivaveṇa* for *parivareṇa* (l. 9), with probably a second in *vaśaṁ* for *vaṁśaṁ* (l. 3), and a third in *Spantakahi* (l. 10).

Next, as regards the nature of the record. It seems obvious (and here I agree with M. Senart, p. 14) that there are Iranian words in it, such as *Purvaspa* (l. 2) and *Vespaśi* (ll. 4, 7) as he and I read these words.

The phrase *vihara-karaphaeṇa* is especially significant. I agree with him in the reading of the word *karapha*[1] and his view of it (p. 19), and I take it as it stands, though he has suggested a modification (p. 22). Obviously it is not Indian. Being joined to *vihāra*, it must denote some official of position in a vihāra. No Buddhist title such as *svāmin* is used, but a foreign term is applied and presumably it also is Iranian. Hence *karapha* is no doubt the nomin. sing. of the Iranian *karapan*, *karafn*, the term applied to teachers and priests hostile to the Zoroastrian religion (Bartholomae, *Dict.*). The priest of the vihāra, that is, obviously the abbot, is described by a Zoroastrian title; and this shows that the author of this inscription was not a Buddhist but a Zoroastrian. It is highly improbable, then, that the stone can record the dedication of any Buddhist memorial; and the co-operation of a Zoroastrian donor with a Buddhist abbot suggests that the benefaction commemorated was something non-religious.

The language is Prakrit, but the character of the Prakrit is unequal, and in this respect there is no material difference between the middle and the left sections, except that the latter may be a little better. Obvious peculiarities are the following, and I choose instances which appear certain, because my readings of them are supported by M. Senart or Professor Lüders or both. While the pure Sanskrit form *saṁvardhaka* is used (l. 3), a single Sanskrit *k* is changed to *g*, as in *janayago* (*nayago*, S and L; l. 4), and Sanskrit *p* passes through *b* to *v* in *sthavayeti* (l. 7); yet Sanskrit *t* is not changed to *d*, but persists in *bhatara*, *patiśae* (l. 1), *pati* and *sthavayeti* (l. 7). The treatment of conjunct *r* varies. In an initial compound it is dropped, as in *bhatara*, *patiśae* and *pati*; in a medial compound it often persists, as the first member in *saṁvardhaka* and *murta* (ll. 5, 6), and as the second

[1] The result is the same if we read *karafa*, see p. 657.

member in *agra* (l. 1) and *chatrapasa* (l. 4); yet it is modified to *ṁ* in *saṁveṇa* (l. 9), and is dropped or assimilated in *sadha* (if that be the word in l. 9).[1] *V* conjoint is not dropped, either in an initial compound as *Svara* (l. 1), or in a medial as *asvanana* (l. 6, where M. Senart acknowledges that a *v* is the primâ facie reading, p. 15).

The case terminations in nouns are generally of the ordinary form, and the nomin. sing. ends in *o*, as in *janayago* (*nayago*, S and L; l. 4); but the instrum. sing. takes strange forms. It occurs correctly in Indian words of the *a* class in the left section as in *parivareṇa* (l. 9) and *mulena* (l. 10); but its ending *ena* in that class is used as a termination for words of other classes that are foreign, as in *Vespaśiena* for *Vespaśinā* (l. 7) and *karaphaeṇa* for *karaphaṇā* or *karaphṇā* (l. 8). Clearly the dedicator was a foreigner not skilled in Prakrit, for otherwise he could hardly have permitted such irregular forms, whoever the actual composer was. It may be added that, in neuter nouns at least, the accus. sing. does not end in *ṁ*, because there must be an accus. between the nomin. *janayago* (l. 4) and the verb *sthavayeti* (l. 7), yet there is no word there ending in *ṁ*. *Vaśaṁ* (l. 3) is specially noticed *infra*.

I follow M. Senart in the order and numbering of the lines. The crucial portion of the record lies in lines 5 and 6, and there occur my chief differences from him and Professor Lüders. The inscription, as I read it, commemorates the establishment of some instrument for measuring hours in the market-place by Lalaṇa, the President of Māṇikiāla. The Satrap Vespaśi was precise about the observance of times, and Lalaṇa provided that the hours should be announced publicly, no doubt for the due regulation of the market and probably during

[1] In the workman-engraver's dialect *r* is retained in *karmigeṇa*, but is dropped or assimilated in *sava* (l. 12).

market-time only. In conclusion I will offer some suggestions as to how the inscription was put together and the meaning of the first line.

### Text

1 Bhatara Svarabudhisa agra-patiaśae
2 Saṁ 10 4 4 Kṣaθra-Purvaspa-maharajasa Kane-
3 ṣkasa[1] Guṣaṇo-vaśaṁ[2]-saṁvardhaka Lala-
4 ṇo janayago Vespaśisa[3] chatrapasa
5 hora-murta-satasa apaṇage vihaṇṭi (?)
6 hora-murto-asvanana bhaṇa va śudha-ñava
7 pati sthavayeti saha taena Vespaśiena Khudeṇṭi(?)ena
8 Buritreṇa ca vihara-karaphaeṇa[4]
9 saṁveṇa ca parivaveṇa[5] sadhaka dana[6] ku-
10 śala-mulena Budhehi ca Spantakahi[7] ca
11 sacasana bhavatu
12 Saṁdhabudhilena sava-karmigeṇa
13 Kartiyasa maña divase 20

### Translation

*May this tend* to the brother Svarabuddhi's obtaining the share of a supreme lot![8]

In the year 18 Lalaṇa, the President of the people, the aggrandiser[9] of the Guṣaṇa race of Kaneṣka, *who is* the great king of the realm Puru-aspa, establishes in the market-place of the Satrap Vespaśi,[10] who is fond of hours,

[1] I read this final as *sa* because I do not know what else it can be; but it is quite unlike all the *s*'s in this inscription. Can it be intended for *sya*, the full form of the genit. used honorifically as on the Wardak vase?

[2] Read *vaṁśaṁ*.

[3] It looks more like *Vespośisa*, but I adopt *Vespaśisa*, because the name is clear in l. 7, and Professor Lüders has explained the loop-like stroke (p. 648).

[4] Or *karafaeṇa*.

[5] Read *parivareṇa*.

[6] Or perhaps *sadha etana* (for *etena*).

[7] Read *Spantaehi*.

[8] I follow the meaning which similar words appeared to me to have on the Wardak vase (EI, xi, p. 214).

[9] This no doubt means "scion", as M. Senart (p. 12) and Professor Lüders (p. 648) agree.

[10] The market-place built by Vespaśi, or named after him.

*i.e.* muhūrtas,[1] a vihaṇṭi (?) for the purpose of the clear announcement through ringing or through calling out of the hours, *i.e.* muhūrtas—along with the said Vespaśi, with Khudeṇṭi (?), and with Buritra, the priest of the vihāra, and with all *their* attendants. May the useful gift by *its* meritorious foundation,[2] with *the aid* both *of* the Buddhas and *of* the Holy Ones, be the seat of accuracy.[3]

By Saṁdhabudhila, workman in all crafts.

On the day 20 of the month Kārttika.[4]

**Notes**

Line 1. *Bhatara* = Skt. **bhrātaraḥ*, genit. of *bhrātṛ*, from the base *bhrātar* with visarga dropped in Prakrit. But (since consonants are not written double in Kharoṣṭhī) it may also be read *bhattara*, which = Skt. **bhartaraḥ*, the similarly formed genit. of *bhartṛ*, "lord, master."

Line 2. *Kṣaθra* (*spatra*, S; *etra*, L). The first letter does not contain *sp*, because its top is straight, rather than round as in *Purvaspa* (l. 2) and *Vespaśi* (ll. 4, 7); but contains *k*. It has moreover two downward strokes beneath the *k*, which look too precise and clear-cut to be accidental marks in the stone, and so must have a significance. The whole character can only be *kṣ* (or perhaps *kś*), and this initial double consonant shows that the word cannot be Indian, for Indian *kṣ* would become *kh* or *ch* in Prakrit, cf. *chatrapa* (l. 4). The second letter is a consonant conjoined with *r* as the second member. Its top is not like *t*, *b* or *v*, and it differs from *tr* in *chatrapasa* (l. 4; though M. Senart regards them as alike, p. 10) and *Buritreṇa* (l. 8). These particulars show that the word can hardly be anything but the Iranian *khshaθra* (*xšaθra* in Bartholomae's *Dict.*), "kingdom, realm." The

[1] That is, "who is particular about time," "who likes punctuality," "who requires methodical arrangements."

[2] Or perhaps, "By this meritorious foundation may it be, etc."

[3] Or perhaps, "be always correct."

[4] Or probably, "At noon of the day 20 of Kārttika."

second letter therefore appears to be *θr*. The word being Iranian would not be subject to ordinary Prakrit modifications, but is transliterated as closely as possible, and thus gives us the new characters for *kṣ* (or *kś*) and *θr*. Even if the second letter be read as *tra*, the result is the same.

*Purvaspa* (so S; but *purvae*, L). This can only be Iranian *puru-aspa*, "rich in horses," which M. Senart notices but does not adopt (pp. 20–2). Here it must be the name of some country, as would be natural after *kṣaθra* and before *maharaja*. Can it be the Iranian equivalent of Skt. *Aśvaka*, Greek *Aspasioi* and *Hippasioi*?[1] Against this construction Dr. Fleet points out "that it is quite opposed to the practice of, at any rate, the early inscriptions, to find *mahārāja* in composition in that fashion; if this expression qualified Kaneṣka, the text ought to have been — *kṣathra-purvaspa-rajasa maharajasa*, etc." I see, however, no other way of construing the words, which are quite clear; possibly this may be an exception, for the record certainly has peculiarities in its grammar and construction (see pp. 645, 650, 655).

Line 3. *Guṣaṇo* (*Guṣana*, S and L). The *ṇ* has a clear-cut stroke to the left, near its foot, and the stroke must have a meaning. It does not, I think, denote *u*, which would be formed by a loop,[2] and can only indicate *o*, although it is placed somewhat low.

I had reached this conclusion before Baron von Staël-Holstein's article, "Was there a Kuṣana Race?" appeared (p. 79 *ante*), and had written it here before the criticism of that article by Dr. Fleet, "The Name Kushān," appeared (p. 369 *ante*). In both those papers this last letter is discussed. Nothing material depends on whether the consonant is read as *n* or *ṇ*. The point in dispute

[1] McCrindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 22, 33.

[2] *Nu* with the loop will be found often in the Stein MSS., as in the word *mahanuava*; see Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. ii, plate xcii, fig. N. xv. 88 (first word); etc.

between them is whether it has the vowel *u* or *a*. I have therefore reconsidered it carefully, because my view differs from both theirs. The letter is *ṇ* (see p. 642), and its tail is forked, consisting of a downward stroke and a leftward stroke. The Baron regarded the former as part of the stem of *n* and the latter as the vowel-mark *u* (p. 84 *ante*), and so read the letter as *nu*. Dr. Fleet dissents and, agreeing with M. Senart and Professor Lüders in reading only the vowel *a*, says, "The turn to the left at the bottom of the vertical stroke [i.e., the stem of the *ṇ*] is nothing but a slight exaggeration of the slope to the left with which the Kharōshṭhī *ṇ* often ends, and is quite in agreement with the general sloping character of the writing of this record" (p. 374 *ante*). Hence he reads the letter as *ṇa*.

The two forked strokes at the tail are clearly cut,[1] so cleanly that I do not think either can be treated as a mere flaw or accident.[2] Both appear to be precise and deliberate, and must therefore be dealt with as such.

The first question then for decision is, which of these two strokes constitutes the tail of *ṇ*? Now, *ṇ* and *n* occur singly in nineteen other places on this stone, and in every instance the tail of the letter is either straight or, if curved, has a curve so slight that it is almost straight. In no case does the tail make a sharp bend to the left like the leftward stroke found here. Hence the only conclusion that seems consistent and just is, that the downward stroke constitutes the tail of the letter,[3] and that the leftward stroke is an addition to the letter.

That being so, the leftward stroke can denote only one of two things, either the vowel *u* or the vowel *o*. The vowel *u* occurs ten times added to various consonants

[1] This is plain from M. Senart's first plate, and also from Dr. Fleet's reproduction of the word (plate opposite p. 378 *ante*).

[2] True flaws occur above *go* and *tra* and perhaps in *spa* (l. 4).

[3] If the leftward stroke constituted the tail, the letter would be *d* rather than *ṇ*.

here (putting aside the very peculiar character *mu* which appears thrice), and is expressed by a loop in every instance.[1] In no case is it denoted by a straight stroke. In earlier times, in the Aśoka inscriptions *u* was indicated by a leftward stroke attached to or near the foot of a letter,[2] and *u* in *nu* was denoted by that stroke applied, however, to the very extremity of *n*,[3] whereas here the stroke is attached higher up. That *u* stroke passed out of use, and *u* is always indicated here by a loop. Though neither *ṇu* nor *ñu* occurs elsewhere on this stone, yet that *nu* was expressed by a loop added to *n* is proved by its occurrence in the Stein MSS.[4] Clearly therefore the leftward stroke here cannot denote *u*. It can, however, represent *o*, because it is the regular *o* mark attached in the usual way. The only objection that can (as far as I can see) be raised to its denoting *o* is that it is applied here lower than the *o* stroke is generally placed; but the *o* mark is found added quite low sometimes, as in the well-known character *ho* (which occurs twice here) and also in the word *proṭhavadasa* on the pedestal of the Hashtnagar statue of Buddha.[5]

For these reasons it seems clear to me that the last letter in this word must be read *ṇo*. There need be no hesitation in reading the word as *Guṣaṇo*, for *Guṣaṇo* is the nomin. sing. of *Guṣaṇa*, both in this Prakrit and in Iranian, and is used in the compound *Guṣaṇo-va(m̀)śaṁ* after the Iranian fashion of using the nomin. form instead of the base-form in the first member of a compound word.[6] Here the relation of the two words is genitival, "the race of the Guṣaṇas," or adjectival, "the Guṣaṇa race"; and another

[1] The loop in *kuśala* (l. 9) does not appear quite complete, because it is near the edge of the stone.

[2] Bühler's Table I, cols. i–v.

[3] *Id.* col. v.

[4] See p. 648, note [2].

[5] IA, xviii, p. 257; JASB, lviii, p. 144; Journ. Asiat., sér. VIII, vol. xv, pp. 124–6.

[6] Jackson's *Avesta Grammar*, § 865. Many other examples will be found in the Index to the Zend Avesta, SBE.

similar instance occurs in the phrase *hora-murto-asvanana* (l. 6).[1]

*Vaśaṁ-saṁvardhaka* (*vaśa*°, S and L). The *śa* has *ṁ* plainly attached to it. This appears to be a fine phrase used honorifically; but either the scribe has mistakenly attached *ṁ* to the *śa* instead of to the *va*, or the composer's learning was inadequate, for he has made *saṁvardhaka* govern the accus. case and has kept it with the base °*ka* as in a compound instead of writing it °*ko* as it should be in this Prakrit.

Lines 3 and 4. *Lalaṇo janayago* (*laladoḍanayago*, S; *Laladaḍanayago*, L). The first letter in line 4 appears to be *ṇ* and not *d*; compare *ṇ* in *Guṣaṇo* (l. 3), while in *d* the tail is short and curved to the left. I agree with M. Senart that it has the vowel *o*, which appears more clearly in his second plate; and there should be an *o* somewhere here, because this whole expression contains a name and a title, both in the nomin. case, and the name should have the nomin. termination *o*, just as the title has it in the final *go*. This being so, the *ṇo* shows that the name ends with it and is therefore *Lalaṇo*; hence the remaining letters compose the title. The first letter of the title is *ja*, like *ja* in *rajasa* (l. 2), so that the title is *janayago*. This can only be interpreted (since letters are not written double in Kharoṣṭhī) as *janayyago*, which = *janáryako* = *jana* + *ārya* + *ka*, *ry* becoming *yy* and *ārya ayya* in Prakrit,[2] and *k* declining to *g*, as M. Senart

[1] This reading *Guṣaṇo* strengthens Dr. Fleet's argument about the name *Kuṣān* (pp. 373–4 *ante*). The reading *Guṣaṇa* is in itself inconclusive, for it might equally well be the base-form *Guṣaṇa* or the Prakrit genit. plur. of *Guṣa*; but *Guṣaṇo* can be nothing but the nomin. sing., which declares plainly that the name must be *Guṣaṇa* (i.e., *Kuṣan*) and nothing else. Professor Konow's remarks about *Košano* as an old Khotanī genit. plur. do not apply here, because all the terminations here are Prakrit: ZDMG., 1914, p. 95.

[2] Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 284. Professor Lüders, reading *daḍanayago*, regards it as = *daṇḍanayago*, and finds this term in *dāṇḍanāyakasya* in a Mathurā stone-inscription (EI, ix, p. 242); but

and Professor Lüders both regard it. *Janāryaka* would mean "the noble man among the people", "the President of the people", probably "the head of the civic government".

Line 5. *Hora-murta-satasa*; and so S. Professor Lüders reads *horamurta sa tasa*, but if so read, or as *horamurtasa tasa*, the construction becomes grammatically untenable. *Satasa* must therefore be one word. It cannot = *sattvasa*, because conjunct *v* is not dropped here (p. 645); and can only = *sattasa*, genit. of *satta*, which = Skt. *sakta*, "attached to, fond of." The phrase might equally well be read *horamurtāsattasa* with *āsatta*, i.e. *āsakta*, and the meaning would be the same, but this seems to be too scholarly an expression for the general character of this inscription. *Hora* can, I think, be nothing but the Greek *hōra*, "hour" (which M. Senart suggested but hesitated to adopt, pp. 13–14), especially as *murta* can hardly be anything else than *muhūrta*. The two words fit each other and are used as practically equivalent, *muhūrta* being added to *hora* as the nearest Indian approach to the Greek *hōra* in order to explain *hora*, which had not been introduced into India at this time. *Hora* would have been familiar in the Greco-Bactrian states and to the author of this inscription, but not to the Indians; hence the use of both words in apposition. Dr. Fleet tells me that the practical division of time seems to have been the *nāḍī* and not the *muhūrta*. But the *nāḍī* of 24 minutes was not the equivalent of *hōra*, and *hōra* could only be translated into and explained in an Indian language by the word

there is a serious difficulty in the comparison. That word is not written continuously in that inscription, for *dāṇḍa* ends one line and *nāyakasya* occurs in the next line, and before *nāyakasya* there is a space (sufficient for two letters) where the line of the left margin of the inscription suggests that there must have been two letters originally, though now obliterated. The reading therefore should be *dāṇḍa* .. :. *nāyakasya*; hence the parallelism seems faulty, besides requiring that a nasal should be added. My reading accepts the phrase just as it is.

*muhūrta*, which as containing 48 minutes was its nearest equivalent.[1]

This interpretation depends on the question whether *muhūrta* could have been contracted to *mūrta*. Internal consonants can certainly drop out; thus *udūkhala* becomes *ohala*[2]; *kutūhala*, *kohala*; and *sukumāra*, *somāra* and *sūmāla*.[3] *H* is undoubtedly a fairly persistent letter in Prakrit, and the question is whether it can so drop out. Pischel says it does not drop out,[4] but others do not agree with him,[5] and there are undoubted instances to show that it does drop out sometimes. Thus *iha* becomes *ia* in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra edicts, which belong to this very region.[6] Southward in the Bombay Presidency *h* between *a* and *ā* drops out; thus *Mahārāṣṭra(ka)* becomes *Marāṭhā*, *Mādevī* = *Mahādevī*,[7] and *Māvali* = *Mahāvali*, *Mahābali*.[8] Another instance occurs in the word *galatthia*, "caught by the throat," which is explained as = *galahastita*, "having the hand on the throat."[9] These instances go to show that *h* between the similar vowels *a* and *ā* is specially liable to drop out[10]; and it would be natural and probable that *h* between the similar vowels

[1] Professor Konow has proposed to connect *hora* with the old Khotanī word *hora*, "gift" (which view Professor Lüders had also arrived at previously), and *murta* with Zend *marəta*, "man"; and so translate *horamurta* as "the alms man", i.e., an official in charge of the alms, in connexion with the *vihāra* (ZDMG, 1914, p. 98). See final note.

[2] Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 148. [3] *Id.* § 123. [4] *Id.* § 266.

[5] For instance, Professor Lüders postulates the dropping out of *h* to explain the word *masa* in l. 13 (JRAS, 1909, p. 666).

[6] Dr. Fleet has given the references for this in JRAS, 1909, p. 1089. I have to thank him for this and the following instances.

[7] Kielhorn's *Southern List of Inscriptions*, Nos. 224, 268 (EI, vii, Appendix).

[8] *Id.* Nos. 649, 651, 670. Similarly *mājana* = *mahājana*.

[9] Weber's *Saptaśataka*, 2nd ed., p. 280, verse 584, with Comm. In his note thereto, Weber disputes Pischel's dictum. I have to thank Dr. Hoernle for this instance and the next note.

[10] This tendency is fairly common in the modern vernaculars; thus *tāṉ* = *tahāṉ*, "there"; *kāṉ* = *kahāṉ*, "where?" etc. Hoernle's *Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, § 467. He also tells me that *Bṛhaspati* appears as *Bihapphai* and *Bipha*i.

*u* and *ū* might drop out, though no instance can be cited because the combination *uhū* is very rare. There seems nothing improbable therefore in the equation, that *murta*, i.e. *mūrta* = *muhūrta*.

*Apaṇage*. The mark like a grave accent over the *g* appears to be too clear-cut to be an accidental blemish, and I agree with Professor Lüders in reading it as *e*. To the illustration cited by him (p. 651) I may add the *e* sign in *mulena* here (l. 10) where the inclination is similar though not so pronounced; and also the *e* sign in the letter *le* in tablet N. xvi. 2 reverse, in the words *lekha* (near the end of l. 2) and *lekhena* (middle of l. 3).[1] It seems to have been so written here and in those instances of *le* in order to make it distinct from the left curve of *g* and of *l*. *Apaṇage* is the locat. of *āpaṇaga*, which = Skt. *āpaṇa* + *ka*, "market-place," *k* being modified to *g* as in *janayago* above.

*Vihaṇṭi* (*vihare*, S and L). The final syllable is not *re*, but contains more strokes than *re*. It closely resembles the third letter from the end of l. 7, which is read as *ci* by M. Senart and Professor Lüders, and the resemblance shows that all the strokes in both are intended and that both must presumably be read alike. It seems to be some compound letter with the vowel-mark *i*. The context suggests that the word is the name of some instrument for measuring "hours", so that it is a special term and therefore an uncommon one outside the ordinary vocabulary. Hence it is difficult to fix the value of the letter unless we can divine what the word must be. This, however, I have been unable to do, and I can only suggest provisionally that it is *ṇṭi*, because it appears to contain the letter *ṭ*,[2] and the other consonant can only be a nasal, since the language is Prakrit and the character does not

[1] Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. ii, pl. ci; the portion that appears upside down.

[2] See Bühler's Table I, cols. ii, iii.

contain the sign of *y*, *r* or *v* conjunct. The nasal appears to be indicated by the small horizontal bar attached to the middle on the left side, as more fully explained in the note on *Spantakahi*, *infra*. *Ghaṭī* is the term for a "water-clock", which meaning would suit the context perfectly, but I cannot connect *vihaṇṭi* with it linguistically. A bell, *ghaṇṭā* or *ghaṇṭī*, would not measure hours. *Vihaṇṭi* is, I think, one word, and cannot be split up into *vi* (= *api*) *haṇṭi*, because such a use of *vi* here seems highly improbable: and I doubt if *haṇṭi* could well = *ghaṭī*.

Line 6. *Hora-murto*; see above. The only point to be noticed here is the final *o*, and I would suggest that it is the Iranian use of the nomin. sing. form in compounds, as mentioned above in explanation of *Guṣaṇo*. Here also the dependence is genitival, but the construction is loose, for the compound is not merely *hora-mūrto-āsvananā*, but includes the whole phrase *āsvananā bhāṇā vā*.

*Asvanana* (*atra nana*, S; *etra nana*, L). The first letter appears to be *a*; the tail has been cut broad as in *v* in *saṁvardhaka* (l. 3), but I see no indication of a rightward stroke. M. Senart noticed the form of conjunct *v* in the second letter, but preferred to read it as conjunct *r* (p. 15). It seems to me plainly *sv* as in *Svara* (l. 1) and the form in Bühler's Table I, col. xiii, No. 37, as distinguished from *tv* in *ibid.* No. 31; for the *r* stroke is not carried so high as here, compare it in *chatrapasa* (l. 4) and *Buritreṇa* (l. 8). I take the word as the ablat. *āsvananā*, a legitimate formation from the root *ā-svan*.

*Bhaṇa va* (*bhagava*, S and L). The second letter has not got the left curl of *g*, and could not have lost it, because the stone is higher on the left side of the letter than on its right side and so would have clearly retained any incision there. It seems to be *ṇ*; and the reading appears to be *bhāṇā vā*, with the ablat. case.

*Śudha* (*Budha*, S and L). The first letter has two distinct legs and can only be *śu* or *yu*. The *u* sign has

been attached to the right leg instead of the left, but this may be only a scribe's peculiarity, like the *e* sign in *apaṇage* (l. 5). The only tenable reading appears to be *śudha*.

*Ñava* (*thuvaṁ*, S; *ṭhuvaṁ*, L). The first letter appears to be plainly *ñ*. It has a long curved tail, and the *v* a faint curved tail. M. Senart and Professor Lüders interpret the former curve as *u*, and the latter as *ṁ*; but neither *u* nor *ṁ* is so made here, and *ṁ* in particular is always made in one way, compare *saṁ* (ll. 2, 3, and 9) and *śaṁ* (l. 3).[1] Both curves therefore, if intentional, are merely flourishes as in *sa* of *saha* (l. 7). The word can therefore be only *ñava*, which = *ñāva* = Skt. *jñāpa* for the ordinary *jñāpana*, *p* degenerating to *v* as in *sthavayeti* (l. 7). It is in the accus. case, treated as a neuter noun, governed by the following *pati*.

Line 7. *Pati sthavayeti* (*patithavayati*, S; *pratistavayati*, L). I can perceive no *r* subscript to *pa*, and it would be naturally dropped (see p. 644). If the whole be one word, it represents Skt. *pratiṣṭhāpayati*, but, since the first *p* has dropped its *r* and the second *p* has degenerated into *v*, it is hardly credible that *ṣṭh* could persist or could appear as anything but *ṭṭh*, that is *ṭh*, since consonants are not written double. The third letter, however, is certainly not *ṭh*, but resembles *st*, and yet differs from *st* in having the middle horizontal bar turned well upward on the right side; so that it can only be *sth*.[2] This fact that *sth* persists and has not been turned into *ṭh* shows that it must be the initial letter and not a medial letter, and therefore that *pati* is not compounded with the verb, but is a separate preposition governing *ñava*. The fifth syllable appears to be *ye*, and the verb therefore is *sthavayeti*. *Ye* is possible and intelligible, because °*yeti* would correspond to Iranian

[1] As regards the form of *u*, see p. 650.

[2] Professor Lüders approved this view, but did not adopt it (pp. 653-4).

°*yaⁱti*, and Iranian influences are prevalent here, as already pointed out.

*Taena* (so L; but *taeṇa*, S). The final seems to be *n* rather than *ṇ* (see p. 643, *ante*); hence I hesitate to adopt their reading *taena* = *trayeṇa*, excellent though it is; and also for the reason that this Prakrit does not appear to drop out medial *y* where it is an essential part of a base (cf. *sthavayeti*) but only where it is part of a termination (cf. *patiaśae*, l. 1). Hence I feel constrained to think it an irregular form of *tena* fashioned like the following *Vespaśiena Khudeṇṭiena*, for it will be noticed that there is no correct instrumental in this middle section. It does not, however, affect the general sense whichever interpretation be taken.[1]

*Khudeṇṭiena* (?) (*khuḍaciena*, S; *khujaciena*, L). The second letter appears to be *de*; it is not like ordinary *ḍa*, nor like *ja* in *rajasa* (l. 2). The difficult letter is the third, and it has been discussed in the note on *vihaṇṭi*, *ante*. The word appears to be a name, though an adjective agreeing with *Vespaśiena*, and meaning "approving" or "concurring", would equally well suit the context.

Line 8. *Karaphaeṇa* (so S; *karavhaena*, L). This has been discussed above (p. 644). The third letter might well be read as *f* according to Professor Franke's suggestion mentioned by Professor Lüders (p. 654), and would agree with the Iranian *karafn*.

Line 9. *Sadhaka dana* (*sadha etena*, S and L). *Etena* would agree with the usual formula and is expected; but the first duty is to read the actual script. The third letter may be either *e* or *ka*; but the fourth is not *t*, nor has it the vowel-mark *e*; it is *da*. I am constrained, therefore, to read *sādhaka dāna* as what has been actually written, and as it gives a perfectly good meaning, "a useful gift," I cannot suggest that there is

[1] The word might be read as *daeva*, but the Iranian *daeva* is untenable.

a mistake for the usual formula, especially since this gift was not one of the ordinary Buddhist donations, nor indeed a Buddhist donation at all. Either reading, however, yields the same sense practically.

Line 10. *Spantakahi* (*spavaspahi*, S; *ṣavaehi*, L). I agree with M. Senart in reading the first letter as *spa*, because there are two curves at the top, a right and a left (as he has pointed out, p. 20), and not a single curve as in *ṣ*. The second letter has a *v*-shape, yet appears to have a small horizontal bar on the left side of its stem. Now the character for *v* with a cross horizontal bar denotes *st*, and I would suggest that this letter with its half bar on the left is based on that *st* form and denotes *nt*. I have given reasons for holding that a conjunct *m* is denoted by a cross bar in the word *ṭumbi* on the Wardak vase (EI, xi, p. 213); and here a nasal for *nt* could only be indicated by a half bar, because the full cross bar had been appropriated for *st*, and the nasal could not be attached as *ṁ* to the preceding *sp* because there was not enough room. The third letter seems to me plainly *ka*, because its top is straight rather than curved, but I agree with Professor Lüders that it should be *e*. The whole word then is *Spantaehi*, a crude instrum. plural from *Spanta* (cf. *karaphaeṇa*, l. 8), the Iranian *spənta*, "holy." *Spantaehi*, "with the Holy Ones," would be the corresponding Zoroastrian term to the Buddhist *Budhehi*; the two terms are obviously *ejusdem generis*, and both should be expected here because, as already pointed out, a Zoroastrian donor has joined with a Buddhist abbot in this dedication.

Line 11. *Sacasana* (*saca sada*, S; *sachasana*, L). The second letter appears to be *ca*, for its stem is not straight. The fourth appears to be *n* (compare *n* in *mulena*), though *d* is not impossible. *Sacasana* can only = *saccāsana* = Skt. *satyâsana*, "seat of truth *or* accuracy." *Saca sada* would be *sacca sadā*, "always true *or* correct."

The two readings mean the same practically, though the former seems certainly pretentious.

Line 12. *Saṁdhabudhilena* (so S; *saṁdha Budhilena*, L). I agree with M. Senart in regarding the whole as a name. It has been pointed out that lines 12 and 13 were added by the workman-engraver (p. 641), and he could not have been associated with the dignitaries mentioned as a participator in the dedication. The name is that of a workman, and it seems to me unnecessary to perplex one's self about irregularities in its formation.

*Sava-karmigeṇa* (so S; *navak°*, L). The first letter appears to be clearly *sa* in the second plate. It may be noted that the *ṇ* here differs from the *n* in *budhilena*, as it should.

Line 13. *Maña* (*masa*, S and L). The second letter is *ña*, and I can see no resemblance to *sa* in it. *Māña* may be meant for *māsa*, but if so, there are two difficulties: (1) it should precede *Kartiyasa*; and (2) since it follows, it should have the genit. form *māsasa*, for this was quite within the workman's competence since he has declined both words in l. 12. Three explanations may be suggested: (1) *māña* may be a mistake for *māsasa*; or (2) it may be the nearest way of writing *māəṅhō*, the Iranian genit. of *māh*, "month";[1] or (3) the word may (as Dr. Fleet suggests) be *mājha*, read with the following *divase*. The first involves too improbable an error; the second postulates too much knowledge in an Indian workman. The third seems most reasonable, "at noon of the day 20."

There remain some questions concerning the relation of the different parts of the inscription, namely:—

(1) What is the purport of line 1, for the inscription must have begun originally with l. 2, as pointed out by Professor Lüders (p. 660)?

(2) How came the left section to be written? For, if

[1] Jackson's *Avesta Grammar*, §§ 352–3: *ñ* being written for *ṅh*, since Kharoṣṭhī had apparently no character for *ṅ*.

it had formed part of the original inscription, the whole would have been written out properly by the scribe (see p. 642) in longer lines across the stone, so as to have it all uniform.

The most reasonable explanation seems to me to be this. The inscription consisted originally of lines 2 to 7 only. The engraver incised it, and put his name and date on the right side. Then, almost immediately afterwards, all the left section was added to enlist the co-operation of the persons named therein, in order that the gift might be preserved in good working condition (*sacasana bhavatu*); because in the left section the Buddhist abbot is named, and the "Buddhas" are given precedence over the Zoroastrian "Holy Ones". The stone would then probably have been set up in the market-place, close to the object given.

That object may very likely have become damaged or destroyed afterwards; indeed, if it was an instrument for measuring time, it would almost certainly have been soon neglected as a bother to easy-going Indian ways, and have disappeared. The vihāra people, when building their stūpa, might then have appropriated the stone, partly to preserve it[1] and partly to make use of it in the position where it was discovered. Some vihāra monk would have done that, and he would have been Svarabuddhi, who, to obtain the merit of doing so, added line 1 at the top, which was the best space left where to inscribe it and was the most prominent position.[2]

[1] It was worth preserving, because it constituted a testimonial by the President (and the Satrap) to the existence and importance of the vihāra at that time.

[2] After this was in type I saw Professor Lüders' remarks on *horamurta* in SKPA. d. W., 1913, pp. 421 ff. I do not think it has any connexion with *horaka* or *horamurṇḍvaga* (if this word can be relied on). *Hora*, "alms," does not suit the context. *Murta* = *murṇḍa*, or = *marɔta* seem difficult equations.

## XX

# THE SO-CALLED "MAHAPADANA" SUTTANTA AND THE DATE OF THE PALI CANON

By L. A. WADDELL, LL.D., C.B.

TO students of Buddhism and Comparative Religion desirous of knowing Buddha's own views and teaching from his own words, it is extremely disconcerting to find that the Pāli Canon can no longer be regarded as the actual "Word" and Doctrine of Buddha himself. It has been conclusively established by the researches of Kern, Minayef, Senart, Feer, Poussin, Lefmann, Winternitz, R. O. Franke, and others (including the writer[1]) that the Pāli Canon is a mosaic of material belonging to different ages and stages in the development of Buddhism; and that the words and theories put into the mouth of Buddha therein are largely the composition of monks who lived several centuries after Buddha's death, and considerably later than was estimated by Professor H. Oldenberg.[2] Embedded thus in this mass of heterogeneous material, with no outstanding distinctive marks, it seems almost hopeless to confidently detect and dig out therefrom the pieces containing unequivocally the true Buddha-Word.

Hitherto no very systematic attempts at recovering these relics of Buddha's own teaching have been made, or on a sufficient scale. Yet such a searching exploration and sifting cannot be delayed if we would know Buddha's own Buddhism, or try to trace the origin of that faith bearing his name, and the factors in its early developments.

Brahmanical Sanskrit literature also depends upon this question to some extent in respect to its early

[1] My "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult": *Asiat. Quart. Rev.*, 1912, 140, 158 f. "Buddha's Diadem": *Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift*, ii, 1914.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, Introd., xv ff.

chronology. The dates of "*c.* 600 B.C." and "before 500 B.C.", provisionally assigned respectively to the *Atharva Veda*[1] and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* epics, depend upon the assumption that these works are presupposed by certain references in the Pāli Canon,[2] which is also assumed, with the Jātakas as well,[3] to date bodily back to practically Buddha's own day (i.e. died ± 482 B.C.). As this conjecture for the date of that Canon is no longer justified, the provisional dates for these Brahmanical works will now demand reduction by several centuries, with an equivalent lowering of the "Vedic Period".

For this analytical research, as Professor Winternitz lately wrote in this Journal,[4] "in the whole collection [of the *Tripiṭaka*] and in every one collection (for all books of the canon are collections) we shall have to distinguish several strata of Buddhist thought and literary activity, *separated from each other probably by several centuries.*" By subjecting the well-known *Mahā-Parinibbāna* account of the death of Buddha to certain arbitrary tests, Dr. Winternitz distinguishes in a rough way at least five strata of literary development, the lowest of which presumably contains Buddha's own contributions.

But the great difficulty in separating out with confidence the elements on this chronological basis is the want usually of distinctly evident lines of cleavage or separation in matter, when it is wholly or in the main purely metaphysical. More promising of trustworthy results is material of a quasi-historical character. I venture, therefore, to offer here, as a contribution to this subject, some results of my examination of, what is for this critical purpose, the most important of all the Pāli canonical texts.

[1] Macdonell, *Hist. Sanskrit Lit.*, 1905, 306–7; *Imp. Gaz. India*, 1908, ii, 292.
[2] Cf. also Bloomfield, *Atharva Veda*, Strassburg, 1899, 27.
[3] Macdonell, op. cit., 306. [4] 1911, 1151.

## I. Historical Importance of the "Mahapadana" Suttanta

The only books in the Pāli Canon which profess to be historical in character, and thus present some tangible basis for testing the authenticity of their contents, appear to be the two contained in the first division of Buddha's "Discourses" (*Suttanta*), namely, those entitled "*Mahā-padāna*" and *Mahā-Parinibbāna*. These form books Nos. 14 and 16 of the "Long Collection" (*Dīgha-Nikāya*). The former discourse purports to be a systematic account of the life of Buddha by himself, and it is believed with apparent reason to be the earliest biography of Buddha extant.

The prime importance which was attached to this text by the primitive Buddhists is seen by the place which they accorded it in the Pāli Canon. It forms *the first book* in "The Great Class" (*Mahā-vaggo*) of *the first "Collection"* (*Nikāya*) of Buddha's Doctrinal Discourses, or "Word" (*Sutta Piṭaka*). This highest position for it, in the primitive system, is confirmed also by its similar location in the Sanskrit Canon—a body of the Buddhist scriptures now admitted by the best authorities to be independent of the version in Pāli (itself a dialect of Southern India, remote from the scene of Buddha's life), though derived from a common traditional source, in the dialect in which Buddha spoke, presumably the ancient dialect of Mid-Gangetic India, which was the home of Sanskrit. In the Sanskrit Canon, as preserved in its Tibetan translation, the text corresponding to the discourse in question *forms the first volume of Buddha's "Discourses"* (*Sutrānta*, in Tibetan *mDo-sde*),[1] and it is continued into the second volume,[2] thus preceding all the other doctrinal "Discourses" (*Sutras*), as in the Pāli version.

[1] Cf. Csoma, "Analysis," *Asiatic Researches*, xx, 413 f.; also Feer's translation, 250 f.

[2] For details see after.

This foremost position for it, suggests to me that it was probably (in its original form) *the first book of Buddha's discourses* compiled by the primitive Buddhist monks during the lifetime of Buddha or soon after his death. In favour of this view, is its compact form and the fact that its contents comprise an epitome of the central features of Buddha's doctrine, including a detailed account of the Causal Nexus (the "Wheel of Life or Becoming") upon which Buddha specifically based all his teaching.

Yet, notwithstanding its great intrinsic, historical, and doctrinal importance, this book does not appear to have attracted any detailed critical study, although translated into more than one European language. In venturing to contribute towards its analysis I have dealt with the topics mainly from the standpoint gained by long study of the associated Sanskritic texts and of the Indian mythology with which the Pāli Canon is deeply saturated.

## II. Its Proper Title

The name adopted for this canonical book by the Pāli Text Society's editors,[1] and generally accepted by leading Pāli scholars in Europe,[2] namely *Mahāpadāna* (i.e. *Mahā-apadāna*) *Suttanta*, is, I find, not really justified. It is not even positively warranted by the evidence of the MSS. upon which it is based. Nor is expert Pāli knowledge (which I disclaim) necessary to perceive the obvious fact that it is neither justified by the sense (which would merely mean in effect "Tale of the Great Tale", but see after) nor by the form of any other known title of a *Suttanta* or *Apadāna*.

The proper title I shall show, I hope conclusively, is *Mahā-Padhāna Suttanta*, corresponding to the Sanskrit

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, 2nd ed., Rhys Davids & J. E. Carpenter, London, 1903, 1 f.

[2] Fausböll, *Jātaka Index*, 1897, 126; K. E. Neumann, *Reden Gotamo Buddho Langern Sammlung*, 1907; *Encyc. Relig. and Ethics*, i, 603, 1908; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Transls.*, 1909, 56; Winternitz, JRAS. 1911, 1146; R. O. Franke, *Dīgha Nikāya*, Göttingen, 1913, 179.

*Mahā-Pradhāna*, or "The Supreme One", a title of the supreme Brahmanical god, and actually applied elsewhere to Buddha, as I shall prove. It, moreover, aptly denotes the contents of this book, in which Buddha is invested with the supernatural attributes of the supreme Brahmanical deity *Puruṣa*, who, in the godless, dualistic Sāṅkhya philosophy in which Buddha is supposed to have been reared, required as its complement *Pradhāna* or Material Nature. Both title and contents, we shall see, throw important light upon the early theistic developments within primitive Buddhism before the compilation of the Pāli Canon.

### "Padhāna" v. "Apadāna"

*Apadāna*, the second element in the compound "Mahā-padāna", is the Pāli dialectical form of the Sanskrit *Avadāna*,[1] meaning "a legend", "an achievement, a great or glorious act, heroic action"[2]; but it is not specially applied to Buddha. On the other hand, *Padhāna* (Sanskrit *Pradhāna*) or "the supreme one" is the recognized title of the Supreme God of Brahmanism, and, as will presently be seen, it is specially applied to Buddha.

As a title "Apadāna" is best known as the designation of one of the books (No. 13) in the supplementary and somewhat apocryphal section of the canonical *Nikāya*, namely the "Minor Collection" (*Khuddaka Nikāya*). It comprises "heroic" tales in the form of legendary biographies and imaginary "former incarnations" of the Buddhist saints (*Arhats*), after the manner of the Jātaka-tales of Buddha. It is indeed the analogue of the latter, applied to saints of lower rank than Buddha, and is obviously modelled upon it, and its tales are made up to the same number, namely 550, with some additional tales devoted to nuns. Its date cannot be before the middle of the third century B.C., as it refers to the Kathā-Vatthu

[1] Childers' *Pali Dict.*, 47; Winternitz, *Gesch. des Indischer Lit.*, ii, 128.
[2] Cf. Sanskrit lexicons; also Childers' *Dict.*, 47.

(a work ascribed to Tissa, i.e. Upagupta, Asoka's high-priest[1]), and it extends the previous mythical Buddhas to thirty-five in number.[2]

Similarly, under its Sanskrit equivalent of "Avadāna", the chief collections of tales bearing that title are the *Mahāvastu - avadāna*, a Hīnayāna work of about the second century B.C.,[3] the *Divyāvadana*, The Hundred Avadānas (*A.-Śataka*).[4] The Nepalese and Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit canon also contain many such tales under this appellation.[5]

Thus, although the name "Apadāna" manifestly belongs to the later Buddhist period, and is not usually applied to tales of Buddha himself, it is sometimes so applied, and therefore it might possibly be employed to designate this Dīgha-Nikāya book describing the life of Śākya Muni, leading up to his most "glorious achievement", the attainment of Buddhahood.

Against this view, which is now generally accepted by Indianists,[6] I venture to adduce, however, the following evidence :—

1. The *Apadāna*, along with the rest of the Khuddaka-Nikāya, was not included in the *Suttanta* division at all, but belonged to the *Abhidhamma*, according to the Commentary of Buddhaghoṣa (Childers' *Dict.*, 282),[7] and thus such a title as "Mahāpadāna *Suttanta*" is improbable, if not a misnomer.

2. The class of books termed "Avadāna" (i.e. the Pāli "Apadāna") is technically distinct from the

[1] Cf. my article, JASB., pt. i, 1897, 76 ff., and Proceedings, 1899, June.

[2] E. Müller, Proc. Or. Congress, 1894, 167 f.

[3] Macdonell, *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, ii, 60, 1908.

[4] Many of these tales have been translated or summarized by Burnouf, *Introd. Bud. Ind.*, 64 f. ; Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.*, 318 f. ; Schiefner's *Tibet Tales*, trs. Ralston, 1893.

[5] Mitra, op. cit., 318–98 ; Feer, *Analyse du Kandjour*, Mus. Guimet, 557.

[6] See former note, p. 664.

[7] In the Nepalese Sanskrit version they are stated by Burnouf to represent the Vinaya. *Introd. B. I.*, 2nd ed., 207.

"Suttanta" class, and forms a different category[1]; and, although they are interspersed throughout the *Suttanta* section of the Tibetan canon, I am not aware of any instance of an individual *Avadāna* (i.e. Apadāna) bearing also the title of *Suttanta* or *Sūtranta*. The work is either an Avadāna or a Sūtra; it is never both; the two terms being in practice mutually exclusive.

3. A tautological vague title like *Mahā-apadāna Suttanta*, which is practically "Tale of the Great Tale", is not in keeping with the usual method of naming the books in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. This title is translated in the "Sacred Books of the Buddhists" as "The Sublime Story",[2] though it would more precisely read "Discourse on the Great Legend". But the titles in the D.N. are descriptive, expressly specifying the subject-contents, as seen in the next three following books, namely: *Mahā-Nidāna S.* = "Discourse on the great *Nidāna* (Causal Nexus)"; *Mahā-parinibbāna S.* = "D. on the great *Pari-nirvāṇa* (Passing Away)"; *Mahā-Sudassana S.* = "D. on the great *Sudarśana* (Beautiful Vision, a fairy scene)". Hence presumably the *Mahā-padhāna S.* means "Discourse on the great *Padhāna* (Supreme One)"—the exact application of which will be discussed below.

4. The word "Avadāna" is invariably the last element in the title of the tales, e.g. *Divyāvadāna, Aśoka-avadāna*, etc.[3]; but in the one question it is not so.

5. The compound in question, *Mahā-apadāna*, does not appear to be known elsewhere in Buddhist literature; nor is "apadāna" itself specially associated with Buddha. Whereas both *Mahā-padhāna* and *pradhāna* we shall see are expressly and intimately so.

[1] Feer, op. cit., 557–8. [2] Vol. iii, pp. 4 f.

[3] See numerous examples in Mitra, op. cit., 318–19; also Csoma, *Asiatic Researches*, xx, 481 f. Burnouf, *Introd.*, 2nd ed., 424 f. The "Avadāna Kalpalatā" is not really an exception.

Moreover, the texts used for the preparation of the Pali Text Society's edition of this book do not warrant the use of "apadāna" decidedly, as adopted by the editors. In the preparation of that edition five MSS. were used,[1] all of them presumably modern copies of other more or less modern MSS., and exhibiting misspellings by the blundering of the copyists on every page, as indicated in the footnotes. Of these MSS., one (a Singhalese document, $S^d$) is noted to have wrongly given to the book the title of the next following discourse, and thus is excluded. Of the remaining four, two ($S^t$ and K., i.e. Singhalese and Kambojan) read "Mahāpadāna", *but an equal number read "Mahāpadhāna"*, namely MSS. $S^{ed}$ and $B^m$, i.e. Singhalese and Burmese, and the Burmese, other things being equal, may be accepted as better authority than Kambojan. For the definite settlement of this point on a statistical basis the collation of additional MSS., as ancient documents as possible, is therefore required. I have been unable to find any further texts in England.[2] On a critical point of this kind the printed vernacular editions are of course of little value,[3] and even a few additional modern MSS., carelessly copied as they are, cannot upset the solid argument which I adduce from other sources.

### "Mahā-padhāna" as the proper title of the Suttanta

In favour of the form *Mahā-padhāna* as the title of this *Suttanta*, in addition to the evidence of the Pāli MSS. themselves, and the above presumptions against *apadāna*, I would point to the use of the style *Mahā-padhāna* by Max Müller and Professor H. Oldenberg. The former

[1] Op. cit., 54.

[2] The British Museum unfortunately does not possess a single manuscript copy.

[3] The Burmese printed edition of 1900–8 spells the word *°padāna*, Dr. Barnett kindly informs me, but this may have been influenced by the Pali Text Society's edition, which was previously published.

scholar employs it at p. 53 of his conjoint edition of the *Dharma Saṁgraha* in 1885, and the latter in his *Buddha* (English translation of 1882, p. 418), and these scholars presumably found it so written in manuscript. Respecting the latter citation, the Pali Text Society's edition notes that it is "referring to Jātaka I, 59, which has Mahā-padāna". This, however, is somewhat ambiguous, as it is not in the Jātaka book itself, but in the prefixed commentary booklet, the "Nidāna-Katha" of Fausböll's text, which it is now desirable should be collated with other MSS. in respect to this word; though, as that commentary is a relatively late composition and merely incidentally refers once to this *Suttanta*, it is less likely to preserve intact the proper spelling than the actual book in question itself.

Besides, *Mahā-padhāna*, unlike Mahā-apadāna, is a recognized Pāli term of the first rank in early Buddhism, where it is also specially applied in the canonical Dhammapada[1] to Buddha himself in connexion with his attainment of Arhatship, the ideal of Primitive Buddhism.

### "Pradhāna" and "Mahā-Pradhāna" in Buddhism

Of such evident prominence in early Buddhism, though now mostly dropped out of use, these terms are historically interesting in themselves and of critical importance in our present inquiry.

*Pradhāna*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Pāli *padhāna*, is given in the lexicons the primary meaning of "chief or prominent one", literally "the foremost or supreme one", from *pra*, "before or preceding" + *dhā*, "to hold or have." Hence, secondarily, it is in Brahmanic and Sāṅkhya terminology respectively an ordinary epithet for "the Supreme God" or "the First Great Cause", and "Nature" or the Material World.[2]

[1] Cf. Childers' *Dict.*, 314. For details see later.

[2] Wilson, *Sansk. Dict.*, 562; Apte, do., 563; St. Petersb. Lexicon (Greater), 4, 1026.

In Buddhism it has retained this original sense of chief, foremost, or supreme, even in Pāli literature to some extent admittedly,[1] if not really invariably, as I shall indicate later. As a technical term also it is enumerated in this sense in the Sanskrit Buddhist list, the *Mahāvyutpatti* in the category of "the chief series" (*Anuttaraparyāyā*).[2] In later Buddhism, when it fell out of orthodox use, *Pradhāna* was discussed as a Sāṅkhya term by the mystic monk Vasubandhu (fifth century A.D.) as the Brahmanical designation of Primordial Matter in association with *Puruṣa* as Spirit[3]—a collocation of the terms which we will find in the title and contents of the ancient book now in question. In this heterodox sense it is also discussed at great length in the Yoga work the *Bodhicaryāvātara*.[4]

On the other hand, Ceylon Buddhists ascribe to the term *Padhāna* (i.e. Pradhāna) the special meaning of "exertion" and "striving"—Childers stating that "*Padhāna* in Pali as a technical term means only Exertion"[5]; and they interpret in this sense all its numerous applications to Buddha in the Dhammapada and elsewhere, both in its simple form and as *Mahā-pradhāna*.[6] Thus *padhānam anuyuñja khippam hohisi anāsavo* is rendered by Childers (rather freely) "strive earnestly and thou shalt quickly attain Arhatship"; and Gotama, spending six years in achieving Buddhahood, referred to in the Dhammapada 118 as *chabbassāni mahā-padhānaṁ padahitvā*, is rendered as "having spent six years in strenuous efforts".[7] So also the attainment of Arhatship, which is divided

[1] Childers, *Dict.*, 314, first part of definition of *Padhānaṁ*; also *Padhāno* and *Samma-Padhānaṁ*.

[2] St. Petersb. ed., 1911, 39; also $63^{201}$.

[3] *Abhidharma-kośa*, cf. Burnouf, *Introd.*, 2nd ed., 510.

[4] Tibetan transl. in *Tan-gyur*, Mdo-Val Ś (27), India Off. ed., ff. 214, etc. Translated from the Sanskrit by *Atiśa* (eleventh century A.D.) and others. Cf. also Poussin, *Études*, 1898, 127 f., for commentary on same; also Raj. L. Mitra, *Nepal. Buddhist Lit.*, 47 f., for abstract.

[5] Childers, *Dict.*, 314. [6] Id., 314. [7] Id., 314.

into four *padhānas*, namely *saṁvara-padhānaṁ*, etc.; and the four stages (*pādas*) for the acquirement of the supernatural magic power of *Iddhi* (Skt. *ṛdhi*) of Arhatship, each of which is based upon a *samādhi-padhāna* or the "*padhāna* meditative trance"; in each of these *padhāna* is translated as "effort, exertion, or striving".[1]

But with every deference to this traditional opinion of Pāli scholars in assuming *padhāna* to mean "striving or exertion", we venture, in view of the evidence, to ask whether that opinion is really justified.

*Pradhāna* is known to the lexicons in only one sense exclusively, that of "chief, foremost, supreme", and different forms of these conceptions, as above noted. *It never means "striving, exertion, or contest".* The word for the latter is *pradhana* (=padhana), spelt with short *a*; and the Pāli and Sanskrit words in question are never spelt with the short *a*. When the Buddhists adopted Brahmanical words they usually employed them in the Brahmanical sense, and if they desired to alter that sense they almost invariably coined new terms. These considerations lead me to conclude that the words in the Pāli texts in question were probably still used by the primitive Buddhists in their true original values, and that the word *padhāna* in these Pāli texts *does not mean "striving", but designates Buddha himself as "The Supreme One"*, or Arhatship as "The Supreme Thing".

This conclusion gains support also from the fact that all the Pāli phrases in which *padhāna* occurs in its orthodox Buddhist usage appear to lend themselves to this direct rendering of "The Supreme One", Arhat or Arhatship. *Indeed, Childers in most of his translations of these sentences is, in fact, forced to introduce the words "Arhat" and "Arhatship" in order to make his rendering*

[1] Childers, *Dict.*, 157, 312, 314; Hardy's *Man. Buddhism.*

*intelligible*![1] So also, for the acquirement of the supernatural power or *Iddhi* of an Arhat or Buddha, in each of its four stages is specified (see Childers, 157), *samādhi-padhāna saṅkhāra-samana-gatam*, the first part of which, it seems to me, might be literally rendered "the meditation-trance of the Supreme One".[2] Another category, also of this kind, is "The Four Great Objects" to be striven for to attain Arhatship, *Catur-vīdha samyak-pradhāna*. Here the juxtaposition of the last two words recalls the familiar form of later Buddhism, *samyak-sam-Buddha*, the Supreme Buddha.

The minor technical uses also of the word in the Pāli certainly admit of interpretation in this direct literal manner. Thus *padhāna-bhumi*, which is described by Childers as "cloister for monks to walk when striving for Arhatship", I would render thus simply: "the ground of the Supreme Ones (i.e. the Arhats-elect)." So also in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (ed. Wijesiṅha, 402), *padhāna-ghara*—described as "a house for ascetic exercises"—this would be "a house for the Superior Ones (engaged in *Iddhi* or Arhat exercises)". Similarly *Padhāniyangaṁ*, defined by Childers as "Qualities to be striven for", would read directly "The Means of [attaining] the Supreme One (or Thing)"; and it appears to have its analogue in Brahmanism.[3]

The alteration by the Ceylonese of the original meaning of the word from "The Supreme One" to "striving" was probably, I suggest, introduced at a later period, in an attempt to extract sense from the word after it had been abandoned as a heterodox term, and the reasons for its

[1] See above, also *Dict.*, 157, 314.

[2] It is remarkable that Mahāyānists (as noted by Burnouf, *Introd. Bud. Ind.*, 625; *Lotus*, 310 f.) have replaced the *padhāna* here by *prahāṇa* (= abandonment). Cf. also *Mahāvyutpatti*, St. Pet. ed., 1911, $16^{40}$.

[3] Cf. Aṅga-pradhāna-Bheda, Kātyayāna, Śrauta-sūtrāṇi, 1, 2, 18; 417; also Manu, 9, 121; Pānini, 1, 2, 56, quoted by St. Petersb. Lexicon. Cf. also *Pradhāna guṇabhuta* in Rig Veda, v. 96.

original application in India had become forgotten. But even under the new meaning of "striving" the whole phrase suffered little alteration in sense, as the magical potency inherent in Arhatship and *Iddhi* preserved the original signification of supernatural power.

**"Pradhāna" and "Mahā-Pradhāna" as a title of Buddha**

This recognized epithet for the Supreme Brahmanical god, namely, *Pradhāna*, "The Foremost or Supreme One," is, I find, positively employed by the Buddhists to denote Buddha in both his human and deified aspects.

In the Sanskrit Canon, in its Tibetan translation, this term occurs as his title several times. In the twenty-eighth volume of the *Sūtranta* division, in a book of moral tales entitled *Damamuko*,[1] Buddha is termed "The *Pradhāna* of men (literally the two-footed)".[2] In the same work it is evidently applied in the sense of "Arhat" to Śariputra, the right-hand disciple of Buddha, who is frequently called "a great Arhat"—here he is termed "The great *Pradhāna* of the Law", *Dharma Mahā-Pradhāna*.[3] Again, in the twenty-first volume of the *Tantra* division, in a book which, it seems to me, is manifestly an echo of the first book of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, namely, the *Brahma-jala*, entitled *Vajra-satwa maya-jāla*, the Supreme God is conceived as a primordial Buddha-god of the general character of *Brahmā*, but the form of Buddha,[4] under the title of *Vajra-satwa*, or "The Thunderbolt Being", and he is styled at the same time both *Pradhāna* and *Mahā-Puruṣa*.[5]

Now this direct identification of the deified Buddha with the supreme god under his Brahmanic titles of

[1] In Tibetan '*Dsaṅs-blun*, i.e. "The Wise Man and the Foolish". Cf. Csoma, *Asiatic Researches*, xx, 480, translated by Schmidt, 1843. The Sanskrit for this Prakrit title is evidently *Dharmat-muka*.

[2] Jaeschke, *Tibetan Dict.*, 434. [3] Id., 434.

[4] For his form in Indian Buddhism see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, 15, 35–2.

[5] Csoma, *Asiatic Researches*, xx, 549.

"Mahā-Puruṣa" and "Pradhāna" *exactly preserves the traditional view held by the compilers of the Mahā-Padhāna Suttanta;* and *it fully explains the relation of the title to the contents of this Pāli canonical book.* The contents represent Buddha's birth indisputably as the incarnation of a god. He is born in a supernatural manner with marvellous signs and portents, and performs as a new-born infant miraculous deeds, and he displays on his body the supernatural marks of *Mahā-Puruṣa.* This latter title never bears in the ancient literature the mere etymological meaning of "a great man", as rendered by some Western writers[1]; but, on the contrary, it is invariably the title of the supreme Brahmanical creator conceived anthropomorphically as a cosmic giant, and a recognized title of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, and latterly Brahmā, as the Creator.[2] The context also altogether testifies unquestionably that *the compilers of this Pāli canonical book did not regard Buddha as a mere man.*

This conclusion indeed is admitted by the Pāli scholar, Sir R. Chalmers, who writes[3] that it "destroys certain views generally entertained by scholars. The accepted view is that it is only in the later commentaries, and not in the very earliest canonical texts, that the miraculous incidents attending the conception and birth of Gotama the Buddha are narrated in the imaginative detail familiar to readers of the Sanskrit *Lalita Vistara* . . . and that if the Sutta be genuine, fiction was embroidering historic truth within (perhaps) a century of his death".

This supreme divinity *Puruṣa,* belonging to the quasi-monotheistic phase of the later Vedic Brahmanism, and of

[1] Notably in the translation of this text in the "Sacred Books of Buddhists", vol. iii, 13 f.

[2] For full evidence see my "Buddha's Diadem", loc. cit. *Mahā-Puruṣa* is the title of Viṣṇu both in the *Mahābhārata* (12, 12864) and *Rāmāyaṇa* (6, 102).

[3] JRAS. 1894, 386, with reference to paragraphs 17–30 of this first part of this Suttanta, which recur in the *Acchariyabhuta Sutta,* No. 123 of the *Majjhima Nikāya.*

whom Buddha in this discourse is made to declare himself the human manifestation, became in the dualistic conception of the Sāṅkhya system (on which Buddhism is believed more especially to be based) merely one of two primordial factors in Creation. It was identified with "Spirit" and required for its complement Material Nature or *Pradhāna*. It is in the form of *Pradhāna-Puruṣa* that it is used in the *Mahābhārata* as a title of Śīva.[1] This obviously, it seems to me, is the explanation of the introduction of that title here, in the *Suttanta* in question. It was introduced for schematic completeness.

Thus, the term "The great *Pradhāna*"[2] appears to me to be a vestige of the very earliest period of Buddhism, dating to a time before the wholesale invention of newly coined special Buddhistic terms had begun. That it eventually dropped out of use, and came to be considered heterodox was doubtless due to its inveterately Brahmanical character, coupled with the invention of new terms better adapted to the Buddhist point of view, and to the new developments that had arisen in Buddhist theory since Buddha's day. Its survival in this title, and especially in the basic formula of Buddhism in the Dhammapada, etc., above noted, suggests, therefore, that it is a vestige of the earliest period, when Sāṅkhya terms were still current within Buddhism.

### III. Its Prefixed Book of "Former Buddhas" compared with the Sanskritic "Bhadra-Kalpa Sutra"

Ostensibly forming only one book, the *Mahā-Padhāna S.* consists, I find, really of two distinct discourses, ascribed to different occasions, and affording a useful chronological test. The first discourse extends from paragraphs 1 to 12 inclusive, and treats of the mythical forerunners of Buddha. It thus corresponds to the first book of the

[1] *Mahābhārata*, 13, 939.

[2] *Mahā-Pradhāna* is probably the Buddhist form, as it is not found in the greater St. Petersburg Lexicon.

Sanskrit Canon entitled "The auspicious Æon or Cosmic Age", the *Bhadra-Kalpa Sūtra*.[1] The rest of the book, forming an independent story of the legendary birth and life of Gotama, to which the title "Maha-Pradhāna" more properly attaches, is, I find, the counterpart of the discourse which in Sanskrit is known as the *Lalita Vistara*; and is manifestly derived from a common source, a relationship which has not hitherto been remarked.

The theory that former human Buddhas preceded Gotama, although generally accepted as an integral part of Buddha's Buddhism, seems to me to have been invented after the Buddha's death. For it is not essential to that system, but is indeed opposed to the principle that Śākya Muni achieved Buddhahood solely on his own initiative, and that his Arhatship was immeasurably beyond and practically different in degree from that attainable by his followers, so as to leave no room for the possibility that two Buddhas could coexist as contemporaries. Moreover, the number of these Buddhas continued steadily to expand in later periods. But strongest of all evidence is the fact that *all these former Buddhas as described in the text are mere reduplications of the historical Buddha in every single respect*, except in the trivial points of names for themselves, parents, etc. This theory therefore, in my opinion, manifestly belongs to the later period when the monks were systematizing everything and extending the basis of Buddhism on cosmic lines, so as to make the advent of a Buddha a part of the great fixed laws of Nature. This is the constant refrain by which descriptive paragraphs are introduced in this Pāli text, "It is the rule [that]" (*dhammatā esā*). Thus a series of imaginary Buddhas were extended back along the fabulous past ages of the world, according to Brahmanic notions of

[1] Abstracted by Csoma, *As. Res.*, xx, 413–16. It has nothing to do with the *Bhadra-Kalpa Avadāna* of the Nepalese, which seems mostly a re-arrangement of tales from the *Asokāvadāna*. Cf. R. L. Mitra, *Nep. Budd. Lit.*, 42.

cosmic ages or *Kalpas*, where the duration of single human lives extended to thousands of years (even to 80,000!). To this period also must belong the epithet *Tathāgata* or "Gone like [his predecessors]" which presupposes this theory. If this be so, the occurrence of the word *Tathāgata* will be a valuable criterion of age—it doęs not occur in the very numerous inscriptions at Bharaut (*c.* 250 B.C.).

The date of introduction of this theory must have been before about the third century B.C., as the theory is already found in the developed form of six Former "Buddhas" in the Bharaut sculptures of about 250 B.C., "Vipasin" heading the series, and all being named [1] on separate votive slabs (excepting one, the second, accidentally missing, see table). This is the stage also specified in our Pāli text in question.[2]

But on comparing this Pāli version with the Bhadra-Kalpa Sūtra there is revealed the striking fact that *the Sanskrit text records the theory of the Former Buddhas in a more primitive and less developed form than the Pāli version.* The *Bhadra-Kalpa Sūtra*, although greatly expanded by the inclusion of long dissertations on the practice of the "Perfect Virtues" (*Pāramitā*) by which Gotama attained Buddhahood, and forming the basis of the Jātaka tales,[3] *knows only three Buddhas anterior to Śākya Muni*, and these are identical with the lowest three on the Pāli list (see table).

[1] Cunningham, *Stupa Bharhut*, pl. 29, 1, 2, 3; 30, 1-3; Inscriptions, liv, 67, liii, 3, *c*, etc. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, p. 234, Nos. 24, 64, 81, 84, 88.

[2] These "seven" Buddhas (i.e. by including the historical Buddha with the six) are invoked by Buddha in the *Cullā Vagga* (v. 6) in connexion with a snake-charm, Buddha being made to say "I revere the Blessed One and the Seven Supreme Buddhas" (Warren, *Buddh. in Transls.*, 1909, 303). It is incredible that Śākya Muni would invoke himself, yet Oldenberg places the *Cullā Vagga* to near Buddha's own day.

[3] Its bulk is also increased by a list of one thousand fanciful successors of Maitreya, the future Buddha.

"FORMER" BUDDHAS IN MAHĀ-PADHĀNA (Pāli text)
(N.B. The serial numbers are introduced for reference only.)

| Name of "Former" Buddhas. (1) | *Kappa* (cosmic age). (2) | Caste or tribe. (3) | Length of human life in years. (4) | Birthplace. (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Vipassi | 91st | Khattiya | 80,000 | Bandhumati |
| 2. Sikhi | 31st | ,, | 70,000 | Aruṇavati[1] |
| 3. Vessabhu | 31st | ,, | 60,000 | Anopama |
| 4. Kakusandha | Bhadda | Brāhmaṇ | 40,000 | Khematvatī |
| 5. Konāgamana | ,, | ,, | 30,000 | Sabhavatī |
| 6. Kassapa | ,, | ,, | 20,000 | Bāraṇasī |
| 7. Gotama | ,, | Khattiya | 100 | Kapilavatthu |
| "FORMER" BUDDHAS IN BHADRA-KALPA (Sanskrit text) | | | | |
| 4. Kakutsanda | Bhadra | Śākya | 40,000 | Kṣemavati |
| 5. Kanaka Muni | ,, | Brāhmaṇ | 30,000 | Pañcala |
| 6. Kāśyapa | ,, | ,, | 20,000 | Chetana |
| 7. Śākya Muni | ,, | Kṣatriya | 100 | Kapilavastu |

That the *Bhadra-Kalpa Sūtra* here appears to preserve an earlier tradition than the Pāli is suggested by the following facts: (1) Its descriptions of the place of delivery and in the details of the attributes of these personages differs in many circumstantial ways from the Pāli version.[2] (2) The lesser number of *kalpas* and all of them comprised within the *Bhadra-Kalpa*, i.e. the cosmic age of the present world, seems more likely to have been the original stage of the theory than the extravagantly "incalculable" remote period of 91 of those æons (!) as given in the Pāli Canon. (3) The idea of the *Kalpa* was borrowed by the Buddhists from Brahmanism, and I would point to the fact that the number of divisions in the lower four coincides in both series; and corresponds exactly with the orthodox Brahmanic tetrad division, and also (except to one decimal place) with the duration of

[1] Not *Pabhāvatī*, in error in "Sacred Books of the Buddhists", iii, 7. Cf. text, p. 7.

[2] Cf. Csoma, xx, 413 f., with "Sacred Books of the Buddhists", iii, 5–7.

life in the present *Kalpa*, as found in the *Mahābhārata* (*c.* 500 B.C.).[1] It represents, therefore, presumably an early stage, *complete in itself*, thus :—

| Brahmanic present *Kalpa*. | | Buddhist present *Kalpa*. |
|---|---|---|
| Periods. | Duration of human life. | Buddhist duration of life in *Bhadra-Kalpa*. |
| 1. Kṛta Yuga | 4,000 years | 40,000 years |
| 2. Treta Yuga | 3,000 ,, | 30,000 ,, |
| 3. Dvāpara Yuga | 2,000 ,, | 20,000 ,, |
| 4. Kali Yuga (present age) | Ordinary, "not fixed" | 100 ,, |

On the other hand, the extension far beyond these four divisions and the orthodox round numbers so as to embrace three more, as found in the Pāli canonical text, with the still more extravagant extension of the duration of a single human life to 80,000 years (!), is in keeping with the well-known absurd puerile elaborations of the later scholastic stage of Buddhism.

The gradual growth of this myth of "previous" human Buddhas by direct arithmetical progression appears thus to be traceable to some extent on a chronological basis :—

| Approximate date. | Number of "Former" Buddhas. | Texts. | Buddha headed by. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4th century B.C. (?) | 3 | Bhadra-Kalpa Sūtra (primary version) | Kakutsanda |
| 250 B.C. *circa* | 6 | Bharaut Sculptures and Pāli *Mahāpadhāna S.* | Vipasi |
| 1st century B.C. (?) | 24 | Buddha-vaṁsa | Dīpaṅkara |
| 1st-4th century A.D. | 35 to thousands[2] | Various[3] | |

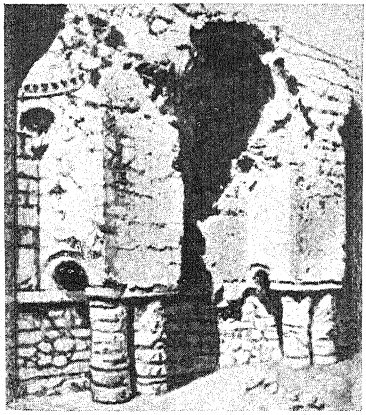
[1] Dowson, *Hind. Mythology*, 382–3 ; Hastings, *Encycl. Religion Ethics*, i, 188, 202.

[2] Later Pāli texts extend number to 125,000 (!), Hardy, *Man. Buddhism*, 95.

[3] Cf. Muller, "Apadāna of South," Proc. Orient. Cong., 1894, 167.

From this it seems evident that the Sanskritic Sūtra, the *Bhadra-Kalpa*, displays an earlier stage in the evolution of the theory of Former Buddhas than is found in this Pāli canonical text (also the Cullā Vagga), and presupposes for the original Prākrit source of the framework of that Sanskritic book a date earlier than 250 B.C. (*circa*), whilst the Pāli text is clearly several centuries subsequent to that date.

In another number I shall hope to compare the *Maha-Pradhāna Suttanta* with the *Lalita Vistara*.



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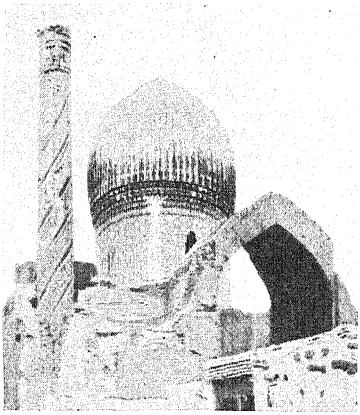

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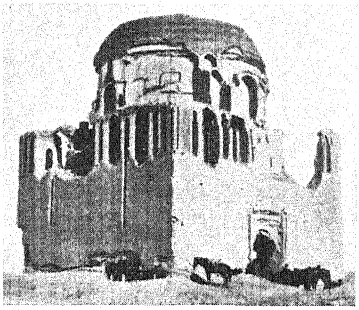

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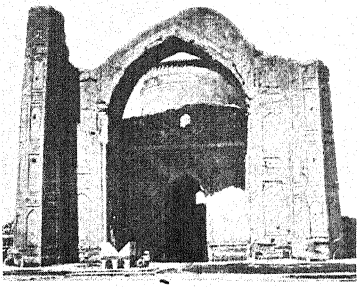

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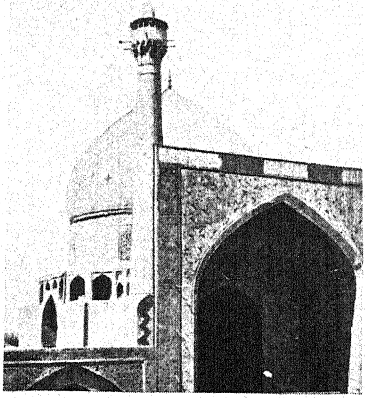
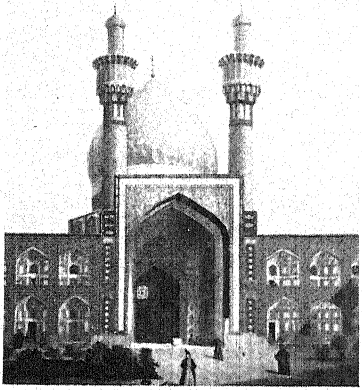




## XXI

# THE HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF THE DOME IN PERSIA

By K. A. C. CRESWELL

IT is my intention to trace the history and evolution of the domé in Persia from the earliest times to the present day; and I hope to show at the same time the very important part played by Persia in the evolution of domed construction, which I believe has never been pointed out before. Before I can do this, however, I must first briefly review the dome in antiquity.

There was a time when it was thought that the dome was not of really great antiquity, but this opinion can no

1. Domes from Rifeh.[1]

longer be held. In ancient Egypt the dome was known at a very early date. At Hieraconpolis several domed "shuna" or store pits of about 6 feet in diameter have been found, which seemed to have belonged to houses of the pre-pyramid age. A model of a house of the Tenth Dynasty found at Rifeh shows a terrace roof with three little rounded cupolas just emerging through it, exactly like a style of house found at the present day in many parts of the East. The use of little domes for granaries was quite general. According to Perrot and Chipiez "the granaries, barns, and storehouses were almost always dome-shaped. Those which had flat roofs seem to have been very few indeed".

In Chaldæa and Assyria also, the dome was known from very early times. The bas-relief found by Layard

[1] Lethaby, *Architecture* (by permission of Messrs. Williams & Norgate).

in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh (705–681 B.C.) shows buildings, some with hemispherical cupolas, and some with tall domes approximating to cones in shape; they are undoubtedly peasants' huts, which are constructed in the same way at the present day in many villages in Upper Syria and Mesopotamia. As regards Rome, the only domes known to Vitruvius, who wrote about the beginning of the first century, were those required for the hot chamber of the bath.

Now there is one thing common to all these domes, viz.: they are all small and used in buildings of secondary importance. In Egypt this is always the case, while in Chaldæa and Assyria the great palaces of Sargon and Sennacherib appear to have been built without domes. Strabo, who died A.D. 25, mentions the vaulted narrow rooms, and his remarks were confirmed by Place, who found curved segments of vaulting some 4 feet by 6 amongst the debris of the rooms of the palace of Khorsabad. Place found that in nearly every chamber (a fact that Strabo comments on) the length was at least twice the breadth, and in some cases four, five, or even seven times as great. This precludes the idea of a dome. In the palace of Sargon there are only two square rooms out of innumerable others, and there is nothing to show that these were covered with domes; they may quite well have been vaulted. So that we may say that in palace architecture the dome played no part at all, or next to none.

Now what is the explanation of the fact that the nations of antiquity I have mentioned, although they could construct domes, never used them in buildings of the first importance? I think the reason is this. It must be obvious to everyone that supposing you possess the art of building a dome, it will not be of much use to you, unless you have *also* devised a means whereby you can set it over a square chamber. We cannot compose a complex

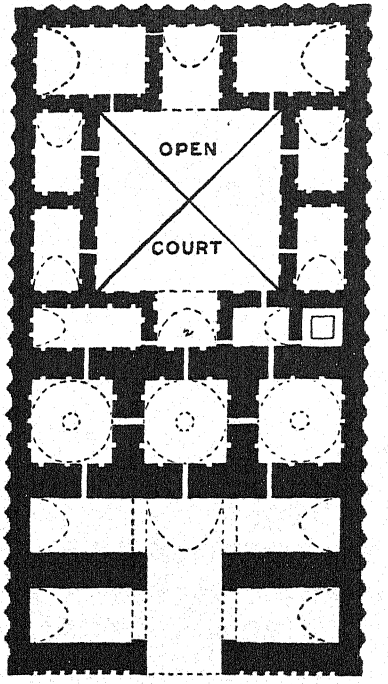
building, an aggregation of cells, like a palace for instance, of circular rooms; and unless we can devise a method of setting our domes over square spaces, we must abandon them in favour of vaults. All the domes mentioned hitherto have been set over circular spaces, or over square spaces by a makeshift pendentive which could not be trusted on a large scale. In Rome the domes mentioned by Vitruvius are set over circular spaces, and at a later date this is the case with the dome of the Pantheon. In this huge dome, 140 feet in diameter, which still remains the largest in the world, Roman dome construction blazed up and then almost died out. All the domed buildings erected by the Romans up to the time of Constantine, and indeed long afterwards, were circular in the interior. One thing, a satisfactory pendentive, was needed before domed construction could come to its own.

Now it seems to me that the Persians, who were the first people to solve this problem and devise a satisfactory pendentive, played for this reason a very important, in fact vital, part in the evolution of domical construction.

We will now consider the two earliest domed buildings in Persia, namely the palaces of Firuzabad and Sarvistan. I put Firuzabad first, contrary to the usual order, for reasons which I shall give later.

In Firuzabad we see the dome applied on a large scale for the first time, this dome being 45 feet in diameter, and we see also the means by which this setting of a really large dome over a square space became possible, viz. by means of a "squinch", a device wholly Persian. By the squinch, which here consists of a series of concentric arches, thrown across the angle, and advancing one over the other, the square is reduced to an octagon, upon which it is easy to set a dome. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this discovery, which, so to speak, ennobled the dome and gave it new fields to conquer, raising it to the very front rank as a method of roofing, a position it

has kept in Persia ever since. In fact, I think I may make this generalization, that Persia is the land of the dome, whereas Mesopotamia is the land of the vault. While in Persia we have these two palaces in which the dome plays an important part, in Mesopotamia we have the palaces of Al Hadra (or Hatra) and Tak Kisra, where the vault alone is found. Later, in the palace of Mashita,




2. Plan of Firuzabad.[1]

in the eighth century palace of Ukhaiḍir, and at Kasr Kharaneh, this is also the case, and even in the ninth century Beit ul Khalîfah at Rakka.

The palaces of Firuzabad and Sarvistan are attributed to the Sasanian period by all authorities, with the single

[1] R. Phené Spiers, *Architecture, East and West* (by permission of Mr. B. T. Batsford).

exception of Dieulafoy, who, in *L'Art antique de la Perse*, attributes them to the Achæmenian age. Firuzabad measures 170 by 320 feet and its plan is striking for its noble simplicity. All the spaces shown are covered by elliptical barrel vaults, except the open court and the three square rooms, which are covered with elliptical domes set on squinches. The stability of the vaults is ensured, either by adjacent structures or by large voids in the thickness of the walls, spanned by barrel vaulting, which Dieulafoy calls discharging chambers. The stucco decoration on the outside of this palace consists of reed-like pilasters of semicircular section, recalling the method used in Chaldæa. The arched doorways are set in frames surmounted with the Egyptian reed-cornice, which recalls the decoration used in the Achæmenian palaces at Persepolis and Susa, but this reed-cornice, instead of commencing with a vertical rise, spreads out, thus showing a later and decadent form of composition.

Sarvistan measures 120 by 140 feet and has three domes; the walls are of stone, the domes of brick. A great advance in scientific knowledge is shown in the vaulting arrangements. In order to lessen the thrust of the elliptical barrel vaults and to avoid very thick side walls, piers are built within the walls, thus forming a series of recesses (Plate, Fig. 1[1]). These recesses, be it specially noted, are nothing more than a development of the method employed at Firuzabad, by which the hollow spaces left in the thickness of the wall, in the former building, are here utilized to add to the floor-space of the hall itself. These piers do not carry transverse arches, but support instead either semi-domes or barrel vaults over the spaces between them, above which rises the central elliptical vault, its span being reduced by this arrangement from 26 (the extreme width of the hall) to about 17 feet.

[1] Fig. 1 is reproduced from Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain*, by permission of Mr. W. Heinemann.

It will now be easy for me to give my reasons for considering Firuzabad to be earlier than Sarvistan. Firstly, I would point out the highly evolved vaulting system of the latter compared with the simple planning of the former. Piers similar to those at Sarvistan are used in one of the halls at Ukhaiḍir to support arches carrying a vault. Piers are used also at Koseir Amra (*c.* 710) and Kasr Kharaneh, only the vaulting system they support is much more complicated. At Kasr Kharaneh there is a semi-dome or squinches exactly like what we find in the recesses at Sarvistan. Further, the Egyptian reed-cornice at Firuzabad, though decadent, still shows strong affinities with the Achæmenian palaces. To put it briefly, while Sarvistan looks forward and is the prototype of seventh and eighth century buildings, all the affinities of Firuzabad are with the past. Recently Dieulafoy has modified his view, and now admits Sarvistan to belong to the Sasanian period, though still standing out for an early date for Firuzabad. *Medio tutissimus ibis* is a very sound motto in archæology as in most other things, and I think that we shall be safe in concluding that Firuzabad was built not later than A.D. 240,[1] and possibly considerably earlier, but not earlier than very late Achæmenian (*c.* 340 B.C.) owing to the decadent quality of the Persepolitan decoration round the door frames. As for Sarvistan it is usually placed in the fourth century, but I think it may quite possibly be a century later on account of its affinities with the buildings mentioned.

So far I have said nothing as to the origin of the dome. Now domes are built by the most primitive people all over the near and middle East at the present day with

[1] It is certainly not safe to attribute it, on the strength of its name, to Firouz (A.D. 458–82), as has been done, as the name Firuzabad only dates from the tenth century, when it was given to the place by Asad-ed-Dowleh, one of the rulers of the Al-i-Buyah dynasty of Fars and Irāq (Curzon, *Persia*, ii, 228).

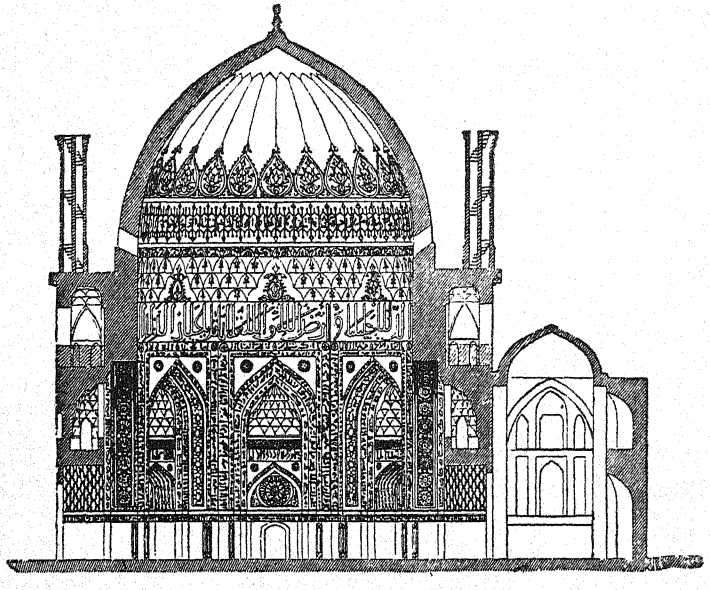
practically no appliances. Innumerable travellers in Persia have remarked, firstly, on the immense tracts which are absolutely treeless, and secondly, that wherever there is a lack of timber, there the houses are vaulted and domed with sun-baked clay. In Eastern Persia especially is this the case. Sven Hedin in *Overland to India*, i, 195, gives a view of a village about 100 miles north of Yezd, and says: "each house is a low, long rectangle of mud, and over each room rises a cupola-shaped roof of sun-dried bricks, for here at the margin of the desert there is no timber to make a flat roof." Domed huts existed in Mesopotamia in 700 B.C., as we see from Layard's slab, and no doubt they did also in Persia, like conditions producing like effects, and it seems probable to me that the dome was developed more or less independently in those regions where wood was lacking, and necessity forced the invention of this sort of roofing; and far from thinking the domes of Firuzabad and Sarvistan to be derived from Mesopotamia, I think they were simply a development of indigenous construction.

Lest an independent origin of the dome should seem improbable to you, I will mention that Miss Macleod found domes of sun-baked clay 20 feet in diameter and 30 feet high, built by the natives, in the German Kameruns.

We now come to the romance of the dome which is ushered in with the advent of Islam. The earliest Mohammedan dome known to me is that of the Great Mosque at Kum. This was built by Abu Sadaim Husein b. Ali al Ash'ari in A.H. 265 (878), and is 80 feet in height. The next dome, also at Kum, is that of the tomb of Mohammed b. Musa, who died A.H. 296. The dome over his grave was built in A.H. 366 (976). Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, to whose book, *Eastern Persian Irak*, I am indebted for these dates, has very kindly informed me that these two domes, so far as he can remember, are

of "a more or less hemispherical shape". This sounds as though the Sasanian form still persisted.

In the twelfth century we have the tomb of Sultan Sanjar at Old Merv, built before his death in 1157. The drum of the dome appears to be strengthened by buttresses at four points. The dome is 80 feet high and 40 feet in diameter (Plate, Fig. 2[1]). A view of the interior in Zhukovski's *Ruins of Old Merv* shows that the dome is set on squinches, a feature we might almost have predicted with certainty.



3. Mausoleum of Khudabunda.

In 1307 this splendid building was raised by Mohamed Khudabunda at Sultānīeh. It is octagonal in plan, and the slight transition from the octagon to the circle on which the dome rests is effected by stalactite pendentives. The dome is 84 feet in diameter (the largest in Persia);

[1] Fig. 2 is reproduced from Skrine & Ross, *Heart of Asia*, by permission of Messrs. Methuen.

a vaulted gallery runs round its base, and the stability of the structure is further ensured by eight minarets, one at each of the angles. The whole building was lined with Persian tiles; it had, according to De Guignes, doors of damascened steel, and both in planning and decoration it would appear to have been the greatest masterpiece of Persian architecture. I beg to invite your special attention to the shape of the dome. Contrary to what is usually the case in the West, its beautiful outline is not obscured by the piling up of material on its haunches. This feature is typical of the general ignorance prevailing in Europe in regard to dome construction. Fergusson, with his knowledge of Eastern domes, was the first to shed a ray of light on the problem in 1855, when he made an attempt to point out one of the chief fallacies to be found in European theories of dome construction.[1] Up till then the dome had been considered simply as a circular vault, and, like a vault, requiring a great amount of abutment. This error goes back to Roman times, as can be seen from the Pantheon, where perfectly unnecessary masses of material are piled up on the haunches of the dome, giving it a very ugly exterior outline. It was reserved, however, for E. B. Denison (afterwards Lord Grimthorpe) to give a full, complete, and mathematical demonstration of the theory of the dome.[2] I cannot here go into all the interesting results obtained by him, although I must mention that he found pointed domes considerably superior to hemispherical ones.

This superior stability of a pointed dome is interesting, as almost all domes in the East are pointed. Though all domes in the East are unnecessarily thick (as shown in the above paper), some are of wonderfully scientific shape, this one at Sultānieh for instance. I think it is also one of the most beautiful, as indeed it should

[1] Illustrated Handbook of Architecture, pp. 441–3.
[2] Journal Royal Institute of British Architects, 1871.

be, since it satisfies the eye mechanically. Its internal construction, however, though peculiar and original, is not so scientific. According to Dieulafoy, it is made with an inner and outer lining, each a brick and a half thick, with a sort of cellular webbing between, made by intersecting ribs following the lines of latitude and longitude, so to speak, the hollow cells left being nearly square in shape. This construction is, I believe, unique so far as Persia is concerned, but I say, on the authority of Denison's paper, that this kind of construction is not to be commended, because it is *not* the best disposition of a given amount of material; strange as it may seem, the dome would be stronger if the inner and outer layers were brought together and welded into one, without the intervening cellular work. However, its *shape* is, as I have said, ideal.

I cannot leave this building without referring to one extraordinary feature, which no doubt accounts for the intense sense of harmonious proportion which so many observers have felt on looking at it. Dieulafoy, who published in 1883 a detailed study of this building, in César Daly's *Revue d'Architecture,* found that the interior and exterior elevations were set out in a framework of squares and equilateral triangles, the intersections of which gave all the chief fixed points, such as the width and height of the doorway, the level of the upper gallery, height of cornice, and so forth, so that the size of every part was related to every other part in some definite proportion. This is only what has been found in the Parthenon, with, however, adjustments and refinements of another sort as well. That this idea is very ancient cannot be denied, since various relationships of this sort are found in the Great Pyramid, where, amongst other things, the height bears to the circumference of the base the same relationship as the diameter of a circle bears to its circumference. I believe this is the only instance in Persian architecture where anything of the sort has been

discovered, but it might well be found in other buildings were it looked for, since the idea itself, although its existence was not dreamt of sixty years ago, is constantly being found over a wider and wider field. That literature contains no reference to it goes for nothing, as craft secrets of this sort were, no doubt, only imparted under vows of secrecy. By these methods a building, instead of being a collection of odd notes, became a harmonious chord in stone, a sort of living crystal; and after all, it really is not strange that harmonies of this sort should appeal to us through our sight, just as chords in music appeal to us through our hearing, since ratios such as the square root of two, and especially that which the diameter of a circle bears to its circumference, which enters into the equation of movement of everything in space—nay, further, into the movement of the very electrons of the atom itself—are fundamentals in time and space; they go right down to the very basis of our own nature and of the physical universe in which we live and move and have our being, and may well appeal to us sub-consciously.

The Musjid-i-Jama at Veramin is another example of a great building of the golden age of Persian architecture. It was built A.D. 1322 by Sultan Abu Said, the son of Khudabunda. The dome stands on an octagonal drum with narrow windows in each face, a feature of which this is the earliest example known to me, with one exception, Imamzadeh Yahia, also at Veramin, built A.D. 1186, according to Sarre.[1]

We now approach the Tīmūride age, when a great change is witnessed in the style of dome used in Persia. Up to this point all the domes met with are simple structures, and we have no example of the bulbous double dome. Now, however, a new type appears, which consists of the former type of dome, *covered over* by a slightly bulbous shell, which is superimposed on it, leaving a large

[1] *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, fig. 65.

space between. This style only appears towards the end of Tīmūr's reign, his early buildings not having this feature. However, in the mausoleum of his wife Bībī Khānūm (Plate, Fig. 4[1]), commenced in 1399 and finished in 1403, and his own mausoleum known as the Gūr Amīr (Plate, Fig. 3[1]), we for the first time meet with the double dome with slightly swelling outline, a type of dome which henceforth became a constant feature in Persian architecture.

No explanation of the origin of this peculiarity has been suggested by Fergusson, Texier, or Pascal Coste. A. Gosset, in *Les Cupoles d'Orient et d'Occident*, describes the feature without comment, but Choisy, in his *Histoire de l'Architecture*, suggests an Indian origin, viz. that it was an imitation of certain bulbous topes to be seen there. Now as Tīmūr was in India shortly before the building of the Bībī Khānūm and the Gūr Amīr we must consider this possibility. In the first place, these topes are solid structures and not examples of roofing, and the very small number that are bulbous are not the conspicuous and striking objects likely to be noticed even by a conqueror in his meteoric flight through the country. But could he have seen any double domes with slightly swelling outline? No! for not one of the domed buildings which were standing in the North-West of India in the time of Tīmūr, of which remains have come down to us, have this feature. There are about seventeen of these buildings; they comprise the groups classed by Fergusson as Early, Middle, and Late Pathan. Amongst them are the tombs of Firoz Shāh, Tughlak Shāh, the Kalān Masjid, etc. All the domes found in these buildings are pointed in shape but low in elevation, and built in horizontal courses. They have nothing in common with the domes of the Bībī Khānūm and Gūr Amīr. Saladin[2] suggests that this shape has

[1] Figs. 3 and 4 are reproduced from Skrine & Ross, *Heart of Asia*, by permission of Messrs. Methuen.

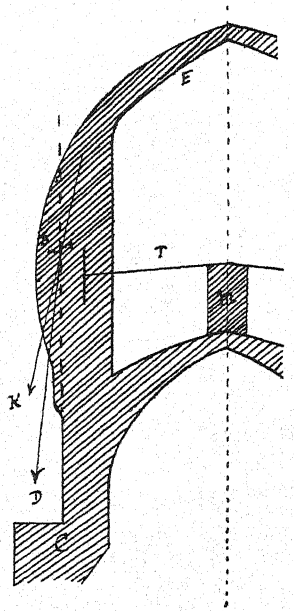
[2] *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, i, 360.

ERRATA

Page 692, line 4. *For* Fig. 4 *read* Fig. 3.
p. 692, l. 6. *For* Fig. 3 *read* Fig. 4.

certain mechanical advantages, viz. that it tends to the stability of the dome by constituting additional abutment. A more extraordinary statement it is difficult to conceive, since it is obvious that it must act outwardly in the same direction as the thrust of the dome itself.

Fig. 4 is a section of the dome of the Gūr Amīr. The dotted line produced from $C$ shows the extent of the projecting part. Now the centre of gravity of the projecting part is roughly at $B$, and this part therefore will

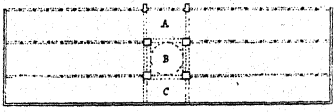



4. Section of Dome of Gūr Amīr.

act with leverage $\frac{AB}{AC}$ about the turning-point $C$, in direction $AD$. Now the thrust $K$ of the upper part $E$ is in the same direction more or less, and thus the projecting part adds to the difficulty instead of helping matters. This is shown when it comes to practical work by the interior construction of this dome, which has a series of tie-bars $T$, fixed at their extremities in the lower part of the sides of the dome and meeting in the centre, where they are

carried by a pile of masonry *M*. They are an imperative necessity to neutralize the unscientific shape chosen for the construction of the dome, and by their very existence refute Saladin's theory.

It is now clear to us that the shapes of the domes of the Bībī Khānūm and Gūr Amīr could not have sprung from constructive necessities in brick or stone. When this is the case with other features in architecture we usually find that the feature in question is a *copy* of construction in wood, e.g. the mortised joints of the stone rail round the Sanchi Tope, also the metopes and triglyphs of the Doric order, the Lycian tombs in the British Museum, etc. Can it be so in the case of the slightly bulbous double dome? Is there, or was there, anywhere in the Moslem world known to Tīmūr a double dome




5. Sketch-plan of Mosque at Damascus.

with swelling outline? Yes! at one place, and at one place only, and that was at Damascus, where stood the great Umayyad mosque built by the Khalif Wālīd in A.D. 705–13, the dome of which in Tīmūr's time was *double and of wood.*

Its plan was as shown. It consists of three aisles and a transept, at the intersection of which there was a dome *B*, which was called the Kubbat-al-Nasr (the Vulture Dome). The angles of this square are vaulted over with squinch pendentives, and the drum resting upon the octagon thus formed is set back 2 feet, so that the dome resting on it has an internal diameter of 43 ft. 6 in. The present dome, which was built at some date subsequent to the burning of the mosque by Tīmūr, is of stone. Descriptions of the mosque at dates previous

to A.D. 1400 are to be found in the diaries of the various Arab geographers who visited it between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries.

Ibn Jubair, who visited it in A.D. 1184, descants on the immense height of the great dome, which "broods over the void". He describes also how that it consisted of an *external* and *internal* dome resting on a drum. He describes his visit to the interior of these two domes: "Verily the entrance to the same, and into the interior, where is the inner dome—*like a sphere within a larger sphere*—is from the mosque . . . after passing over the flat roof we came to the Dome, and mounted into it by a ladder set there . . . We went into the round gangway [this was round the drum]. . . . Then we hastened on to the entrance into the interior of the Dome, passing through one of the grated windows; and before us was a wondrous sight. We passed on over the planking of great wood beams which go all round the inner and smaller dome, which is inside the outer Leaden Dome, as aforesaid, and there are here two arched windows through which you look down into the mosque below. . . . The Great Leaden Dome covers this inner dome that has just been described. It also is strengthened by wooden ribs bound with iron bands. The number of these ribs is forty-eight. The ribs converge above, and unite in a centre-piece of wood."[1]

One cannot help being struck by the close resemblance of the above description to the domes of the Bībī Khānūm and Gūr Amīr, with the sole difference that these two are built of brick covered with enamelled tiles. The correspondence is close throughout; the peculiar feature of an inner and outer shell occurs in both, both are ribbed, the Gūr Amīr having sixty-four against forty-eight, and the shape must have been very similar. That it was slightly bulbous there can be no doubt. Ibn Jubair

[1] G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 255–7.

says that the length of the mosque from east to west (which we know to be 455 feet) was 200 paces; a pace would therefore be just under 27½ inches. He says later on that the circumference of the dome of lead was 80 paces, i.e. 182 feet; its diameter therefore was 58 feet. Now the exterior diameter of the base, still existing, of the drum on which it stood would appear from fig. 100 in Professor Phené Spiers' *Architecture, East and West*, to be about 52 feet. The dome of lead, therefore, must have overhung its base by 3 feet.

Tīmūr appeared before Damascus on January 8, 1401, and the next day negotiations were opened with him by the citizens, and, on his guaranteeing their safety, the Bab Saghin was opened to him. After nearly two months spent in bargaining and extracting a ransom, the place was finally sacked, and on March 4 all the population that remained—men, women, and children—were bound and dragged off. On the 17th Tīmūr ordered the city to be set on fire, and, sparks from the burning city lighting on the Umayyad mosque, it was burnt "till all that was left standing was a wall with no roof, nor door, nor marble".

Tīmūr thus had this great mosque in view for over two months, and cannot fail to have been impressed, keenly appreciating architecture as he did, with this great building, in his day one of the Four Wonders of the World of mediaeval Islam. He was much more likely to have some of its most striking features reproduced for him at Samarkand than he was to copy a tope in India. There is ample evidence that Tīmūr greatly appreciated architecture. He was greatly impressed by the Juma Musjid at Firuzabad (Old Delhi) and took a model of it home. Fanshawe states (p. 264) that he greatly admired the Kutb Minar, and carried off workmen to construct a similar one in Samarkand, which intention, however, was never carried out; and Don Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo,

in his account of his embassy to Tīmūr in 1404, relates many anecdotes to the same effect, as does Tīmūr's biographer Sharaf-ud-dīn Ali. In addition to this the diameter of the dome at Damascus was 43 ft. 6 in. Now, according to Schubert von Soldern,[1] the diameter of the dome of the Bībī Khānūm, the first building erected by Tīmūr after his visit to Damascus, is 44 ft. 3 in., a difference negligible in domes of such a size. I therefore think I have shown, as nearly as such a thing can be shown, short of a direct contemporary historical statement to that effect, that this type of dome was first executed in brick by Tīmūr after his return from Damascus as a copy of a wooden one of the same shape that he saw there.

Ibn Jubair (1184) remarks, and his statement is repeated by Ibn Batutah (1326), "From whatever quarter you approach the city you see this dome, high above all else, as though suspended in the air." It was probably for the sake of its external effect that this form was devised, and came to be adopted elsewhere.[2]

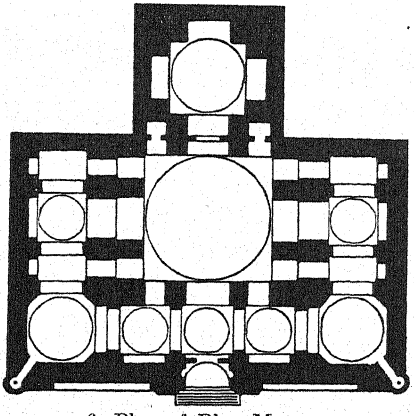
After Tīmūr's death in 1405 the double dome passed from Samarkand to Khurasān, over which it was spread by the Tīmūrides then ruling at Herat. It appears in the mosque of Gawhar Shād at Meshed (1418) and later in the mosque and mausoleum built by Sultan Husein Mirza (1487–1506) at Herat. Dating midway between these two buildings is the Blue Mosque at Tabriz, built by Jahān Shāh (1437–68), which Texier states had a double dome according to Chardin and Tavernier, who visited it in the seventeenth century before it was wrecked by an earthquake.

There is about the plan of this mosque, however, something which Fergusson calls Byzantine. I cannot

[1] *Die Baudenkmaler von Samarkand*, p. 28.

[2] This theory may be found worked out in detail in an article which I contributed to the *Burlington Magazine*, November and December, 1913.

quite see this myself, although the three domes in a row in front of the dome chamber seem very unusual, and almost recall a Greek narthex. Should this plan, however, really show Byzantine influence, it is tempting to try to put its date forward a few years, so that it falls into the reign of Uzun Hasan, Jahān Shāh's successor, in which case I could suggest an explanation. Whether this can be done I cannot say, as I am unable to find the ultimate authority on which the attribution of it



6. Plan of Blue Mosque.

to Jahān Shāh rests. However, could it be attributed to his successor my explanation would be this.

Uzun Hasan was Baiendari of the Ak-koinlu or White Sheep dynasty of Turcomans, and he defeated and killed Jahān Shāh in 1468. Uzun Hasan, who ruled at Tabriz, married the daughter of Calo Johannes, one of the last Comneni emperors of Trebizond, which startling alliance was the outcome of the desire of the Christian princes of Europe to unite with the Persians against the growing power of the Turks, whose advance they were viewing with dismay. It is easy to conceive a Byzantine influence being introduced under such auspices, especially as the relations with the West were so close at this time that there was a Venetian ambassador, Caterino Zeno, at

Uzun Hasan's court, at whose instance he invaded Asia Minor, but was defeated by Sultan Mohammed II.[1] Although I do not hold definite views as to the plan of the Blue Mosque, it nevertheless seems to me that there is here scope for interesting research.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find the double dome with slightly swelling outline in general use for all important buildings, as, for instance, the dome of the Royal Mosque at Isfahān, built by Shah 'Abbas in 1612 (Plate, Fig. 5). It is brilliant with glistening tile-work, one of the most striking features of Persian domes, and has windows round its base.

Most important domes in Persia are covered with faïence, but those belonging to sacred shrines are generally gilded, a practice which certainly goes back to 1674, when the dome of the shrine at Meshed was covered with gilt copper plates by Shāh Suleiman.[2] I think that the previous dome was probably covered with blue tiles on account of the couplet "Samarkand is the face of the earth: Bokhara is the marrow of Islam: Were there not in Meshed an azure dome, the earth would be merely a ditch for ablution". According to Schuyler this couplet was probably written about 1500. This feature is found in the shrine of Fatima at Kum, and also in the tombs of Ali and Husein at Najaf and Kerbela. In the clear Persian atmosphere these gilded domes may sometimes be seen flashing 30 miles away. The Medresseh-i-shah Husein at Isfahān was built *c.* 1700 (Plate, Fig. 6). It is about this period that the outline of the double dome begins to get fuller, a tendency which increases rapidly after 1750.

The double dome spread to India, where it first appears in the mausoleum of Humayun, completed 1565. Humayun succeeded to the throne in 1530, but in 1539 was defeated

[1] Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 65.

[2] Its present coating, according to Khanikoff, is due to Nadir Shāh.

at Kanauj by Sher Khan Sur, who eventually drove him out of India. He took refuge in Persia at the court of Shāh Tahmasp, by whose aid he eventually recovered his kingdom from Sher Shāh's successor, sixteen years later, in 1555. His stay all these years at the Persian court explains the form of the dome covering his tomb.

This building is said to have been the prototype of the Taj, which was commenced in 1632, i.e. about seventy years later. In Carr Stephen's *Archæology of Delhi* (to face p. 214) may be seen a photograph of the mausoleum of Khan Khānān, who died in 1626, i.e. only six years before the commencement of the Taj. It has a double dome, the distance between the crown of the inner and outer shell being 25 feet. This building, which has been ignored in this connexion by every writer, appears to me to be the real model on which the Taj was based. It resembles the Taj much more closely, its whole framework being more drawn together, and its dome is practically identical in shape. The kiosks at the corners too, as also the doorways, which are flush with the façade instead of being recessed, bear this out.

To return to Persia, the double dome under eighteenth century decadence takes an increasingly bulbous form; in fact, as Saladin says, the greater the swelling the later the date at which it has been built. This swelling form culminates in the domes of the Shāh Chiragh and the mosque of Jalāl-ud-dīn at Shiraz, which may date from the time of Kerim Khan, but which are probably subsequent to the great earthquake of 1824, which according to J. E. Alexander (*Travels from India to England*, p. 125), who was there shortly afterwards, left "not a single dome or minaret standing".

This type followed exactly the same course in India during and after the reign of Aurangzib, the most pronounced and best-known example being, perhaps, the mausoleum of Safdar Jung at Delhi.

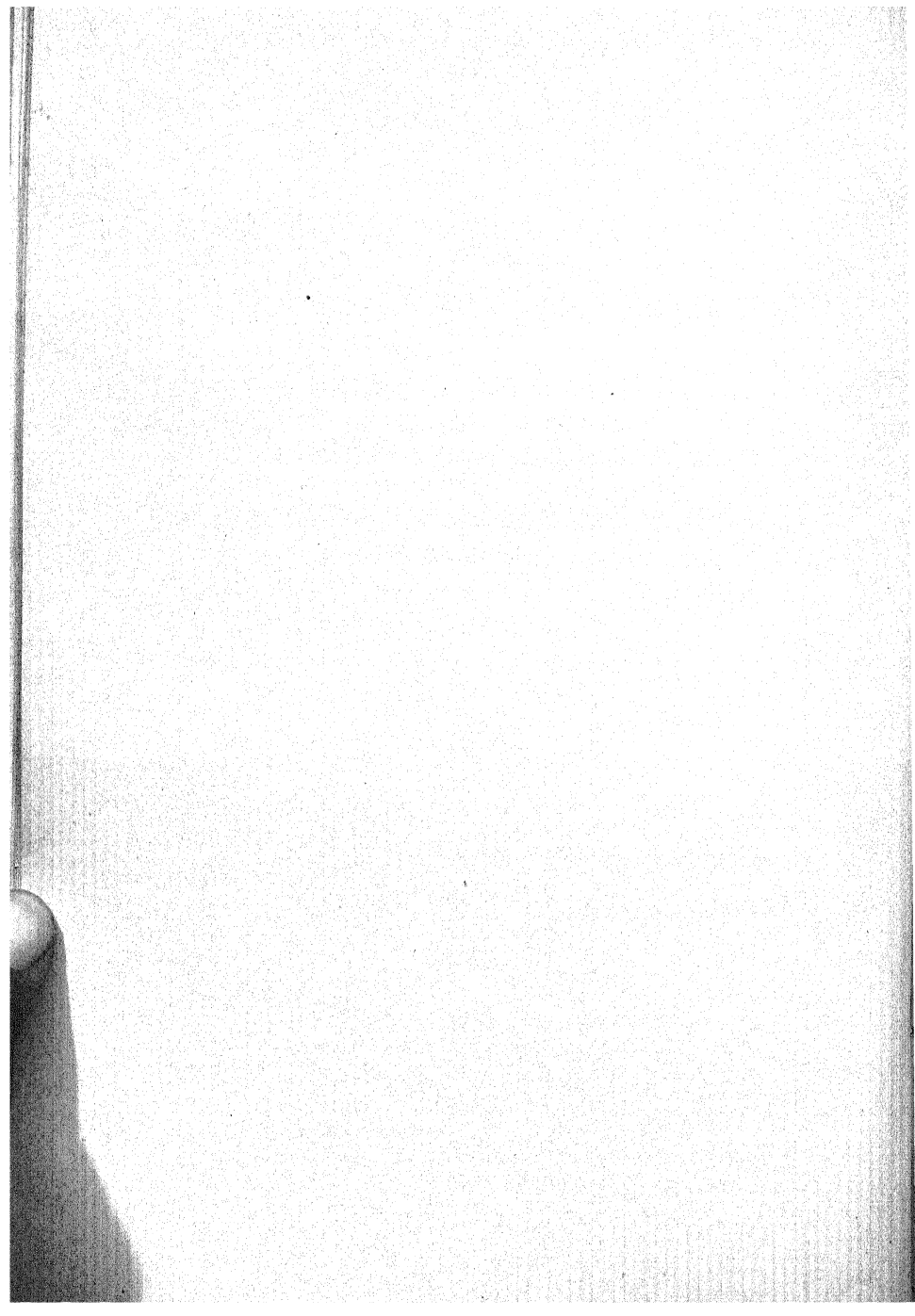
For present-day practice a good account may be found in Langenegger's *Die Baukunst des Irâq*. In fig. 129 he gives a section of a modern dome with double shell, the outer being one brick thick, covered with a layer of tiles. He expressly remarks that it could not stand without the tie-bars shown, which supports the view taken earlier in this paper as to this unscientific shape, contrary to the view urged by French writers on the subject. In fig. 132 he gives another section of more massive construction, in which the whole outer shell is supported on a trussed frame. In fig. 130 is an interesting example of modern jerry-building in which may be seen a thin shell built with light rods radiating from a centre. These rods project through it until it is finished, when they are cut off flush and concealed under the final coating of tiles; but I ought to add that Dr. Langenegger says that this style of thing is stronger than might, perhaps, be expected. As an example of the most extreme form taken by the double dome, I may cite the dome of the shrine of Imam el Horr at Kerbela, given by him in fig. 19.

To sum up, Persian domes may be divided into three groups:—

1. The pre-Mohammedan domes of elliptical shape, as seen at Firuzabad and Sarvistan.

2. The domes of the Mohammedan period down to 1400, which, gradually changing from the earlier type, become pointed, the dome at Sultānīeh being the finest example.

3. The double dome introduced by Tīmūr after his stay at Damascus, which, though only of very slightly swelling outline for three centuries, gradually became fuller about 1700, a tendency which culminated in the course of the last hundred years, till it attained at Shiraz an extremely bulbous form.



## XXII

# TUN HUANG LU: NOTES ON THE DISTRICT OF TUN-HUANG

By LIONEL GILES

THE low ebb of sinological studies in this country is all too clearly indicated by the fact that the present text is actually the first to be published out of the enormous mass of Chinese manuscripts brought home by Sir Aurel Stein five years ago. It is not altogether unbefitting, however, that the place of honour should be accorded to a brochure giving some account of the Tun-huang district, and including a description of the famous grottos where the whole collection of manuscripts was found. The *Tun Huang Lu* is indeed tantalizingly brief, consisting as it does of only 893 characters all told. But within that small compass it touches on many interesting points, the proper discussion of which would require more space than can be given to them here; and one passage, at least, throws a flood of light on a vexed question of topography which has never yet been solved. It is worth reading, in any case, as a short summary of what was known about this remote but highly important region towards the close of the T'ang dynasty. My reasons for assigning the text to this period are duly set forth in the accompanying notes. The handwriting is bold, and for the most part clear enough. A few characters, however, are to be found which the penman has allowed to lapse into "grassiness"—the especial bane of every foreign student. These I have deciphered to the best of my ability, but in the lack of any assistance from native or other experts I cannot feel quite certain of the correctness of my readings. As regards the style of the document,

its terseness frequently verges on obscurity, and the punctuation (omitted as in nearly all Chinese MSS.) has been by no means easy to supply in certain passages.

Besides the *Tun Huang Lu*, the booklet contains six further pages of manuscript which are not a continuation of the notes on Tun-huang, and have therefore not been included in the present article. It only remains to be said that the original is now on view as one of the exhibits in the New Wing of the British Museum (Bay II, A–C, No. 1). A photograph of it is reproduced in Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. ii, pl. 191, no. 2, but it is wrongly described there as a religious work.

## NOTES ON THE DISTRICT OF TUN-HUANG,[1] IN ONE *PÊN*.

The town of Hsiao-ku (lit. "Toil-for-corn") was originally Yü-tsê ("Fishing-pool").

According to the fragment of the 沙州志 *Sha chou chih* (f. 15 r°) published by 羅振玉 Lo Chên-yü in his 敦煌石室遺書 *Tun huang shih shih i shu*, the ancient town of Hsiao-ku was 30 *li* (about 11 miles) north-east of Tun-huang. This statement is indirectly confirmed by our treatise, which, as we shall see, works its way clockwise round the compass, finishing up with the extension of the Great Wall on the north. It had previously been believed to lie to the west. As early as 385 A.D. the town was attacked and destroyed by the inhabitants of 酒泉 Chiu-ch'üan (corresponding to the modern 肅州 Su-chou). We are told (loc. cit.) that the walls originally measured 500 paces, or about 2,500 feet, in circumference, but that at the time of writing all that remained was a part of the northern wall, some 30 or 40 paces in length. Even this is now probably swallowed up by the sand.

In the time of Hsiao [Wu] Ti of the Han dynasty, Ts'ui Pu-i taught the people to labour in the fields and grow corn, whence the name. Later on it was made a district city (*hsien*).

[1] Strictly speaking, the first character of the name should be written with an aspirate (T'un-huang), as the commentator on the *Han Shu* gives the pronunciation as 屯.

The character 武 should be supplied after 孝. No fewer than seven Emperors of the Earlier and ten of the Later Han had *hsiao*, "filial," prefixed to their dynastic titles. Ts'ao Pu-i is mentioned by Yen Shih-ku (*Han Shu*, ch. 28, ii, f. 3 r°) in his note on Hsiao-ku. We there learn that he was a native of Chi-nan in Shantung, and was appointed 都尉 commander of 漁澤障 the military camp at Yü-tsê.

The Êrh-shih spring is three days' journey eastward from the town of Sha-chou.

Êrh-shih was the capital of 大宛 Ta-yüan (Ferghana or Khokand), and the spring was named after Li Kuang-li, who assumed the title of "Êrh-shih General" just before his first and unsuccessful expedition against that country in 104 B.C.

It is to be observed that the writer speaks here of Tun-huang as Sha-ch'êng. Elsewhere he calls it 郡城, 城, or 沙州, but oftenest simply 州 (the departmental city). The territory round about the present Tun-huang oasis was inhabited in the Ch'in period by the 大月氏 Ta Yüeh-chih, who were destined to reappear as the Indo-Scythians of the Panjab. They were displaced by the Hsiung-nu in 165 B.C., who themselves had to yield ere long to Chinese pressure. The *chün* of Chiu-ch'üan was founded between 120 and 115, and extended so as to include the Tun-huang district in 111, which, however, was not made into a separate *chün* until the year 88.[1] The 縣 *hsien* was also called Tun-huang. In 335 A.D. a department, Sha-chou, was created within the *chün*. From 400 to 405 Tun-huang was the capital of the Western Liang State. Under the Later Wei dynasty, the Emperor 太武 T'ai Wu (424–51) established Tun-huang 鎮 *chên* within the *chün*, and 明帝 Ming Ti (516–27) changed this *chên* into 瓜州 Kua-chou. Under the Later Chou dynasty (557–81), Tun-huang hsien was called 鳴沙 Ming-sha hsien after the famous sandhill (see below). At the beginning of the Sui dynasty the *chün* was abolished, but re-established about 605, and at the same time the *hsien* reverted to its old name of Tun-huang. In the second year of the T'ang dynasty (619) the *chün* was superseded, and the name Kua-chou adopted, but only until 622, when it was changed to Western Sha-chou. In 633 the 西 was dropped, and for the first time the whole region was known as Sha-chou. In 742 the name Tun-huang chün reappeared officially for the last time, being succeeded again by Sha-chou in 758. In 766 the district was placed under the jurisdiction of the 節度使 of 河西 Ho-hsi, and in 781 it fell into the hands of the Tibetans. In

[1] See below, p. 717.

851 it once more became part of the Chinese Empire, but was incorporated in the State of Hsi Hsia or Tangut in 1035. It was at this time that the cave-library whence this book was taken appears to have been sealed up. The place was captured by the Mongols and renamed Sha-chou in 1277, being subsequently made a 路 "circuit" attached to Kansu. In 1405 the Ming emperor Ch'êng Tsu made it a 衛 military district, and in 1479 it was called 罕東左衛 "Han-tung, military district of the left". The town was afterwards abandoned, until finally in 1726 it again became the military district of Sha-chou, attached to 安西廳 the independent sub-prefecture of An-hsi. The name Tun-huang has, however, persisted, side by side with Sha-chou, to the present day.

In the Han period, Li Kuang-li's army when on the march was suffering greatly from thirst.

Li Kuang-li's second expedition against Ferghana, in 102 B.C., was crowned with success, and he was rewarded with the high-sounding title 海西侯 "Marquis of the lands west of the Ocean" (*Shih Chi*, ch. 123, f. 10 r°). In 99, however, a terrible disaster occurred. His army was surrounded and almost annihilated by the Hsiung-nu; and his kinsman 李陵 Li Ling, in trying to retrieve the situation, was cut off in his turn and forced to surrender. Some years later the news reached Li Kuang-li that his own wife and children had shared in the capital punishment meted out to all the relatives of the renegade Li Ling, and this doubtless had its effect on the events that followed. In the year 90, after the Chinese army had been defeated, Li Kuang-li formally tendered his allegiance to the Khan of the Hsiung-nu, who received him with the highest honours and gave him his own daughter in marriage. The next year, however, he fell victim to an intrigue and was put to death (*Han Shu*, ch. 94, i, ff. 17-19).

Having prayed to the spirit of the mountain, he pricked the mountain-side with his sword, whereupon a stream of water gushed out and flowed away to the west for several tens of *li* into the Huang-ts'ao [Yellow Grass] Lake.

This miraculous episode is related thus in the 西涼異物志, quoted by the *Sha chou chih*: "On his return from the punitive expedition against Ta-yüan, Li Kuang-li reached this mountain at a time when his soldiers were suffering greatly from thirst. He rubbed the rock with the palm of his hand, and with upturned face made a piteous appeal to Heaven. Then he struck the cliff with the sword hanging at his side, and a jet of water gushed out, bringing salvation to the whole army." This spring, called 懸泉 because it issued

from the side of a "beetling precipice" (懸崖), was 130 *li* to the east of Tun-huang. The word 人 seems to be wanted after 里. 泊 occurs in the *Sha chou chih*, f. 7 r°, in the sense of lake or marsh.

At a later date there was a general who drank of the water when he was very thirsty, which caused him to fall dead beside the spring. In consequence of this the water ceased to flow, only rising up to the level of the ground.

豕 for 遂, which is sometimes written without the walking radical.

Ever afterwards, when many people came to drink, the flow of water was abundant; when few came, the supply was scanty; if there was a great multitude from the city, which consumed large quantities, the water poured forth in a tumultuous stream; and these phenomena continue down to the present day.

The same story is told in the *Sha chou chih* and the 元和志 *Yüan ho chih*.

The Êrh-shih temple, which has long since been abandoned, stands by the roadside. Close by, there is a stone cairn. This is where travellers come with their camels and horses to pray for good luck.

That is to say, before starting on their journey across the desert. Stein (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 122) speaks of worshippers in these parts clinging to a shrine for centuries after it had lain in ruins. 促 is to be taken adverbially, = 近. In the *Han Shu*, ch. 96, f. 1 r°, 積石 is given as the name of the spot where the Tarim, after running for a long distance underground, comes to the surface again as the Yellow River of China.

Going east, you pass next into the territory of Kua-chou.

Under the T'ang dynasty, Kua-chou and 晉昌 Chin-ch'ang both formed part of the modern An-hsi. The name Kua-chou, derived from the fine melons of the district, had previously, as we have seen, been applied to Tun-huang itself.

South of the city of Sha-chou, at a distance of 25 *li*, are the Mo-kao caves.

There can be no doubt that these are the famous grottos now generally known as the 千佛洞, though on reference to Stein's map it will be seen that the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas are

situated to the south-east, and not due south of Tun-huang. The distance, however—just under 9 miles—is exactly correct. The following description is all the more interesting because, so far as I am aware, no other account of the grottos has reached us from anything like so early a period. The 大清一統志 *Ta ch'ing i t'ung chih*, ch. 170, f. 12 r°, has a notice of them, disappointingly meagre, under the heading 雷音寺 "Thunder-sound Temples", referring, I suppose, to the rumbling sandhill near by. The only new item of information to be found in it is that they were constructed in the T'ang period. Furthermore, two passing allusions of a poetical character are made to them in the 沙錄 *Sha lu* published by Lo Chên-yü: f. 4 r°, col. 8, 鑿爲靈龕上下雲直 "(the hillside) is scooped out into holy shrines rising one above the other towards the sky"; and again, f. 21 r°, col. 4, 聖洞之千龕 "the thousand shrines of the sacred caves".

To get there, you pass through a stony desert and encircle a sloping hill, when there is a sharp descent into a valley. To the east of this point stands the San-wei Mountain, to the west the Hill of Sounding Sand.

斗 here = 阧. The San-wei Mountain, so called on account of its three sharp peaks, is located by the *I t'ung chih* 30 *li* south-east of Tun-huang. If we are to believe the author of the Tribute of Yü, that indefatigable monarch "surveyed the Black-water as far as San-wei" (*Shu Ching*, III, 1. ii, 6). This at any rate proves that the name is one of great antiquity. It is also mentioned in the Canon of Shun (*ib.* II, i, 12) and in the 水經 *Shui Ching*.

In between there is a stream flowing from the south, called the Tang-ch'üan (Tunnel-spring).

This is the Tang River, on the west bank of which the ancient Tun-huang was situated, whereas the later town of Sha-chou was built on its east bank. It is also in all probability to be identified with the 氐置水 Ti-chih River of the *Han Shu* (see *I t'ung chih*, ch. 170, f. 4 v°). The name Tang is also written with the character 黨 or 党. We may note that 西宕鄉 is given as the name of a village in Tun-huang hsien by MS. 922 of the Stein Collection, containing part of a census of families in Tun-huang chün.

In this valley there is a vast number of old Buddhist temples and priests' quarters; there are also some huge bells.

鍾 stands for 鐘, as often in MSS.

At both ends of the valley, north and south, stand temples to the Rulers of the Heavens, and a number of shrines to other gods; the walls are painted with pictures of the Tibetan kings and their retinue.

The 天王 are the four demon-kings who are stationed on the sides of Mt. Meru in order to guard the world against the attack of Asuras. Their names are: (1) Virūḍhaka, the blue guardian of the south; attribute, a long sword. (2) Vaiśravaṇa, the yellow guardian of the north; attributes, a banner and a mongoose. (3) Virūpāksha, the red guardian of the west; attributes, a stūpa and a snake. (4) Dhṛitarāshṭra, the white guardian of the east; attribute, a guitar. See Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 145*a*; Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 180-2. *Tsan-p'u* is the Chinese transcription of "rgyal-po", the temporal rulers of Tibet, who were afterwards displaced by the Dalai Lamas.

The whole of the western face of the cliff for a distance of 2 *li*, north and south, has been hewn and chiselled out into a number of lofty and spacious sand-caves, which are filled with paintings and images of Buddha. Vast sums of money, if we figure it out, must have been lavished on the adornment of each cave. In front of them several storied pavilions have been erected.

層 is here the numerative.

There are temples with colossal images rising to a height of 160 feet, and the number of smaller shrines is past counting.

Stein (op. cit., ii, 26, 27) speaks of "several giant images of sitting Buddhas, rising through caves with a number of stories". Some of them, he adds, are nearly a hundred feet high.

All are accessible by means of open doorways, convenient for the purpose of ceremonial rounds as well as casual sight-seeing.

檻 is in one of its meanings (read *hsien*) a synonym of 欞, the sill of a window or door; and 虛檻 appears to denote the space, left empty, where a door or window should be. Examples of the phrase are given in the *P'ei wên yün fu*: 憑虛檻而遠想兮 "I lean on the window-ledge and let my thoughts roam afar";

泉飛濺虛檻 "The spray from the torrent splashes my window-sill". The first character of the clause I conjecture to be 悉, though it does not appear in Millot's "Formes Cursives" and cannot be said to resemble the 悉 which occurs below on p. 6, col. 1. Literally, then, the translation runs: "All the grottos have empty doorways (or corridors) which connect them"—not with one another, as one might suppose at first sight, but with the outside; in other words, they are all without doors and stand open to the air. According to Stein (vol. ii, p. 24), "the ground plan and arrangement of the [shrines] showed much uniformity. From a kind of oblong ante-chapel, fully open to the light . . . a high and relatively wide passage led into a square, high-roofed cella hewn out of the rock." We are told, it is true, that he "passed rapidly from one cella to another", but it seems clear that in each case he had to enter from the outside, and that there were no lateral openings in the cella itself. For, in another place, he speaks of the grottos as "perched one above the other without any order or arrangement in stories". Unfortunately, the point cannot be referred to Sir Aurel Stein himself, as he is again travelling in Central Asia.

On the next hill to the south there is a spot where the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin once made herself visible. Whenever the people of this province go to visit it, they are obliged to make the journey alone, both going and returning; that is the way in which they express their reverence.

The Hill of Sounding Sand is 10 *li* away from the city. It stretches 80 *li* east and west, and 40 *li* north and south, and it reaches a height of 500 feet.

There is obviously something very wrong with these figures, as applied to a single "sandhill" or "sandy hillock", as it is called by Stein and Palladius respectively. The former speaks of it also as a "huge dune", but even this description would not suit a mass measuring nearly 30 × 15 miles. One would be inclined to substitute 丈 (10 feet) for 里, except that the height would then be relatively too great. The hill is mentioned in the 五代史 *Wu tai shih*, 四夷附錄: "The Hill of Sounding Sand, 10 *li* to the south of Kua-chou (i.e. Tun-huang), emits, winter and summer, a rumbling noise like thunder. These are the 流沙 Shifting Sands mentioned in the Tribute of Yü" (see *Shu Ching*, III, 1, ii, 5). It is not at all likely, however, that the "Shifting Sands" in the passage referred to denote the Ming-sha Shan alone. They are generally identified with a portion of the desert of Gobi. At the same time, it is certainly

curious that the *Sha chou chih* (f. 1 v°) should speak of the 鳴沙流山, and go on to explain that the whole hill is constantly moving from one spot to another.

The whole mass is entirely made up of pure sand.

The character 純 in the text looks as though a stroke or two had been purposely omitted. If so, it can only be because it was the 諱 personal name of the Emperor 憲宗 Hsien Tsung, who reigned 806–20 A.D. This would prove that the book was written before the end of the T'ang dynasty, and not earlier than 806. But at this latter date, and until 851, Tun-huang was still in the hands of the Tibetans, whereas everything seems to show that the writer was living at Tun-huang under Chinese rule. Furthermore, on p. 1, col. 5, the character 祝, which was the personal name of 昭宣帝 Chao Hsüan Ti, the last emperor of the dynasty, who came to the throne in 904, is written without any abbreviation. I conclude, therefore, that the book was written between the years 851 and 904.

This hill has mysterious supernatural qualities. Its peak looks as if it had been artificially pared away, and on it there is a well which the sand has not been able to cover up.

The *Sha chou chih* (loc. cit.) refers to both these features in almost the same words: 峯危似削 . . . 中有井泉沙至不掩. The *I t'ung chih* also says: "Its peak is very steep, even more so than that of a rocky mountain; each of its four sides is a bank of sand, and its back is shaped like the blade of a knife."

In the height of summer the sand gives out sounds of itself, and if trodden by men or horses the noise is heard many tens of *li* away.

So the 河西舊事, quoted in the 太平寰宇記 *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, ch. 153, f. 4 r°: "At Sha-chou, when the weather is bright and sunny, the sand emits sounds which are heard in the city."

It is customary on the *tuan-wu* day (the Dragon Festival on the 5th of the 5th moon) for men and women from the city to clamber up to the very summit and rush down again in a body, which causes the sand to give forth a loud rumbling sound like thunder. Yet when you come to look at it the next morning the hill is found to be just as steep as before.

鑾 is equivalent to 蹴, and conveys the notion of heavy tramping. Cf. *I t'ung chih*: 人登之卽鳴。隨足頹落。經宿風吹。輒復如舊 "When people climb up, the sand rumbles, gives way under the feet, and slides down to the bottom. But after a night has passed, the wind will have blown the sand back into its original position". And the *Sha chou chih*: 夕疑無地。朝已干霄 "In the evening you would think there was nothing there, but next morning it is towering up to the sky". The fact that both sexes joined in this sport throws an interesting sidelight on the position of women in this outlying community. Incidentally, it proves that footbinding could not have been in vogue, even if the women were Chinese, which is perhaps doubtful.

An old name for the Sounding Sand was Spiritual Sand, and a small temple has been dedicated to it near by.

Yet a third name, in allusion to its curious peak, was 沙角山, so we learn from the *Huan yü chi*.

To the south there is the Kan-ch'üan River.

This stream is not to be found on Stein's map, and is probably represented by one of the dry river-beds west of the Tang Ho.

Tracing it southward from the Hill of Sand, we find its original source to be in the Great Snowy Mountains (the Nan-shan range). It enters the Tun-huang district through the territory of Shou-ch'ang hsien in the south-west. On account of its cool and fertilizing properties it is commonly called Kan-ch'üan (Sweet-spring).

The character 昌 wants two strokes, probably omitted by inadvertence, as I cannot find that the word has ever been taboo. Shou-ch'ang hsien, called after the Shou-ch'ang 澤, a lake south of the town, was founded in 521 on the site of the ancient 龍勒 Lung-lo, but a few years later was incorporated in Ming-sha hsien. In 619 it was again established, and after a chequered existence definitely disappeared before the close of the T'ang dynasty. Thus, in the *Huan yü chi*, published in the period 976–83, it is called 廢 "extinct". Here we have a further clue to the date of this brochure, which mentions the *hsien* as still existing. The exact distance of Shou-ch'ang from Tun-huang is very doubtful. The *Yüan ho chih*, quoted in the *I t'ung chih*, says 105 *li* to the west, which is almost certainly wrong. The *Huan yü chi* gives the direction as south-west, and the distance first as 290, afterwards

as 150 *li*. The latter figure is more likely to be correct. The Yang and Yü-mên Barriers, mentioned below, were both in this *hsien*, the former 6 *li* to the west, the latter 118 *li* north-west of the town. See *Chiu T'ang Shu*, ch. 40, f. 47 v°. The *Huan yü chi* places the Yang Barrier 60 *li* west of Shou-ch'ang, but this is doubtless a copyist's mistake.

The Chin-an (Golden Saddle) Mountain is situated to the south-west of the Hill of Sand. It has snow on it throughout the summer. There is a shrine there of high spiritual potency, which people dare not approach. Every year, from afar, the local chief offers up in sacrifice a fine horse, which he drives into the recesses of the mountain.

駏 is a rare form of 驅.

But if he ventures too near he immediately provokes a destructive hail-storm, with thunder and lightning.

South-west of the city stands the Li Hsien-wang temple, that is to say, a temple erected in a former generation to Chao Wang of the Western Liang State.

This state was an offshoot of the Northern Liang (397-439), and lasted from 400 to 421. In the absence of any account of these short-lived kingdoms apart from the Chinese annals, a brief synopsis of the period may be useful. 李暠 Li Kao, a man of refinement and literary tastes, was descended from the Han general Li 廣 Kuang, and Li 淵 Yüan, a descendant of his own in the eighth generation, became the first emperor of the T'ang dynasty. 孟敏 Mêng Min, Governor of Tun-huang, made him magistrate of Hsiao-ku, and after the former's death in 400 a petition was presented to 段業 Tuan Yeh, King of Northern Liang, praying that Li Kao might be appointed to succeed him. Tuan Yeh assented, but soon his jealousy was aroused, and he sent a body of 500 horse to depose him. These were defeated by Li Kao, who exacted an apology and later on, assuming the title of Duke of Liang, conquered all the territory west of the Jade Gate, then situated near the modern Su-chou. His capital was fixed at Tun-huang. In 401 Tuan Yeh was assassinated by his Prime Minister 沮渠蒙遜 Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün, who became king in his stead. In 404 Li Kao's eldest son 譚 T'an died, and 歆 Hsin was made heir-apparent. In the following year Li Kao appointed his son 讓 Jang to be Governor of Tun-huang, and moved his capital eastwards to Chiu-ch'üan, in order to keep a better check on the Northern Liang State. He now began to take "year-titles".

In 410 Mêng-hsün attacked his neighbour, defeated Prince Hsin and took the general 朱元虎 Chu Yüan-hu prisoner. He was ransomed, and a treaty of peace was concluded, only to be broken the next year by Mêng-hsün. Li Kao refused battle until the enemy were tired out and on their way home, when they were attacked and crushed by the Crown Prince. After an interval of five years, during which Mêng-hsün was at war with the Southern Liang State, Li Kao was urged by a minister to fall upon his enemy, but wisely declined to do so. In 417 he died and was canonized by his son as 武昭王, with the temple-name 太祖. In the same year the new king gained a victory over Mêng-hsün. In 420, acting against his mother's advice, he attacked his old enemy once more, but was utterly defeated and lost his life in the battle. His brothers 翻 Fan and 恂 Hsün, Governors of Chiu-ch'üan and Tun-huang respectively, fled to the 北山 northern hills. In the winter, Hsün, claiming the succession, shut himself up in Tun-huang, where he was besieged by the enemy's troops. His request to be allowed to tender allegiance was refused, whereupon he committed suicide. The city was taken, a general massacre followed, and Hsün's brother 寶 Pao was cast into prison. Mêng-hsün lived until 433, and under his successor 牧犍 Mu-chien the Northern Liang State was overthrown in its turn by 魏 Wei.

In the *ch'ien-fêng* period (A.D. 666–8) a lucky stone was picked up close beside this temple; its colour was bluish-green, and it bore a red inscription in the ancient character, to wit: "I can foretell thirty generations, I can foretell 700 years."

Towards the end of our fragment of the *Sha chou chih* there is a list of twenty 祥瑞 "lucky omens". The fourteenth of these is the stone mentioned here. We learn a few more details about it. It was picked up by 嚴洪爽 Yen Hung-shuang, a man of the people, in the year 666, and the first two characters of the inscription are given as 下代.

To-day this temple is known as the "Li temple".

According to the *Sha chou chih*, f. 13, there were really two temples on this site, 8 *li* west of Tun-huang. The first was called 先王廟, being dedicated to Li Kao's *father*, on whom his son had conferred the posthumous title 涼簡公 "Honorary Duke of Liang". It was 15 feet high, and its precincts were 350 paces in circumference. To the east of it stood another temple, of the same dimensions, erected in honour of Li Kao's *sons*. This temple was called "Li Miao".

West of the city is the Yang Barrier, which is the same as the ancient Yü-mên (Jade Gate) Barrier.

This is a most interesting statement. Even if made at random or without full appreciation of what it involves, it furnishes, I venture to think, a valuable clue to the mystery which has hitherto surrounded the relation between these two famous frontier gates. Let us review the scanty data supplied to us on the subject by the early Chinese histories.

(1) The *Han Shu*, ch. 28, ii, f. 3 r°, states that the Yang and Yü-mên Barriers were both in Lung-lo hsien, a district which we know to have lain roughly south-west of Tun-huang. This at once disposes of Bretschneider's assertion (*Mediaeval Researches*, ii, p. 215, note) that the Jade Gate was originally built on the site of the present Yü-mên hsien, nearly 130 miles east of Tun-huang. If further evidence be needed, we may point to *Han Shu*, ch. 96, f. 1 r°, where it is said that 蒲昌海 Lopnor is some 300 *li* from the Yü-mên and Yang Barriers. This implies that the two were at no great distance from one another, and that in any case neither can have been on the east side of Tun-huang. And that conclusion is confirmed, as we have seen, by the Old T'ang History, which places the Yang Barrier 6 *li* west and the Jade Gate 118 *li* north-west of Shou-ch'ang. The former, then, was not more than 30 or 40 miles south-east of the latter; so that if, as appears extremely probable, Sir A. Stein was right in locating the Jade Gate at T. xiv (marked "ancient fort" on his map), the Yang Barrier must have stood, as he surmised, somewhere in the Nan-hu oasis (see *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii, p. 80).

(2) We are moreover told in the *Han Shu* (ch. 96, f. 1 v°) that both stations were occupied during the reign of Wu Ti, and apparently in connexion with the colonization of four new *chün*, Chiu-ch'üan, 武威 Wu-wei, 張掖 Chang-i, and Tun-huang.

(3) The 史記 *Shih Chi*, ch. 123, f. 8 r°, states that when Li Kuang-li was returning with the straggling remnants of his army from the abortive expedition against Ferghana in 103, the Emperor in a rage sent envoys to bar his passage, declaring that any of his soldiers who dared to enter the Jade Gate should forthwith be beheaded. The Êrh-shih general was overawed by this threat, and therefore encamped at Tun-huang. Commenting on this passage, M. Chavannes writes[1]: "Ce témoignage donne à entendre que, en 103 av. J.-C., la porte du Jade, et par conséquent l'extrémité de la grande muraille, étaient encore à l'est de Touen-houang." I would join issue with him here. The above extract certainly makes it quite clear that the Jade

[1] *Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, Introduction, p. 6.

Gate in 103 B.C. was not situated where it indubitably was situated a few years later, namely at a point on the Wall west of Tun-huang, inasmuch as it would thus have lain straight across the returning general's path. But, on the other hand, to suppose that it was anywhere east of Tun-huang is a flat contradiction of the statement that both barriers were situated in Lung-lo hsien. How can we reconcile the two passages? Only by boldly assuming, in accordance with our present text, that the Jade Gate of this earliest period—the Jade Gate garrisoned by 任文 Jen Wên (*Han Shu*, ch. 96, f. 3 v°), the Jade Gate which Li Kuang-li was forbidden to enter—was no other than the Yang Barrier itself. I will sketch the course of events which this theory seems to involve. With M. Chavannes we may follow the 通鑑 *T'ung Chien* in supposing that Chiu-ch'üan was founded in 115, as a direct result of the brilliant military exploits of 霍去病 Ho Ch'ü-ping. Soon afterwards the Yang Barrier (known not by that name but as the Jade Gate) was erected on the extreme western frontier. But when Tun-huang was colonized in 111, fresh protection was found to be necessary on the north, and the extension of the Great Wall was begun. Li Kuang-li's expedition took place before the new wall was finished, and while the Jade Gate was still fifty miles or so south-west of Tun-huang. That explains how it was he managed to enter the town without passing through the Jade Gate. As soon as the wall was completed, probably about the year 100,[1] the Jade Gate was at once rendered, if not absolutely superfluous, at any rate of much less importance, seeing that the pressure of the Hsiung-nu came almost entirely from the north. Consequently, it was now shifted northwards to a point on the wall which we may take to be Stein's T. xiv, and for the first time the name Yang Kuan was given to the old barrier in order to distinguish it from the new Jade Gate. Here I may quote the 通典 *T'ung Tien*[2]: 玉門在縣之北。陽關在玉門之南。故曰陽 "The Jade Gate is in the north of the *hsien* (Lung-lo), and the Yang Barrier is south of the Jade Gate; that is why it is called *Yang* (the quarter of light and warmth, i.e. south)". And, more important still, the 通志 *T'ung Chih*[2]: 前陽關而後玉門。控伊西而制沙漠。全陝之咽喉。極邊之鎖鑰 "*First the Yang Barrier and afterwards the Jade Gate* controlled the route through Hami to the west and dominated the Gobi desert, was the 'throat' of all the mountain passes and the key to the furthest lands beyond the frontier". Here we have striking testimony to the fact that the Yang

[1] It is significant that the oldest date on the tablets found by Sir A. Stein along the line of the wall is 98 B.C.

[2] I have not found the exact reference.

Barrier not only was the earlier of the two fortresses, but played exactly the same part as the later Jade Gate in that it was the recognized starting-point of the journey from the Chinese border to the west.

Pursuing my historical synopsis a little further, I would call attention to one other passage in the *Han Shu* (ch. 28, ii, f. 3 r°): 武帝後元年分酒泉置 "(Tun-huang) was divided off from Chiu-ch'üan and established in the *hou-yüan* period (B.C. 88–87) of the reign of Wu Ti". This has been rather rashly rejected as a mistake by M. Chavannes (following the Ch'ien Lung commentators) on the ground, I suppose, that Tun-huang was evidently in existence at the time of Li Kuang-li's expedition. But the words do not mean that Tun-huang was colonized or founded at that date, only that it was then for the first time made into an independent *chün*. 置 is regularly used to indicate a change of status only, as for instance when Tun-huang chün became Kua-chou in 619 A.D. (*Chiu T'ang Shu*, ch. 40, f. 47 r°). It is highly unlikely, when we come to think of it, that Tun-huang should have been made a *chün* immediately after its colonization, when occupying the exposed position it did before the wall was built. The very name 敦煌 (literally "great blaze") points unmistakably to its having been originally a mere watch-station whence fire-signals could be transmitted.[1]

It was because Yang Ming, when Governor of Sha-chou, resisted an Imperial warrant for his arrest and fled over the border by this gate, that it afterwards came to be known as the Yang Barrier.

This does not seem a very probable derivation of the name. The only other mention of this worthy that I have succeeded in finding is in the 清波雜志 *Ch'ing po tsa chih*, quoted in the *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, V, 125, 雜錄, f. 6 v°, where, however, his name is given as Yang 興 Hsing. The passage runs: "The Han General Yang Hsing fled through this gate when he was defeated: hence the name. But it is not a pleasing appellation. The general of a routed army and a subject who had rebelled against the State did not deserve to have the fact that he crossed the frontier thus honourably recorded."

It connects China with the capital of Shan-shan, but the natural obstacles of the route and its deficiency in

[1] 應劭 Ying Shao explains 煌 as meaning 盛 "abundance". But every other authority, including the *Shuo Wên*, is against him.

water and vegetation make it difficult to traverse. The frontier-gate was afterwards shifted to the east of Sha-chou.

The exact position of the kingdom of Shan-shan is one of the puzzles of Central Asian geography. The *Han Shu* gives its distance from the Yang Barrier as 1,600 *li*, and mentions it as the first country to be passed through on the southern trade route from China to the west. The *Hou Han Shu*, on the other hand, very strangely makes it lie on the route between Tun-huang and Hami. For an attempted solution of the problem, see Chavannes' *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Wei Lio*. It must here suffice to say that the original name of the country was 樓蘭 Lou-lan, and that after it was changed to Shan-shan in 77 B.C., the capital appears to have been south-west of Lopnor, and not far from the modern Charklik. In spite of the difficulties of the southern trade route here alluded to, it appears to have been the one chiefly used during the earlier Han period on account of the danger to be apprehended from the Hsiung-nu on the northern route, which passed through Hami and Karakhojo. Under the reign of Hsüan Ti (B.C. 73–49), the Chinese Government, so we learn from the *Han Shu*, ch. 96, f. 2 r°, undertook to guard the southern but not the northern route; and it is clear that the Chinese fully realized the necessity of maintaining their position as paramount power at the court of Shan-shan. A passage in the *T'ung Tien* immediately following the one already quoted seems to imply that the Yang Barrier and the Jade Gate were the starting-points for the southern and northern routes respectively (一縣而設兩關者。自此而趨西域有南北道。故也). But there is nothing in the earlier histories to support that view. Indeed, the *Hou Han Shu* may be quoted in the opposite sense: 出玉門經鄯善。且末。精絕。三千餘里至抱彌 "Issuing by the Jade Gate, you pass through Shan-shan, Chü-mo, Ching-chüeh, and after a journey of more than 3,000 *li* you arrive at Chü-mi" (ch. 88, f. 4 r°). The removal of the Jade Gate to the east of Tun-huang did not take place until after the Han dynasty.

Eighty-five *li* west of the city is the Yü-nü (Beautiful Woman) Spring. The stories that have been handed down about it are largely fictitious. Every year a youth and a maiden used to be conducted to this spot by the people of the district (*chün*) and sacrificed by night to the spirit of the pool.

夜 seems to make good sense here, but I am bound to say it is only a conjecture for a cursive form which I have not been able to discover in any dictionary.

This ensured a plentiful harvest; but if the ceremony was omitted the crops were spoilt. The parents, though bitterly distressed at having their sons and daughters thus torn from them, would nevertheless cheerfully lead by the hand those marked out as victims for the goddess, and drown them in the spirit-dragon's pool.

生 "while they themselves were still alive", the natural cause of separation between children and their parents being the latters' death. The Chinese dragon is generally associated with water, which may possibly account for the omission of a word for "pool" or "spring" before 中.

When the Governor Chang Hsiao-sung arrived at his post, he made inquiries about this custom from the inhabitants of the *chün*.

剌 is another form of 刺. The *Hou Han Shu* (百官志) informs us that "Hsiao Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.) was the first to appoint *tz'ŭ shih*, thirteen in all, with a salary of 600 piculs of grain. Ch'êng Ti (32–7 B.C.) raised the salary to 2,000 piculs. In 42 A.D. the number of *tz'ŭ shih* was increased by twelve, each being placed in charge of a 州 department. These departments were in each case attached to the jurisdiction of a 校尉 *hsiao-wei* (military governor)". About Chang Hsiao-sung I can find no further details.

They gave him particulars, whereupon the Governor exclaimed in anger: "I won't have an uncanny drought-demon planted on us in this fountain and playing miraculous tricks!"

豈 *indignantis*. 娀 is defined in the *Shuo Wên* as 婦人美也 "a beautiful woman"; here, however, it partakes also of the meaning of 魃 "a demon of drought", living in the spring itself so as to diminish its outflow. 忯 is a vulgar form of 怪. I take 客 (if that is the right reading) as a verb governing 我.

So he had an altar erected, and sacrificial victims prepared alongside the spring. Then he called out: "I wish to behold thy real form and make sacrifice to thee

in person." The spirit forthwith changed into a dragon and came out of the water, whereupon the Governor drew his bow and shot the creature in the throat; then he whipped out his sword and cut off its head. This, on a subsequent visit to the Palace, he presented to the Emperor, Hsüan Tsung, who showed great admiration for his exploit and graciously bestowed on him the tongue of the dragon, with a command that he should take the appellation of *Lung-shê* (Dragon's tongue). Chang wrote a book giving an account of this adventure.

Hsüan Tsung, better known by his title of canonization 明皇 Ming Huang, reigned A.D. 713–56. 偁 is apparently the original form of 稱 in the sense of "praise". The *Shuo Wên* defines it as 揚, and 稱 as 銓. 勑 is used for 敕.

One *li* north-west of the capital there is a monastery and a clump of old trees. Hidden amongst them is a small fort, on the top of which is erected a miniature palace, complete in every part.

This is perhaps the same as the 殿 mentioned in the *Sha chou chih*, f. 6v°. It had six gates, five rooms, was 4 feet high, and measured 17 by 8 paces. It is said to have been built by Li Kao in the year 400 for the transaction of administrative business. Its name was 恭德殿, and there is a tradition that Li Kao died there.

Formerly there was a sub-prefect of Sha-chou, one Chang Ch'iu, who, when already advanced in years, took a fancy to the spot and settled down to live there.

A man of this name, who may or may not be the same person, is mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, ch. 195, f. 1 v°: 弋陽張球 . . . 事親居喪著至行 "Chang Ch'iu of I-yang [in Kiangsi] showed exemplary behaviour in serving his parents and observing the rites of mourning".

Although not a man of wide scholarship, he was exceedingly earnest and painstaking; for after the country had passed through many years of revolution, and but few men were left to practise the instructor's calling, he

collected the younger generation together in order to expound to them the great principles of government.

愽 is wrongly written instead of 博. 後進 equals 後輩; see Chu Hsi's commentary on *Lun Yü*, XI, 1, i. The phrase 大猷 occurs in the *Shih Ching*, II, 5, iv, 4: 秩秩大猷聖人莫之 "Wisely arranged are the Great Plans; Sages determined them".

But Heaven could not spare him long for the people to enjoy his bounty.

This phrase also occurs in the *Shih Ching* (II, 4, ix, 6), where 憖 is doubtless rightly explained as 心不欲而自彊之辭 "a word indicating self-compulsion in spite of inward reluctance". But the present passage is borrowed from the *Tso Chuan*, 哀公 xvi, § 3: 昊天不弔。不憖遺一老 "Heaven gives me no comfort, and has not seen fit to spare to me this one aged Minister [Confucius]". It is surely unnecessary to take the word here in a different sense, as the commentator does, and to make it equivalent to 且.

The Alabaster Mountains are 256 *li* to the north of the city. The alabaster is found among the rocks on the Wu (Black) and the Fêng (Beacon) Mountains.

*Shih-kao* is one of the articles of tribute mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, ch. 40, f. 10 v°, as coming from Tun-huang. The name means literally "stone-grease", which suggests talc or soapstone. These minerals, however, are known to the Chinese as 雲母 and 滑石 respectively. The *Pên Ts'ao*, ch. 9, ff. 33 seq., quotes the remarks of many authors on *shih-kao*, showing a certain amount of confusion with other allied substances. Li Shih-chên sums up as follows: "There are two varieties of *shih-kao*, one hard and one soft. Soft *shih-kao* occurs in large lumps among rocks. It forms layers, each several inches thick, and shaped like rice-cakes pressed flat. It is either red or white. The red kind cannot be taken as medicine. The white variety is pure and clear, with thin streaks bunched together like a packet of needles, exactly resembling solidified white wax. It is soft and friable, and when subjected to fire it becomes white and glistening like face-powder. When the colour is pure and lustrous, but of a bluish tint, with thin fibres running through it like white silk threads, it is called 理石 *li shih*. This is only another variety of soft *shih-kao*. If broken up, the form and colour

of each fragment are the same and cannot be distinguished. Hard *shih-kao* occurs in crystalline pieces, hard and white like a horse's teeth. When struck, it splits up into thin plates that are transparent like talc or quartz crystal. It has marked divisions, and is also easy to crumble when subjected to fire, but is not reducible to powder while in its original hard state." 方解 *fang-chieh* is a variety of hard *shih-kao* forming square-shaped crystals, and 長石 *ch'ang-shih* is another hard variety resembling soft *shih-kao* in appearance, except that its lumps are not flat, and differing from *fang-chieh* in that its crystals are not square but oblong. As regards the identification of *shih-kao*, there can be no doubt that it is gypsum in one form or another, *li-shih* being fibrous gypsum, sometimes called satin spar. Hard *shih-kao* may possibly be selenite. Alabaster, of course, is only a fine-grained variety of gypsum. It would require a competent mineralogist to tell if *fang-chieh* and *ch'ang-shih* are really distinct varieties. To the Chinese the main difference between *shih-kao* and its congeners lies in their medicinal qualities. All the above are "cold" substances, and therefore useful for allaying fever and inflammation, but only true *shih-kao* is efficacious as a sudorific and in reducing flesh.

In the nineteenth year of *k'ai-huang* (599 A.D.) the Black Mountain turned white. The fact has been verified and found to be no empty fable.

There was, according to the *Sha chou chih*, a posting-station (驛) at 烏山, 227 *li* north-east of Tun-huang.

The Taoist monk Huang-fu Tê-tsung and others, seven in all, were sent there to make sacrifices and libations. And ever since then the mountain has had all the appearance of being a snow-covered peak.

Huang-fu Tê-tsung is not included in the list of 方士 in the *T'u Shu*. But a certain 皇甫德參 Huang-fu Tê-ts'an is mentioned in the biography of 魏徵 Wei Chêng (A.D. 581-643) in the *T'ang Shu*.

The town of Ho-ts'ang is 230 *li* north-west of the city. A military magazine of ancient date stands here.

The *Sha chou chih*, f. 14 r°, has a note on "the ancient town of 阿倉 O-ts'ang" (as the name is there written): "It is 242 *li* north-west of Tun-huang, and is usually called the town of O-ts'ang.

Its date is unknown. The place is in ruins, but the foundations still remain." We learn, moreover, that its walls were only 180 paces in circumference. There is also a mention of O-ts'ang in the *Huan yü chi*, ch. 153, where it is called a 烽 "beacon" or "signal-station". These facts, as well as its distance from Tun-huang (between 80 and 90 miles), make it practically certain that it was not situated on the line of the wall itself, but was one of the outposts seen by Sir A. Stein beyond the wall stretching away to the north-west (*Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii, p. 138). On the other hand, one is much tempted to identify the military magazine with the huge ruined structure described by the same author (op. cit., ii, pp. 4, 127–30, and fig. 156), and marked "large ruin" on his map. This, however, stands just south of the wall and less than 50 miles, as the crow flies, from the city of Tun-huang. On the whole, I cannot help thinking that our author has made a mistake in locating the magazine at O-ts'ang. It is hard to believe that a dépôt containing valuable stores should have been placed in such an assailable position.

The Great Wall is on the north of the city. This wall runs out into the desert due west for a distance of 63 *li*.

This prolongation of the Great Wall, built by the Emperor Wu Ti during the last years of the second century B.C., is of course the *limes* explored by Sir A. Stein, and found by him to extend more than 70 miles west of Tun-huang. We should be at a loss, therefore, to understand the figure here given, were it not that we fortunately have the following passage of the *Sha chou chih* (f. 15 r°) with which to compare and correct it: "The ancient wall is 8 feet high, 10 feet wide at the base, 4 feet wide at the top. *It passes* 63 *li north of Tun-huang*, and extends eastwards for 180 *li* to the 階亭烽 Chieh-t'ing Signal-station, where it enters the territory of 常樂縣 Ch'ang-lo hsien in Kua-chou; towards the west it reaches as far as the 曲澤烽 Ch'ü-tsê (Winding Lake) Signal-station, a distance of 212 *li*, running out into the desert due west in the direction of the territory of 石城 Shih-ch'êng (Charklik)." This agrees exactly with the distances given by Stein. In order to rectify our text, all we have to do is to omit the words 其城. The stop will then come after 里.

It was built as a barrier under the Former Han dynasty.

A space is left blank in my transcription, as the character which should stand there does not appear in K'ang Hsi's dictionary. The Rev. A. C. Moule has suggested to me that the doubtful character

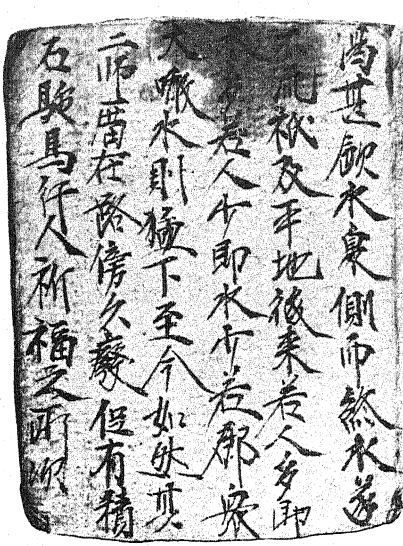
may be intended for 卦 *hua*, which K'ang Hsi defines by the word 礙. This yields excellent sense, and I have very little doubt that Mr. Moule's conjecture is correct.

Going north, you enter the territory of I-chou (Hami).

This district was known as 伊吾盧 I-wu-lu under the Han dynasty. It must not be confused with the 伊吾 of the Wei and Chin dynasties, which lay within the territory of Tun-huang itself, to the north. In A.D. 73 it was first occupied by the Chinese and made into a military station against the Hsiung-nu, who, however, reconquered it. Afterwards it passed into the hands of various tribes, including the 突厥 T'u-chüeh. The Chinese held it again under the T'ang dynasty, and it was successively called 西伊州 Western I-chou, I-chou, I-wu chün, and once more (in 758) I-chou. In the Wu Tai period it was known as the 胡盧磧 "Gourd Oasis". The name 哈密 Hami (a Chinese imitation of the Mongol name Khamil) is not known to occur in writing before the History of the Yüan dynasty.

"Notes on Tun-huang, in one chapter."

2



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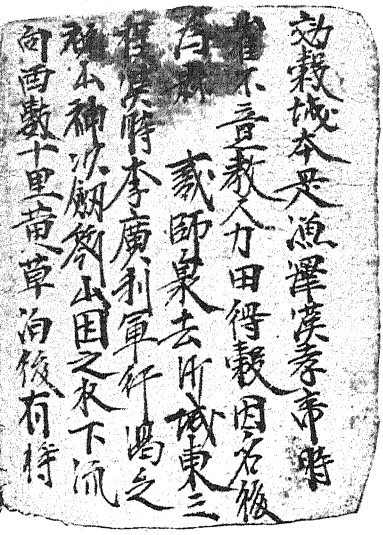

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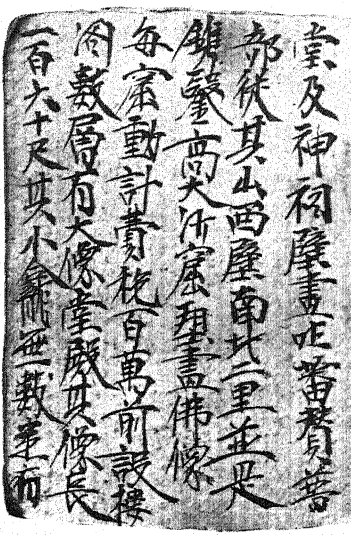

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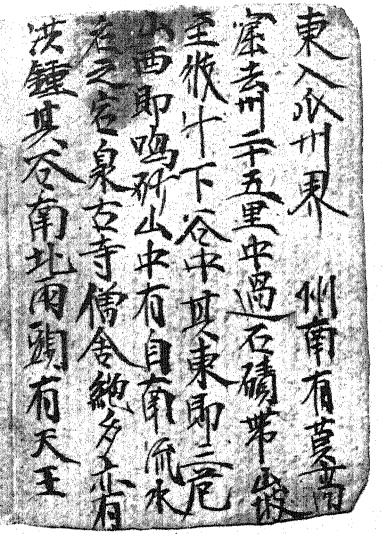


效穀城本是漪澤。漢孝帝時。崔不意敎人力田得穀。因名。後爲縣。貳師泉去沙城東三程。漢時李廣利軍行渴乏。祝山神。次劒劉山。因之水下流向西數十里。黃草泊。後有將。渴甚飲水。泉側而終。水豙不流。祇及平地。後來若人多。卽水多。若人少。卽水少。若郡衆大噉。水則猛下。至今如然。其二師廟在路傍。久廢。促有積石。駝馬行人祈福之所。次東入瓜州界。

州南有莫高窟。去州二十五里。中過石磧。帶山坡至彼。斗下谷中。其東卽三危山。西卽鳴砂山。中有自南流水。名之宕泉。古寺僧舍絕多。亦有洪鐘。其谷南北兩頭。有天王堂及神祠。壁畫吐蕃贊普部從。其山西壁南北二里。並是鏨鑿高大沙窟。塑畫佛像。每窟動計。費稅百萬。前設樓閣數層。有大像堂殿。其像長一百六十尺。其小龕無數。悉有

虛檻通連。巡禮遊覽之景。次南山有觀音菩薩曾現之處。郡人每詣彼。必徒行來往。其恭敬如是。　鳴砂山去州十里。其山東西八十里。南北四十里。高處五百尺。悉純沙聚起。此山神異。峰如削成。其間有井。沙不能蔽。盛夏自鳴。人馬蹝之。聲振數十里。風俗端午日。城中士女皆躋高峰。一齊蹙下。其沙聲吼如雷。至曉看之。峭嶸如舊。古號鳴沙神沙。而祠焉近。南有甘泉。自沙山南。其上源出大雪山。於西南壽昌縣界入燉煌。以其液潤之功。俗號甘泉。　金鞍山在沙山西南。經夏常有雪。山中有神祠甚靈。人不敢近。每歲土主望祀獻駿馬。駈入山中。稍近。立致雷電風雹之患。州西南有李先王廟。卽西涼昭王先世之廟。乾封年。

虛擬通連巡礼指點之意沉
南山有觀音菩薩常現之處
那人每請彼山徒往其
未敢如是　鳴沙山去州十
里其山東西八十里南北四十里高



處五百尺悉純沙聚起此山神
異峰如削戌其間有井沙不
能蔽風夏自鳴人馬踐之聲
振數十里風俗婦干日城中士女
常游高峰上齊風下其沙
聲吼如雷至晚背之峭峭

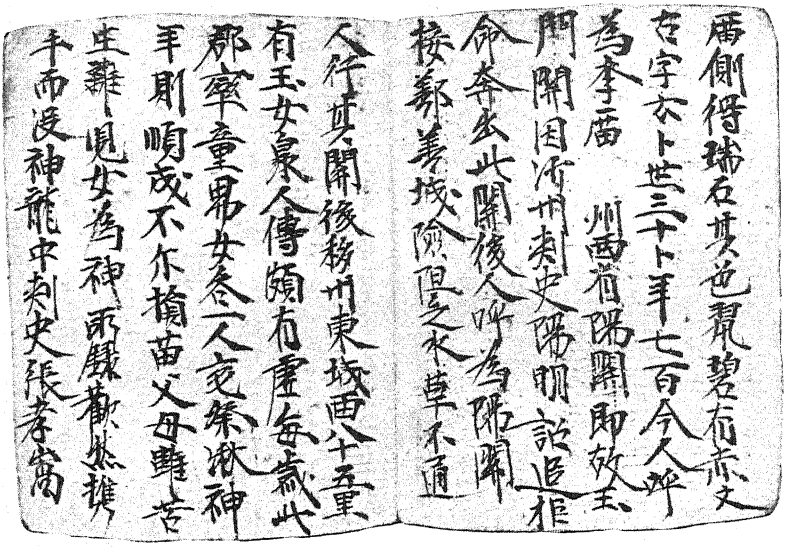


如舊古号鳴沙神沙而祠
焉近南有甘泉自沙山南莫
上源出大雪山於西南壽昌縣
界入燉煌以其決潤之功俗号
甘泉　金鞍山在沙山西南



經夏常有雪山中有神祠其
靈人不敢近每歲士主望祀獻
駿馬數入山中稍近立致雷電
風雪之患州西南有李先王廟
即西涼昭王先世之廟亂封手

9



廟側得瑞石其色靑碧有赤文古字文下共三十下半七百今人呼為李廟　州西有陽關即故玉門關因河州刺史陽明說追崔命奏此關後人呼為陽關接鄯善城險阻之水草不通

10

人行其關後移州東城西十五里有玉女泉人傳頗有靈每歲此郡率童男女各一人竟集泉神羊則順成不爾損苗又母難苦生難見女為神所驅歡然携手而沒神龍中刺史張孝嵩

11

下車求郡人告之太守悠日亭有川源妖怪意我生靈遂設壇備牲衆側目頴見本身頴親享神乃化為龍從水而出太守應弦中喉扶翅斬首親詣闕進上玄宗嘉倆再三送歸舊所

12

勒号龍古張氏編在簡書那城西北一里有寺古木陰森中有小堰上設廊殿具體而微先有河倅張琬已薦從心寓上于此難非博學亦甚苦心蓋經

廟側得瑞石。其色翠碧。有赤文古字。云卜世三十。卜年七百。今人呼爲李廟。　州西有陽關。即故玉門關。因沙州刺史陽明。詔追拒命。奔出此關。後人呼爲陽關。

接鄯善城。險阻乏水草。不通人行。其關後移州東。城西八十五里。

有玉女泉。人傳頗有虛。每歲此郡率童男女各一人。夜祭湫神。年則順成。不爾損苗。父母雖苦生離兒女。爲神所錄。歡然携手。而沒神龍中。刺史張孝嵩下車。求郡人。告之。太守怒曰。豈有川源妖怪。客我生靈。遂設壇備牲。泉側。曰。願見本身。欲親享神。乃化爲一龍。從水而出。太守應弦中喉。拔劍斬首。親詣闕。進上。

玄宗嘉愕再三。遂賜龍舌。勅號龍舌。張氏編在簡書。

郡城西北一里。有寺古木。陰森中有小堡。上設廊殿。具體而微。先有沙倅張球。已遷從心。寓止于此。雖非博學。亦甚苦心。蓋經

亂年多。習業人少。遂集後進以
闘大猷。天不愍遺。民受其賜。
石膏山在州北二百五十六里。
烏山烽山石間出其膏。開皇十
九年烏山變白。中驗不虛。遣道
士皇甫德琮等七人祭醮。自後
望如雪峯。　河倉城州西北
二百三十里。古時軍糧在彼。長城
在州北。其城六十三里正西入磧。
前漢所口置。北入伊州界。

乱耳多習業人民遂集後唯次
闍大敵天不救遺民受其歸
石窟山在州北二百五十六里
鳥山縁山石間出其穴窟開皇十
九年鳥山寇白中驗不虔使道
士皇甫德琮等七人祭醮自後



望如雪案　河倉城州西北
二百三十里古時軍儲在彼長城
在州北其城六十二里正西入磧
前漢不置戍卒北人伊吾耳

敦煌縣一卷

# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## Bhavabhuti and the Veda

Bhavabhūti claims in the preface to his *Mahāvīracarita* to be a scion of a family of *Taittirīyiṇaḥ Kāśyapāś caraṇaguravaḥ pañktipāvanāḥ pañcāgnayo dhṛtavratāḥ somapīthina Udumbarā brahmavādinaḥ*, and describes himself as fifth in descent from a Mahākavi of that line, *vājapeyayājinaḥ*. This connexion should show itself in his poems, and as a matter of fact there are here and there traces of his familiarity with the language of sacrifice; thus, in Act iii, 20/21 (ed. Trithen) occurs the simile *dhavitranirdhūta ivāgniḥ praṇītapṛṣadājyābhighāraghoras tanūnapāt samidhyamānadāruṇabrahmavarcasajyotir Āṅgirasaḥ*. In iv, 58 occurs *svair vājapeyārjitaiś chatraiḥ*; in v, 39/40, *saṃnihitasomacaṣakaviśeṣapātraparikarāstīrṇabarhir idhmavān ājyagandhir adyāpi bhagavān Vaiśvānaraḥ samidhyate*; in vi, 7, *dṛpyadripudalanamahāsattradīkṣāpratīkṣāḥ*; and there are other turns of phrase of the sort. These, however, are of little importance, and more interest attaches to two Vedic reminiscences. The first is that in v, 15/16, where we hear of *janasthānamadhyadeśago girīḥ Prasravaṇo nāma*, which is described as being *aviralānokahanivahanirantarasnigdhanirmalaparisarāraṇyapariṇaddhago - dāvarīmukhakandaraḥ satatam abhiniṣyandamānameghameduritanīlimā*. This is clearly the Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa of the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (xxv, 10. 16), which the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (iv, 26. 12) declares to be a span south of the middle of the earth, and which as Plākṣa Prasravaṇa occurs in the Ṛgveda Sūtras,[1] but which is not known to the Taittirīya texts.

[1] See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 55.

In the second place, in iii, 18 occurs the following verse :—

*na tasya rājyaṃ vyathate na bhraśyati na jīryati*
*tvaṃ vidvān brāhmaṇo yasya rāṣṭragopaḥ purohitaḥ.*

With this must be compared the Ślokas in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 25—

3 *kṣatreṇa kṣatraṃ jayati balena balam aśnute*
*yasyaivaṃ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāṣṭragopaḥ purohitaḥ*
4 *tasmai viśaḥ saṃjānate sammukhā ekamanasaḥ*
*yasyaivaṃ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāṣṭragopaḥ purohitaḥ.*

There can be no doubt of the ultimate source of the half-verse in iii, 18, but of course it is not possible to be sure that Bhavabhūti really used the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Through being printed as prose the verse in that text is not dealt with in the *Vedic Concordance*, but its silence indicates that it is not found—nor have I myself found it—in the Brāhmaṇa texts elsewhere. It is, however, the sort of verse which may easily have been a popular tag.

The play contains an example of a construction which I have had occasion to touch on before. In iv, 26/27 occurs *apahataṃ te vidma pāpmānaṃ Rāmabhadreṇa | yataḥ prāyaścittam iva rājadaṇḍo 'py enaso niṣkrayam āmananti dharmācāryāḥ.* As it stands this must be regarded as a pure case of anacoluthon, a combination of the construction *prāyaścittam iva rājadaṇḍo 'py enaso niṣkraya iti* and *rājadaṇḍam apy enaso niṣkrayam āmananti.* It would probably be going too far to deny the possibility of such an anacoluthon, but a very easy amendment is obviously available: to change *rājadaṇḍo 'py* to *rājadaṇḍam api* is very unnatural, but if *niṣkraya* is substituted for *niṣkrayam* we have a construction which is at once rare and therefore easy to misunderstand, but still perfectly legitimate and supported by parallels[1] and a corruption which is almost inevitable, for it is not

[1] See Keith, JRAS. 1909, pp. 430–2.

only a very easy one palæographically, but with an unusual nominative the substitution of the accusative would be really irresistible.

In this case *yataḥ* has a very definite sense, as it explains the fact that the action of Rāma is regarded as a purification, but in a couple of passages *yataḥ* is more freely used, the real sentence which it explains being suppressed. Thus in i, 42/43, after a verse of very elaborate praise of Viśvāmitra, the king proceeds *yataḥ spṛhayāmi yuṣmadanugṛhītarāmabhadrālaṃkṛtāya rājñe Daśarathāya*; it is not necessary or desirable here to read *ataḥ*; the sense is this fact (viz. the greatness of Viśvāmitra) explains why I envy Daśaratha who is adorned by Rāma, favoured by *you*. So in iv, 6/7 it is needless to amend the sentence of Mālyavant to Śūrpaṇakhā: he says *Rāvaṇapriyāsi vatse kāryajñā ca yato niḥśaṅkam āvedyate hṛdayakhedaḥ*. *Ato*, of course, would make perfectly good sense, but instead of saying "you are dear to Rāvaṇa and skilled in affairs; therefore I reveal my heart's trouble", the sentence is framed to mean "your dearness to Rāvaṇa and skill in affairs are the reason why I reveal my heart's trouble".

A. Berriedale Keith.

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## The Meaning of Jami, Mayu, and Devagava

In his notes on Śabara[1] Colonel Jacob has criticized the rendering by Sāyaṇa of the word *jāmi* in passages of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*[2] and of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] as *ālasya*, and has expressed his regret that the compilers of the *Vedic Index* omitted the sense of the word as "repetition". The latter criticism is clearly based on a misunderstanding; the *Vedic Index*, as is explained by Professor Macdonell[4] in his preface, expressly omits sacrificial terms and matters of religion save only

[1] JRAS. 1914, p. 301. [2] ii, 6. 6. 4. [3] iii, 47. [4] i, p. vii.

in so far as they are essential for an explanation of other sides of Vedic life.

The explanation of *jāmi* as *ālasya* is at first sight odd and requires further consideration. It was, however, clearly traditional, for on *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, i, 5. 9. 7, it is found in the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra, who is of course older than Sāyaṇa. But Bhāskara affords the solution of the mysterious *ālasya*, for on the same text, ii, 6. 6. 4, he has the explanation of *jāmi* as *ālasyajanaka*, and on vii, 4. 2. 3 as *ālasyajanana*, and this explains clearly what *ālasya* is intended to denote. Similarly, at vii, 4. 10. 2 *ajāmi* is rendered by Bhāskara as *ālasyābhāvaḥ*, and by Sāyaṇa as *ālasyaparihāraḥ*. In the picturesque phraseology of the commentators the repetition of the same action is productive of laziness, and to prevent this result the repetition is broken by a change in the ritual: *jāmi* therefore can be described as *ālasya*, not because *jāmi* means "laziness", but because it is creative of that result.

In the case of *māyu* Colonel Jacob suggests that in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, iii, 1. 4. 3, it means "a cry of pain", not the "lowing" of the victim. More precisely the word indicates only "cry", and the exact sense of the cry is indicated by the context; as Bhāskara says, in the context the sense is a cry (*śabda*) caused by pain (*duḥkha*), but the implication is due to the context and the cry is not expressive of pain, but only caused by pain. Further, there is no suggestion that the verse is only to be used if the animal raises a cry of pain in *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, vii, 17. 3: the text there is *yat paśur māyum akṛteti saṃjñapte saṃjñaptahomaṃ juhoti*. This does not mean, as would be required on Colonel Jacob's view, "if the victim has uttered a cry, he offers the *saṃjñaptahoma*," but merely "as soon as it is killed he offers the *saṃjñaptahoma* with the verse (*iti*) 'if the victim has uttered a cry'", etc. To Āpastamba and to the

commentator alike the Homa is always to be offered, and this was evidently the case to the compilers of the Saṃhitā itself. The reason is obvious; the use of the Homa was to avert any evil arising from a cry or movement of the victim, and the verse is therefore generic in terms and used for every case, regardless of whether in point of fact the victim has uttered a cry or struck its breast with its feet in the death struggle.

Colonel Jacob[1] calls attention to the curious Brāhmaṇa phrase quoted in *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, xi, 7. 6, *uttānā vai devagavā vahanti*, which seems in the context where it is found (xi, 7. 5, *ūrdhvāḥ śamyā udvṛhyo-pariṣṭāt parivesṭayante*) to mean that the *devagavāḥ* draw on their backs. Colonel Jacob renders "the cows of the gods walk on their backs", and Caland & Henry[2] suggest "les vaches des dieux se couchent sur le dos pour tirer". But can *devagavāḥ* be taken as "cows" of the gods? Garbe[3] takes it as meaning "celestial bulls", and this meaning is surely the only possible one, especially when we remember that *devagavī* is actually found as a description of formulæ in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*,[4] and the *Śrauta Sūtra* itself[5] has the same form elsewhere. Moreover, as is pointed out in the *Vedic Index*,[6] cows were never normally used as beasts of burden, that being the duty of oxen, and the point of the passage is clearly *uttānāḥ*, not the type of animal.

I may add here a remark on the suggestion made by Dr. Venkatasubbiah and E. Müller in the last number of the Journal[7] that the Vedic Indian may have had knowledge of the Kalās as denoting certain arts definitely grouped together. This view is based only on a conjectural assignment of meaning to *prakalāvid*, a word found in the *Ṛgveda*.[8] It cannot, I think, be regarded as legitimate;

[1] JRAS. 1914, p. 300. [2] *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 88, n. 19.
[3] In his edition, iii, 380. [4] i, 6. 3. [5] iv, 10. 4.
[6] i, 233. [7] JRAS. 1914, pp. 355–6. [8] vii, 18. 15.

it is not even an early traditional explanation, and the term is otherwise never so used in Vedic texts. What is more important, it does not occur in any of the enumerations of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,[2] and the Vidyās which do occur there have probably a restricted and technical sense, and were not a generic expression for the "sciences".[3] We must not overestimate the elaboration of Vedic civilization or seek to find in it the full developments of the later period.

It may interest Colonel Jacob in view of his note on *vaktāro bhavanti*[4] to know that this phrase occurs in Bhāskara's commentary on the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. On vii, 4. 19. 1 it is used simply as an equivalent of "people will (= are wont to) say" in the phrase *loke hi premātibhareṇa vaktāro bhavanti mātar dārike svāminīti*. On ii, 6. 1. 7 it serves to explain *āhuḥ* of the text, and in that case it is possible to see some suggestion of contempt for "chatterers" as contrasted with the real knower of the meaning of the question ascribed to those who *vaktāro bhavanti*.

A. Berriedale Keith.

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## The Earliest Indian Traditional History

Mr. Pargiter's article in the last number of the Journal[5] on this topic serves to illustrate how great is the gulf between the Brāhmaṇa and what he styles the Kṣatriya tradition, though it may be observed without adducing any ground for this attribution, and though the texts which he uses to expound the tradition are undeniably as they stand the product of Brahmins, and presumably were always in this condition.

The broad result of this later tradition is said to stand out clear, "that the Aila stock began with Purūravas in

[1] xi, 5. 6. 8. [2] ii, 4. 10; iv, 5. 11. [3] Eggeling, SBE. xliv, 98, n. 2.
[4] JRAS. 1914, p. 306. [5] 1914, pp. 267–95.

a small principality at Allahabad and dominated the whole of North India down to Vidarbha, with the exception of the three Mānva countries of Ayodhyā, Videha, and Vaiśālī; and these countries had been profoundly influenced by Aila thought and culture. Now this result is precisely what is known as the Aryan occupation of India, so that what is called the Aryan race is what Indian tradition calls the Aila or Lunar race; that is Aila = Aryan. The Saudyumna stock without doubt represents a distinct race. . . . The Mānva stock, which held all the rest of India with the three kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Videha, and Vaiśālī, would naturally appear to declare itself Dravidian. It will thus be seen that Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aryan invasion of India from the north-west, nor of any gradual advance of the Aryans from thence eastwards. It makes the Aryan power begin at Allahabad and spread its dominion thence in all directions except over Kosala, Videha, and Vaiśālī; and tradition even says there was an Aryan outflow of the Druhyus through the north-west into Afghanistan and beyond." Further, Purūravas is connected with the Gandharvas, the Northern Kurus, and the northern country Ilāvṛta, which probably explains his name as Aila, which, as I have pointed out,[1] is older than the fabled descent from Ila or Iḍā. The Aryans therefore probably entered India from the north.

Now let us contrast these conditions, found in works which on any theory are probably at least 1,000 years—and on Mr. Pargiter's own view a good deal more—later than the Vedic period of the Saṃhitās, with the Vedic tradition of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

1. There is not such a race as the Aila or Aiḍa: Purūravas has the epithet Aiḍa, and that is all: Purūravas is not in the Vedic literature a real king at all: he is a semi-mythic figure who occurs in one hymn of the *Ṛgveda*, and then is mentioned in an explanation of that

[1] JRAS. 1913, p. 417.

passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.[1] Of a race of kings from Purūravas Vedic tradition is silent; he is not even called an Aryan.

2. The Saudyumna stock is held to represent a distinct race, which Mr. Pargiter declines to describe ethnologically. If "race" here is intended to discriminate the Saudyumnas from the Aryans, the evidence of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is against the theory, for Saudyumni is there the patronymic of the undeniably Aryan Bharata, and the same result follows from Mr. Pargiter's own evidence,[2] which suggests that the Kurus belonged to that stock; the Aryan character of the Kurus is doubtless not at stake.

3. The Mānva stock is held to be Dravidian. That word is a coined name for the stock which, traced to Manu, had five prominent kingdoms, the Aikṣvākus at Ayodhyā, the Janakas in Videha, the Vaiśāla kingdom north of Patna, the Kārūṣas in Karūṣa (Rewa), the Śāryātas in Ānarta (Gujarat). Chief among the sons of Manu were Ikṣvāku, Nābhānediṣṭa, Śaryāti, and Karūṣa. Manu is of course Aryan, and the term Mānva is therefore expressly stated by Mr. Pargiter to be inapt, but the Vedic evidence is quite fatal against regarding as non-Aryan a race which is connected with such well-known Aryan Vedic personages as Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu, Śāryāta the Mānava, the Ikṣvāku line of Pūru princes, and Janaka. It is perfectly clear that Vedic times do not recognize any such racial divisions as the Aila, the Saudyumna, and the Mānva.

4. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] tells us in the clearest terms of the Brahmanization of Kosala and Videha (Vaiśālī is not found mentioned); if, therefore, the later tradition makes these places exempt from the Aryan dominion, it wholly misrepresents the facts.

5. The theory of the entry of the Vedic Indians from the far north beyond the middle Himalayan region receives

[1] xviii, 44. [2] 1914, p. 293, n. 2. [3] i, 4. 1. 10 sq.

no Vedic support. The theory that they came through Afghanistan is rendered probable by the undeniable Vedic mention of the rivers of that region, by the prominence of the rivers of the Punjab, and by the fact that the *Ṛgveda* itself shows a limited knowledge of the more eastern parts of the country.[1] An external argument of great weight aids this conclusion: the extraordinary similarity of Vedic and Iranian, which proves the early and close connexion of the two peoples, and suggests entry from the north-west rather than from the middle north. Ilāvṛta is wholly unknown to Vedic literature, and it is impossible to connect it with the Vedic Aiḍa, which is normally regarded as son of Iḍā, and which may have that sense.

The wholesale incompatibility of the two traditions appears in the chronological results attained by Mr. Pargiter, who believes that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was the compiler of the *Ṛgveda* about 1050 B.C.,[2] Devāpi lived about 1100 B.C., and Viśvāmitra about 1700 B.C. on a very moderate estimate. Mr. Pargiter is not insensible of the difficulty that the language of the *Ṛgveda* shows no such differences as are commensurate with 1700–1100 B.C. as its time of production, but he suggests that the diction of the hymns was gradually and imperceptibly modified in transmission until, when they were at last compiled in the canon, their language would be that of the age when the canon was formed rather than that of the ages when they were composed. "If this suggestion be reasonable, it would explain why there is no very marked difference in the language of the hymns, though they manifestly purport to have been composed during a very long period."

But I am not aware that they do so purport: there are

[1] See Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 146, 147.

[2] The argument for the date of the *Ṛgveda* from the date of the great battle is not one which I can accept, as I do not believe in the great battle in Vedic times. But this point need not be discussed here.

references, as in i, 1. 1, to former poets and to recent ones, but there is nothing to show that a very long period of composition existed: a limit of two hundred years is probably an extreme limit for the whole of the Saṃhitā. Certainly such a limit is far more than adequate for any linguistic development within the Saṃhitā. If we accept the view that we have genuine hymns of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the Saṃhitā, then we cannot possibly accept the view that Viśvāmitra (and Vasiṣṭha) lived 1700 B.C. if Devāpi lived 1100 B.C. We have the plain fact that the Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha hymns are far from being specially archaic in character in the *Ṛgveda*, and it is perfectly gratuitous to suggest that they have been modernized in diction in order to give verisimilitude to deductions drawn from un-Vedic genealogies presented to us in works of a thousand years at least later.

Moreover, the fact of the close correspondence of Avestan and Vedic is surely overlooked in any theory which suggests that the period of Viśvāmitra was 1700 B.C. Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha are essentially Vedic and of the period when the specifically Vedic pantheon and civilization were in force. The theory that the Vedic civilization as such can be given an antiquity of as much as 1700 years B.C., plus the period necessary for its development to the stage in which it is represented by Viśvāmitra, is one which appears to me wholly unsupported by any reasonable evidence.[1]

In conclusion, I must reply very briefly to Mr. Pargiter's criticism[2] of my remarks[3] on his views of traditional history. In reply to his inquiry whether any Euhemerized legend gained popular currency, I would remind him that it is the opinion of the great mass of classical scholars of the present day that early Greek and Roman popular

[1] See Oldenberg, JRAS. 1909, pp. 1095 sqq.; Macdonell, *Vedic Index*, i, p. viii.

[2] JRAS. 1914, pp. 411–12. [3] Ibid. p. 118.

history alike is full of Euhemerism. In the second place, Professor Macdonell[1] should not be cited for the view that the Vedic period had little or no notion of history. Professor Macdonell is dealing in the passage cited specially with the dates of Sanskrit authors like Kālidāsa, and he specifically attributes the lack of history to the fact that "the Brahmans, whose task it would naturally have been to record great deeds, had early embraced the doctrine that all action and existence are a positive evil, and could therefore have felt but little inclination to chronicle historical events". Surely Mr. Pargiter is aware that the view that action and existence are a positive evil is not found either in the Saṃhitās or the Brāhmaṇas or the Āraṇyakas, and first definitely appears in the Upaniṣads under Buddhist influence.[2] That the Vedic texts, the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, are not books of historical purpose is notorious; that they do not in their mention of kings and princes represent facts cannot be assumed or supported by the assertion that the Brahmins had little or no notion of history, except on the assumption that a life-loving[3] Vedic Indian had the same view of history as a pessimist who was convinced of the vanity of all transitory things. The onus of proof is clearly on Mr. Pargiter.

Mr. Pargiter still misunderstands the argument regarding Triśaṅku. This king, according to a tradition recorded first in texts of some 1,000 years at least after his death, and (on Mr. Pargiter's theory of dates) of at least 1,800 after Viśvāmitra's assumed date, was a foremost factor in the struggle between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. My point is that in the more or less immediately contemporary Vedic texts nothing is known of a king Triśaṅku, but that in one passage in an Upaniṣad a teacher

[1] *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11. [2] Macdonell, op. cit. p. 230.

[3] *sarvam āyur eti* is the regular Brāhmaṇa tag, and life is 100 years in Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa alike.

Triśaṅku is mentioned. The parallel of Saul the king, and Saul the religious teacher, to make it a parallel, would require that while Saul the teacher was recorded in the New Testament, Saul the king should appear, not in the Old Testament, but in a Jewish tradition of the eighth century A.D. or of some similar period. Surely this parallel should not be pressed seriously, and surely the onus lies on Mr. Pargiter to show that the Vedic references are not to one historical conflict of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra but to a series of contests between their descendants in different generations. One more point may be mentioned. If Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa really is the compiler of the Saṃhitā, as Mr. Pargiter holds, why should the Brāhmaṇa, the Āraṇyaka, the Upaniṣad, and even the Sūtra texts pass over this great achievement in silence? Surely they must have mentioned so important a sage; for they are not chary of citing authorities of all kinds. Why should we be left to conclude this result from a Kṣatriya tradition? Are we to assume that the Kṣatriyas were not merely anxious to record the kingly dynasties but were determined also to preserve, in face of the culpable negligence of the Brahmins, the fame of other great men among the latter. Is it possible to base serious arguments upon such hypotheses? It cannot be too clearly realized that we have not before us an early tradition: we have to deal with a tradition recorded in a very minor degree in works which, like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are in their present form of uncertain, but not early, date—certainly long after 600 B.C.—and, for the most part by far, in Purāṇas of the Christian era.[1] There are thus

[1] There is no available material for dating definitely the Purāṇas in their present form; that Purāṇas have existed from very early times is certain, but there is no reasonable possibility of any of the existing Purāṇas antedating 300 A.D. and very probably no one is at all as old as this. It is impossible, therefore, in using the Purāṇas as repositories of ancient legend to ignore the fact that they have been subject to constant change and alteration, and that if they are cited to embrace a tradition

available centuries of manipulation, of corruption, of reconstruction, and to evolve a Kṣatriya tradition from this mass of priestly lore and to claim for it superiority to the incidental notices of the Vedic texts is surely a *tour de force*. Is the argument not reduced to the true value when it leads to the suggestion[1] that the "*puṇyajana*" Rākṣasas who captured Kuśasthalī were invaders from Punt? Or, again, is Rāvaṇa really the Tamil *iṟeivan* Sanskritized?"[2] And can we seriously take Pañcālas as humorously the "five capables", and as, therefore, not found in the *Ṛgveda*, though humour is hardly alien to that collection.[3]

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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## EARLIEST INDIAN TRADITIONAL 'HISTORY'

In my paper was set out what tradition says about what the Indians knew or believed concerning the earliest events. Dr. Keith has offered his criticisms upon it and they naturally continue the discussion about brahmanic and kṣatriya tradition (pp. 118, 411 *ante*). For the sake of conciseness I will deal only with salient matters, noticing first the contentions about Triśaṅku.

Dr. Keith says I misunderstand the argument. The argument in the *Vedic Index* (i, 331) is "confusion of chronology". The statement is this, "The confusion of the chronology in the tales of Triśaṅku is a good example of the worthlessness of the supposed epic tradition." I cited the parallel of the two Sauls as a case for testing that statement (JRAS, 1913, p. 904). That is the point in argument, whether the mention of two

of 700–600 B.C. at least 1,000 years of possible manipulation intervene. And this is the basis for a rejection of contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous tradition.

[1] JRAS. 1914, p. 278, n. 5. [2] Ibid. p. 285, n. 3.

[3] Mr. Pargiter compares our title "Prime Minister" (p. 284, n. 5). But there is surely nothing inherently humorous about that title, which is simply "First Minister", a form of title which is still extant in Canada.

Triśaṅkus involves confusion of chronology any more than the mention of two Sauls. The argument that he now sets out is different. As regards euhemerism I put two questions (p. 411 *ante*). He has offered a reply partially to the first, but the second remains.

Now to the questions raised by traditional 'history'.

First, Dr. Keith uses arguments based on the silence of the Rigveda. I pointed out when the argument *ex silentio* is cogent and when it is not (JRAS, 1913, pp. 887–8). He says, however, "Of a race of kings from Purūravas Vedic tradition is silent." Again, "In the more or less immediately contemporary Vedic texts nothing is known of a king Triśaṅku." Similar is his conclusion, "It is perfectly clear that Vedic times do not recognize any such racial divisions as the Aila, the Saudyumna, and the Mānva." The silence proves nothing, unless these matters should have been mentioned; and that there was no call to mention them he shows by his statement, "That the Vedic texts, the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, are not books of historical purpose is notorious." The Rigveda does not mention at all "the tree which is most characteristic of India", the banyan, as Professor Macdonell notices (*Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 146–7): would anyone argue from that silence that the banyan did not exist in India when the hymns were composed?

Next, as regards the value of brahmanic tradition, which Dr. Keith quotes and relies on. I cited Professor Macdonell's authority to prove the disregard shown by the brahmans for history (*Sansk. Lit.*, p. 11). Dr. Keith demurs and says, "Professor Macdonell is dealing in the passage cited specially with the dates of Sanskrit authors like Kālidāsa." Professor Macdonell begins his remarks thus (p. 10), "History is the one weak spot in Indian literature. It is, in fact, non-existent. The total lack of the historical sense is so characteristic that the whole course of Sanskrit literature is darkened by the shadow

of this defect, suffering as it does from an entire absence of exact chronology." There is no limitation in these words. He goes on, "So true is this that the very date of Kālidāsa, the greatest of Indian poets, was long a matter of controversy," etc. He merely mentions Kālidāsa as a signal illustration of the general position. As regards the reason that Professor Macdonell assigns (p. 11), Dr. Keith allows it for the Upaniṣads and later literature. It is unnecessary to discuss this qualification here, for, since he says also "That the Vedic texts, the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, are not books of historical purpose is notorious", he practically substantiates Professor Macdonell's statement. Notoriously then the brahmans had a "total lack of the historical sense". What is their tradition worth, then, in matters of traditional 'history'? If Dr. Keith maintains that it can be treated as a critical standard, the burden of proof rests on him.

It is the accepted opinion that the Aryans entered India from the north-west. Kṣatriya tradition knows nothing of it, nor does brahmanic tradition as far as I am aware. Kṣatriya tradition says a movement took place the reverse way, outwards through the north-west. To disprove this Dr. Keith mentions the grounds on which the accepted opinion is based; but kṣatriya tradition might ask whether those grounds are inconsistent with its version. I do not assert this view, but its possibility is not wholly beyond consideration.

I pointed out that tradition tends to suggest Vyāsa compiled the Rigvedic canon, and Dr. Keith asks, "why should the Brāhmaṇa, the Āraṇyaka, the Upaniṣad, and even the Sūtra texts pass over this great achievement in silence?" Now on Dr. Keith's (or indeed any) theory the Rigveda must have been compiled at the end of the Vedic period and by some person or persons; yet those very texts pass that over in silence: why? The silence

concerns him just as much as it concerns me. I will venture on an answer: the brahmans set themselves early to exalt the antiquity and character of the Rigveda, and naturally nothing that would derogate therefrom could be expected from their mouths.

Dr. Keith asks, "Are we to assume that the Kṣatriyas were not merely anxious to record the kingly dynasties but were determined also to preserve, in face of the culpable negligence of the Brahmins, the fame of other great men among the latter?" By no means. Brahmanism by its exaltation of the Veda and its own pretensions shut its own mouth to all matters that would derogate therefrom, and by its total lack of the historical sense confused and mythologized the 'historical' matters it handled. Speaking generally, kṣatriya tradition deals with kṣatriya genealogies, exploits, and interests; yet kings had priests, kings and rishis sought one another's aid, and some brahman families were descended from royal ancestry: hence rishis naturally appeared in kṣatriya tradition. It dealt with matters from their point of view and extolled kings, but had not to subserve any preposterous claims. It contains no real history, yet its genealogies could impliedly preserve some sequence of events, some measure of time, some synchronisms. When brahmanical matters entered into it, it naturally took a kṣatriya view of them. Its purview was political; that of brahmanical tradition was religious; and thus the subjects they dealt with differed. Hence kṣatriya tradition would naturally have recorded matters that brahmanic tradition passed over or was ignorant of.

There must have been abundant kṣatriya tradition. Is it credible that the Aryan conquest of North India was devoid of all adventure and heroism, that no deeds worthy of celebration in song were performed, that kings took no pride in preserving their ancestry? Kṣatriya tradition has reached us through brahmanic hands, with

the liability to be "edited" according to brahmanic views, and what of it has survived is what brahmanic censorship has "passed". Intrinsically, therefore, kṣatriya tradition bears a better guarantee than brahmanic tradition in 'historical' matters. Moreover, the Purāṇas are older than Dr. Keith estimates. There are reasons for holding that Purāṇas existed in the fourth century B.C.,[1] and were authoritative even then.

Dr. Keith, however, condemns kṣatriya tradition as worthless. Suppose the whole of his position be conceded, the validity of his arguments and the worthlessness of tradition, there still stands this fact: kṣatriya tradition knows of the results that we call the Aryan occupation of India, tells of them in detail, and attributes them to one race, the race that it calls Aila. How did worthless tradition achieve this remarkable feat?

F. E. PARGITER.

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## MALAVA-GANA-STHITI

Dr. Thomas in his note at p. 413 above has quite justifiably quoted for *sthiti* the meaning, in a particular connection, of 'continuance, continued existence'. But it is equally well established as meaning 'a settled rule, practice, custom, usage'. And his rendering of the whole expression *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti* by "the continuance [*sthiti*] of the tribal constitution [*gaṇa*] of the Mālavas" (p. 414) is plainly influenced, though of course unconsciously, by my original interpretation of it twenty-five years ago: the word *gaṇa* means simply 'a tribe', not 'tribal constitution, i.e. embodiment as a tribe'.

I had to deal with two expressions, found in records of A.D. 473 and 532–3, as follows:—

1. *Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā: Gupta Inscriptions* (1888), p. 83, l. 19. Taking *sthiti* in the meaning of

[1] This is shown in Mr. V. Smith's third edition of his *Early History of India*, p. 23.

'being in a state or condition', I rendered this (p. 87):—"by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution [*gaṇa-sthiti*] of the Mālavas".

2. *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt:* op. cit., p. 154, l. 21. I translated this (p. 158):—"from (*the establishment of*) the supremacy [*vaśa*] of the tribal constitution [*gaṇa-sthiti*] of the Mālavas".

The reckoning referred to in these two passages is unmistakably the so-called Vikrama era beginning in B.C. 58: this, indeed, is not contested. And, while pointing out that there are coins which show that the Mālavas existed as an important people from long before that time, I arrived at the conclusion that something happened in B.C. 58 which led to a more definite constitution of them then as a tribe; and I treated the era as running from that event, and so as having been founded by them.

Professor Kielhorn considered this matter, so far as the translation of the expressions is concerned but no farther, in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19 (1890), p. 56. He quoted from another source the expression *gaṇanayā sthāpayitum*, "to settle or fix by counting, to reckon up". And he arrived at the opinion that *gaṇa-sthiti* should be taken as equivalent to *gaṇanā*, 'counting, reckoning', so as to give the rendering "by *or* according to the reckoning of the Mālavas".

A fresh light was thrown on the matter lately by a new record, of A.D. 405, which was brought to notice by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 161.[1] Here the expression does not include the word *sthiti*, but is—

3. *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta.* Mr. Bhandarkar has translated this by the obvious and quite unobjectionable rendering "handed down traditionally by the Mālava tribe".

[1] Now see also the Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, for the year ending 31 March, 1913, p. 58.

In the light of the statement in this new record of A.D. 405, my amended translations of the two expressions quoted on p. 746 above are (1) "by the usage [*sthiti*] of the tribe [*gaṇa*] of the Mālavas"; and (2) "under the influence of *or* according to [*vaśāt*] the usage [*sthiti*] of the Mālava tribe [*gaṇa*]".

The upshot of the matter is certainly not that "according to the earliest available information concerning the connexions of the Vikrama Era, it dates from the foundation of the tribal independence of the Mālavas" (p. 414 above). It is that the said information presents the era as a reckoning which had been handed down by the Mālavas; just as has always been my contention in recent years: in no way does it assign the foundation of the reckoning to them.

J. F. FLEET.

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## THE SAUNDARANANDA OF ASVAGHOSA

In his preface to the Saundarananda the editor, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Sastrin, has endeavoured to prove that the author of the poem is Aśvaghoṣa, and in discussing various points regarding him he assumes that, as Aśvaghoṣa flourished before Nāgārjuna, it is not possible to find the Mādhyamika theory in his work. The essence of that theory is *Śūnyatā*, and he goes so far as to say that even the word *Śūnyatā* is not used in the Saundarananda. But this is not correct. In canto xii, 16–22, the *Śūnyavāda* is described to some extent, and the words *śūnya* and *śūnyatā* in their accepted technical senses occur in the same canto in verses 20 and 17 respectively.

It may be added here that there is another work by Aśvaghoṣa in which, again, the Mādhyamika theory is to be found. Mr. T. Suzuki, enumerating the works of Aśvaghoṣa in his preface to the "Discourse on the

Awakening of Faith" (Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra) writes (pp. 37–8) as follows:—"(5) A sūtra on a Nirgrantha's asking about the theory of non-ego. The book foreshadows the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna, for the two forms of truth are distinguished there, pure truth (*paramārtha-satya*) and practical truth (*saṃvṛiti-satya*), and the Śūnyatā theory is also proclaimed."

Now here the question arises: How is it possible for Aśvaghoṣa, who is prior to Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika theory, to describe that theory in his work? The answer is this: Certainly Nāgārjuna established the Mādhyamika school. But it does not follow from it that all the materials for building the new structure were his own. He chiefly collected them from the works previous to him, such as the Prajñāpāramitā, Laṅkāvatāra, etc. The theory was evolved in the minds of former teachers long before Nāgārjuna, and the latter only systematized it, and so he is called the founder of it. The case is the same with almost all the branches of Indian philosophy.

There is another point. No doubt, as the editor says, in his Saundarananda Aśvaghoṣa often speaks of the practice of Yoga. But this circumstance does not prove that he belonged to the Yogācāra school. For the Mādhyamikas are also called yogins, and one may easily cite several passages bearing upon that school from Candrakīrtti's *Madhyamaka-vṛtti* (edited by Professor L. Poussin, pp. 340, 346, 348) and other works of the class.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

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## PARAMARTHA'S *LIFE OF VASUBANDHU* AND THE DATE OF KANISKA

Professor Franke's communication on this subject in the last number of this Journal and the appended note by Dr. J. F. Fleet (pp. 398–401), having been evoked by some

references of my own (ibid., 1913, pp. 646, 1031–2), seem to call for some remarks in explanation.

Professor Franke accepts and develops the view of M. N. Péri (Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1911, pp. 339–90, esp. pp. 355–61), according to which the phrases "in the five hundreds", "in the nine hundreds", employed by Paramārtha, denote, not the centuries 500–99, 900–99, but 401–500, 801–900. I regret to have written in temporary oblivion of M. Péri's extensive and careful paper, which in any case suffices to show what a complicated problem the date of Vasubandhu is. I do not propose to enter into it here; but there are some points which may repay a later consideration by some competent scholar.

The question of the hundreds, so far as it is a matter of Chinese philology, I must be content to leave to Sinologists; perhaps we may learn before long whether the view of M. Péri and Professor Franke receives general recognition. But it may be remarked that the expressions in question do not originate with the Sanskrit of Paramārtha, who may have written in that idiom "when five hundred years were passed" (*atīteṣu pañca-śatavarṣeṣu*), but contain the Chinese translator's interpretation.

Dr. Fleet observes that "Perhaps this tradition, also, will now be rejected, as unreliable, by those who have used it, with the wrong application of the meaning of the five hundred years, towards fixing a later date for Aśvaghoṣa and Kanishka?" It may therefore be useful to specify, for the sake of any scholars who may not have read M. Péri's article, what date for Vasubandhu and for Aśvaghoṣa is really stated or implied in Paramārtha's words. According to evidence supplied by M. Péri (p. 361) Paramārtha, who died in A.D. 569, himself mentions a date when he is writing as A.B. 1265. For him, therefore, the nine hundreds, as interpreted by

M. Péri and Professor Franke, would denote a century ending not later than A.D. 200 (Vasubandhu), and the five hundreds a century ending not later than 200 B.C. (Aśvaghoṣa). In that case no one will question that he is very grievously unreliable.

We shall not, therefore, be surprised to learn that M. Péri (p. 357) supposes Paramārtha to have written, not "in the nine hundreds", but "in the eleven hundreds"; he considers, indeed, that he has evidence pointing thereto. The nine will be a Chinese rectification. If this is so, the five hundreds for Aśvaghoṣa will similarly be a rectification—for what we do not know—and in any case we are no longer in a position to fix what is, in fact, the testimony of Paramārtha.

It may, however, be urged that the reason for the correction in Paramārtha's text will have been a generally accepted view in China that Vasubandhu belonged to "the nine hundreds", and that according to M. Péri this dating must have been current in India and have been derived thence by Tibetans[1] and Chinese. The 1,000 years mentioned by Hiuen-Thsang[2] and in his *Life* M. Péri regards as a round number. The matter now becomes hypothetical. But let us make the supposition that the date 900 was accepted in India: what follows? What actual period is implied? We know that according to Hiuen-Thsang and others the *Parinirvāṇa* of Buddha took place 100 years before the reign of Aśoka, and this dating was not only the rule in India, but it is the earliest and most authoritative of all,[3] since it is given in Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṃkāra* (trans. Huber, p. 273; see M. Lévi's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, sér. x, tom. xii,

[1] Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 69 (64).

[2] Trans. Beal, i, p. 226, "in the middle of the thousand years," which supports Professor Takakusu's view of the "nine hundreds".

[3] It would be still more authoritative, if Aśvaghoṣa belonged to the first century B.C. In any case the question of the date of Buddha is still open; the Greeks seem to represent the *first* nanda as Alexander's contemporary.

pp. 84–5, 1908). Buddha will, according to this tradition, have died after 400 B.C.; and, supposing the correctness of Professor Franke's interpretation, the "five hundreds" (Aśvaghoṣa) will still be the first century A.D., and the "nine hundreds" (Vasubandhu) the fifth century A.D.

These considerations seem sufficient to show that *in any event* Paramārtha's testimony is against placing Aśvaghoṣa, and consequently Kaniṣka, in the first century B.C.

I observe that Dr. Fleet speaks of a *tradition*. But, of course, this involves an assumption, since the dating in Paramārtha's work might very well be due rather to a calculation. As, however, we are speaking of traditions, let me call attention to a report which certainly seems to be of that nature, namely the statement of Hiuen-Thsang (trans. Beal, i, pp. 55–7), according to which Kaniṣka was the founder of a monastery 3 or 4 *li* to the east of the capital of Kapiśa (the Kabul territory). That being so, he will have been, as Hiuen-Thsang otherwise also implies, ruler of this country, which admittedly (JRAS. 1913, pp. 634–5, 929, 930, 941–2) cuts short any question of placing his date in the first century B.C.

F. W. THOMAS.

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## "NOTES ON THE EDICTS OF ASOKA"

As the "Notes on the Edicts of Aśoka", commenced on p. 383 above, are not continued in this issue, it is expedient to make a special reparation of two omissions which might seem to imply a neglect of previous writers. They are as follows:—

1. s.v. *Aṭhabhāgiya* (pp. 391–2). Mr. Vincent Smith should have been mentioned as having previously (*Indian Antiquary*, xxxiv, pp. 3–4) accepted the equivalence of *aṭha* in this word with Sanskrit *aṣṭa*. For the rest his interpretation differs from that propounded by me.

2. s.v. *samāja* (pp. 392–4). It should have been pointed out that Dr. R. D. Bhandarkar, who, however, does not anticipate the precise point of the exposition, had previously (*Indian Antiquary*, xli, pp. 255–7) shown the true character of a *samāja*, as an exhibition taking place in an arena or amphitheatre, which is in fact already made plain in the article cited by me from *Album Kern* (1903).

I may here add that the phrase *giriyaggasamāja* occurs (frag. 45), and probably more than once (see frag. 84), in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa (Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911), so that an entertainment of this nature seems to have belonged to the plot of one of the plays.

F. W. THOMAS.

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## A NEW POEM OF ASVAGHOSA

I should like to call attention to a remarkable work which has appeared as No. xv of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* under the title *Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan* (*Gaṇḍīstotragāthā*), edited with elaborate commentary and indices by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein (St. Petersburg, 1913). The work, which is a noteworthy literary achievement, might in this country escape observation, as the commentary is in Russian.

The poem is unknown from Indian sources. But a Chinese *transliteration*—if the expression is allowable—appears in Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*, under No. 1081, where the title is rendered as *Ghanti(kâ ?)-saṃskrita-stotra* or *Ghanti-sûtra*; and in the volume of the Tibetan Tanjur, which contains the collection of hymns (*Bstod . tshogs*), it is represented by a translation. With the aid of these materials Baron von Stael-Holstein has succeeded in restoring practically the whole Sanskrit text. The difficulty of such an undertaking will be apparent when we consider the varying or uncertain phonetic values of Chinese signs. It was aggravated by

the fact that the transliterator, or the original Sanskrit MS., had not seldom confused the similar *akṣaras* (e.g. *v* and *dh*, *ñj* and *jj*, *cch* and *tth*, *y* and *p*) of the Indian alphabet.

A much more serious difficulty, however, resided in the character of the poem, which is a Buddhist equivalent of, say, a Christian hymn on the message of church bells. It is a very fine work, quite worthy of Aśvaghoṣa, and characterized by all the metrical and literary subtlety of that master of Sanskrit. Moreover, a number of the lines consist of mere experiments in musical sound, the various *rasas* being conveyed phonetically by meaningless syllables. But for the fact that these syllables are necessarily preserved in the Tibetan the task would here have been a hopeless one.

The text appears interlined with the Tibetan and Chinese equivalents, and subsequently in its separate shape. It is followed by two other, shorter and less important, Buddhist hymns, the *Saptajinastava* and the *Mañjuśrīnāmāṣṭaśataka*, which have been similarly restored and treated.

The notes deal with the critical and exegetical questions; and they are followed by a full index of the Chinese signs, giving all their occurrences. The reader is therefore in a position to control the regularity of the Chinese "transliteration", which is very strict, allowing little scope for conjecture. I gather that this index is also important, as we may understand, in regard to the phonetic values of Chinese signs at the date of the transliteration (A.D. 973–81).

The *gaṇḍī*, quite different from the *ghaṇṭī* or "bell", is a long, symmetrically shaped, piece of wood, whence sounds are produced by striking it with a short club, also of wood; it may be seen depicted and described on pp. xxi–ii of the work of Baron von Stael-Holstein, who himself possesses a specimen.

F. W. THOMAS.

## NOTE ON THE NAME KUSA

Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṃkāra* and more than forty other Buddhist works have been translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, a celebrated Śramaṇa of Indian extraction who flourished in Eastern Turkestan about A.D. 400. He studied in Cabul at a time when Yüeh-shih [1] rulers still governed parts of Central Asia, and must have possessed some first-hand knowledge of the race which Dr. J. F. Fleet (above, pp. 369–81) and Mr. J. Allan (above, pp. 403–11) agree in calling Kushān, instead of using the name Kuṣa, found in the Chinese version of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* as well as in the Tibetan translation of the *Mahārājakani*[*ṣ*]-*kalekhā*.[2] It might possibly be thought that the authors of the translation last named, owing to their imperfect knowledge of history, misunderstood the original Sanskrit

[1] The characters 月 氏 are rendered by Yüeh-shih, which represents their modern Peking pronunciation. The usual transcription (Yüeh-chih) has not been adopted for reasons stated in my paper "KOϷANO und Yüeh-shih" (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1914, pp. 643–50). In the article mentioned I call attention to the fact that in the Ma-ming-p'u-sa-chuan (Life of Aśvaghoṣa) Kaniṣka is spoken of as a ruler of the Little Yüeh-shih, and try to prove that the characters 月 氏, which in one of the old dialects were probably pronounced *Kur-ṣi* or *Gur-ṣi*, represent the nominative singular corresponding to the genitive plural KOPΣANO (KOϷANO) = *Kursānu* (*Kuṣānu*). The regular nominative singular of the theme *Kuṣa* would, in the second "unknown" language of Eastern Turkestan (cf. above, p. 84), be *Kuṣi*.

[2] The work last named has *Kuśa* (not *Kuṣa*). It seems to be admitted (above, p. 380) that the difference between *ś* and *ṣ* is in this case immaterial (cf. above, p. 87). I note that my suggestion regarding the name Kuśadvīpa has not been criticized. The fact that this name is in the *Matsyapurāṇa* placed immediately after the Śākadvīpa has been mentioned above (p. 88), and I still believe that the expression might be rendered by "the dvīpa of the Kuṣas". Those who accept this interpretation will agree that the name Kuṣa occurs at least three times in Indian literature (preserved in the original or translated into foreign languages), while no trace of the supposed name Kuṣāṇa (or Kushān) can be found there. Cf. what Professor Konow says in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (1914, p. 96) about Kuśadvīpa, which he also connects with the "ethnic name Koṣa or Kuṣa".

text, and made the mistake alleged above (pp. 380, 411); but it seems incredible that a famous scholar like Kumārajīva,[1] who had travelled in the Yüeh-shih dominions as early as the fourth century and translated a life of Kaniṣka's court poet, should have been ignorant of the correct name of the great monarch's race.

### *The Māṭ Inscription*

The newly discovered inscription of Māṭ, if considered as it is (without assuming damage to the stone in the most important place, cf. above, p. 371, n.), agrees perfectly with the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* and the *Mahārājakani[ṣ]kalekhā*, according to which Kaniṣka belonged to the Kuṣa race.

There is a distinct dot above the *mātṛkā ṇa* (in line 2), and several well-known authorities[2] on Indian epigraphy who have examined squeezes of the inscription agree that the dot might be regarded as an anusvāra. If we pursue this course we arrive at the reading *Kuṣāṇaṃ putr[o]*, and stand face to face with a Prākṛt title which can only be considered as meaning "scion of the Kuṣas".

### *Kadphises I's Coins*

Hardly any notice has been taken of the coins published in my article (above, p. 85). Dr. J. F. Fleet does not even mention them, and Mr. J. Allan (p. 410) dismisses these most important pieces of evidence with the words: "The hook in the *n* is a well-known feature of Kharoṣṭhī epigraphy, quite without significance." I do not see any hooks in the places concerning us, but well-defined strokes

[1] We find some biographical data concerning Kumārajīva and a list of his existing translations in Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Appendix ii, No. 59. Among the translations there are lives of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, and Deva.

[2] The *ipsissima verba* of one of them are quoted in my article "KOϷANO und Yüeh-shih", referred to above (p. 754). Dr. J. F. Fleet reads (above, p. 370): "*Kushāṇa-putr[o]*: son *or* descendant of the Kushāṇas", and adds (p. 371): "we cannot find an *anusvāra* and read *Kushāṇaṁ*, and still less *Kushāṇāṁ*," and "The marks above the *ṇa* are only due to damage to the stone".

to the left forming right angles with the *mātṛkā na* and attached to the bottom of it in all the three legends reproduced. The *mātṛkā na* combined with a stroke to the left placed at its bottom can, however, mean either *nu*[1] or *naṃ*, and it is not easy to decide how it is to be read on the coins.

The sign described was at the time of Aśoka undoubtedly used to represent *nu*.[2] The same stroke to the left being observed at the bottom of the *akṣara* which on the coins of Kadphises I represents *ju*, and the "Greek" legends of the same monarch showing the word KOϷANO (KOPΣANO) = *Kuṣānu* (cf. above, p. 84, and Mr. Smith's Catalogue, p. 65), I suggested the reading *Kuṣānu yavugasa*. After my article "Was there a Kuṣana Race?" (above, pp. 79–88) had appeared I found that the sign described above (the *mātṛkā na* with a stroke to the left attached to its bottom) did stand for *naṃ* in some Kharoṣṭhī documents later than Aśoka.[3] In view of this

[1] I considered (above, p. 87) *Kuṣānu* as a Scythian (i.e. Old Khotanī, or language ii) genitive plural, preserved in the half-Prākṛtized legend. It would, no doubt, simplify matters if it could be proved that a Prākṛt genitive plural (*Kuṣānaṃ*) was intended.

[2] e.g. in the word *paśumanuśanaṃ*. Cf. Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadassi*, p. 64, pl. i. Mr. Pargiter says (above, p. 650): "*u* in *nu* was denoted [in the Aśoka inscriptions] by that [leftward] stroke applied, however, to the very extremity of *n*."

[3] We find the same sign in the word *Naṃdasena*, which occurs in one of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya deciphered by Professor Rapson. Cf. p. 10 of his *Specimens of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*. The same sign will, I think, be recognized between *Me* and *drasa* on some of Menander's coins, and I have no doubt that it was intended for *naṃ* (*nan*). Cf. Mr. Smith's Catalogue of Coins, pl. v, No. 3; Professor Gardner's Catalogue, pl. xi, No. 11; and Mr. Whitehead's Catalogue, pl. vi, No. 471. The stroke to the left attached to the *mātṛkā na* is wanting on all coins known to me where there are certain *na's*, as on those of Philoxenos (*Philasinasa*). Cf. Gardner, pl. xiii, No. 7; Smith, pl. vi, No. 4; and Whitehead, pl. vii, No. 577. Many of those interested in Indian history will, I am sure, believe that on the coins of Menander (*Menaṃdrasa*) and Kadphises I (*Kuṣānaṃ yavugasa*) the stroke to the left attached to the *mātṛkā na* means something, until they see a sufficient number of coins proving the contrary. I have not been able in the catalogues mentioned to discover any well-defined strokes

fact, I now think that the words *Kuṣānaṃ yavugasa* were intended by the die-sinkers in question. We might hesitate between *Kuṣānu* (genitive plural of *Kuṣa* in the language ii) and *Kuṣānaṃ* (Prākṛt genitive plural of *Kuṣa*); but we cannot admit that the clear-cut leftward stroke, repeated on at least three dies, stands for nothing. Those who accept what has just been said will agree that the legends mentioned constitute still stronger evidence in favour of my view (Kuṣa, not Kuṣana or Kushān) than the Māṭ inscription does, because the latter can be put aside by assuming one accident (damage to the stone), while three are required if the existence of legends reading "of the *yavuga* of the Kuṣas" (*Kuṣānaṃ* [or *Kuṣānu*] *yavugasa*), etc., is to be denied.

*The Māṇikyāla Inscription*

I do not think that the sign which immediately follows *Guṣā* in the Māṇikyāla inscription can possibly be intended for the same group of sounds as the signs

which correspond to the fourteen certain *na's* of that record (cf. above, p. 84). But even those who accept Dr. J. F. Fleet's reading, *Guṣānava*[*ṃ*]*śasaṃvardhaka*,[1]

to the left attached to *na's* in the Kharoṣṭhī legends of any ruler except Menander and Kadphises I. The strokes to the left are on the coins published above (p. 85) more pronounced than on those of Menander.

[1] The exact reading adopted by Dr. J. F. Fleet (p. 373) is *Gushaṇa-vaśa-saṁvardhaka*. On p. 374, however, it is said: "and so we have the name here as *Gushaṇa* = *Gushāṇa*," and on p. 371 we find the statement: "the Kharōshṭhī alphabet does not always, if indeed ever, distinguish clearly between the cerebral *ṇ* and the dental *n*."

will have to admit that this expression might be regarded as meaning "scion (or increaser of the race) of the Guṣas". I think that the nearly identical title *Kuṣāṇaṃ putr*[*o*] of Māṭ, the first part of which can be nothing but a genitive plural, makes this interpretation inevitable, and that there is certainly nothing in the Māṇikyāla inscription[1] disproving the correctness of Kumārajīva's translation (*Kuṣa*, cf. above, p. 754).

*The Panjtar Inscription*

All we know of this record, the original of which has been lost, is contained in two[2] different treatments of it by Sir A. Cunningham (JASB., 1854, p. 705, and Arch. Surv. India, vol. v, Calcutta, 1875, pp. 61–2). I do not think I deserve the reproach of hardly having done justice to the inscription (cf. above, p. 372). The fact is that I ignored the figuring of 1854 and accepted the statement of the learned General printed in 1875: "It is very unfortunate that the name of the king is broken off at the end of the first line, the initial letter *R*, or perhaps *N*, being the only one unmutilated. The second letter, which is very doubtful, may be either *re*, or *ha*, or *ne*."

Dr. J. F. Fleet reads *ra-* (Cunningham's *R*, or perhaps *N*) *ja* (C.: very doubtful—*re*, or *ha*, or *ne*), while considering it as a "moral certainty" that the third letter, "which is damaged" (C. does not even mention the third letter), was *mi*—and all this on the sole authority of a plate known to Sir A. Cunningham. The eminently

[1] I have not had sufficient time properly to consider the new treatment of this important record which we find above (pp. 641–60), but I note that the reading *Guṣaṇo* is suggested there by Mr. Pargiter, who refuses (p. 651) to admit an Old Khotanī (language ii) genitive in the Māṇikyāla inscription "because all the terminations here are Prakrit", and explains the *o* (in *Guṣaṇo-va*°) by assuming that the "compound" is formed "after the Iranian [!] fashion of using the nominative form instead of the base-form in the first member of a compound word" (p. 650).

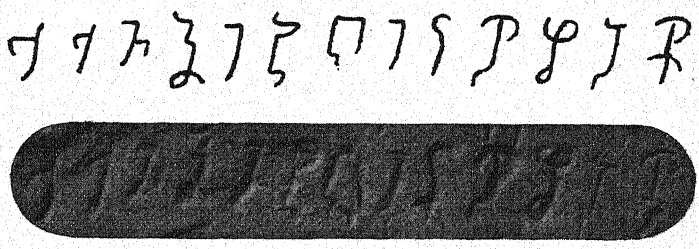
[2] See also JASB., 1863, pp. 145, 150.

sound judgment of the latter being as well known as the fact that the facsimiles of the period are very far from satisfactory,[1] we must refuse to consider the word *rajami* (and, consequently, the whole of the Panjtar inscription) as in our case (Kuṣa or Kuṣana, Kushān, etc.) proving anything at all.

*The title* KOÞANO ÞAONANO ÞAO

Dr. J. F. Fleet has certainly succeeded in showing (p. 376) that substantial parts of the general design nearly always separate the words KOÞANO and ÞAONANO on the coins in question. This would indeed militate against the reading KOÞANO ÞAONANO ÞAO . . . suggested above (p. 83), while favouring Dr. J. F. Fleet's arrangement: ÞAONANO ÞAO . . . KOÞANO, if it could be proved that the parts of the general design constituted on the coins of the period anything like marks of punctuation. But can such a rule be proved? Many readers of this Journal will agree with me in considering it impossible. Do not the king's legs,[2] which generally separate KOÞANO from ÞAONANO, stand between

[1] In order to illustrate what has been said above, a line of the Māṇikyāla inscription is here shown as it appears in the second volume of the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India (Simla, 1871, pl. lxiii) and in a photographic reproduction (*Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Février, 1896, pl. i).



[2] I do not know on what grounds Dr. J. F. Fleet considers the substantial parts of the design as meaning nothing when they separate letters belonging to the same word, but attaches a great importance to them when they intervene between KOÞANO and ÞAONANO.

the ı and the ʌ (in BACIʌEWN) on some coins of Kaniṣka (cf. Whitehead, pl. xx, No. 4)? Many similar legends could be quoted from the catalogues mentioned, and I think that no facts have been adduced which preclude our recognizing the well-authenticated title *Kūšān šāhān šāh*, the existence of which is admitted above (p. 379), on the coins of Kaniṣka and his successors.[1]

Mr. Vincent A. Smith authorizes me to say "that he knows of no reasons which could prevent our reading KOÞANO ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKI on certain coins of Kaniṣka, and that he does not consider as convincing the arguments advanced by Dr. J. F. Fleet and Mr. J. Allan in favour of a different arrangement of the legend (ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKI KOÞANO)". This statement of a well-known authority on Indian numismatics will, no doubt, be of special interest to those who have observed the uncompromising attitude adopted by Mr. J. Allan on p. 403 ("It must be obvious to anyone who has ever seen one of the coins in question that the legend cannot be taken in the order in which," etc.).

*General Remarks*

It seems to be admitted that, if nothing else were known of the name of the race, the most natural way of translating the title *Kūšān šāh* on purely philological grounds would be "King of the Kūš or Kūšas". This being so, it must be proved by independent evidence that in this case a different interpretation has to be resorted to. I cannot see a sufficient proof in the fact that the word Kūšān and

[1] Even those who read ÞAONANO ÞAO . . . KOÞANO need not abandon the view that Kuṣa is the correct name of Kaniṣka's race. Professor Konow (op. cit., p. 93) adopts the arrangement last mentioned and still considers KOÞANO as a genitive plural of Koṣa or Kuṣa. KOÞANO placed after the name of the king might perhaps mean "of the Kuṣas" ("who belongs to the Kuṣa race"). We know very little of Old Khotanī (language ii) syntax, and cannot say whether such a use of the genitive occurs in that language. In Prākṛt, however, similar cases seem to be proved. Cf. Professor Konow's article, "Goths in Ancient India," JRAS., 1912, pp. 379–85.

its Chinese equivalent *Kuei-shuang*[1] have been used as the names of a tribe or territory. That does not seem to be more astonishing than the circumstance that the word Preussen (originally nothing but a plural of Preusse) is used as the name of a well-known kingdom at the present day.

The word Cuseni or Cusani, mentioned by Mr. J. Allan (on p. 405), is admittedly nothing but a conjecture by Tomascheck (Sitzungsb. of the Vienna Academy, 1877 [not 1887], vol. lxxxvii, pp. 155–6). Professor Marquart, who reads Cussis where the text has Ruffis,[2] is responsible for a similar conjecture which favours my view. The Qušani or Qasani of the Spicilegium Syriacum are easily outbalanced by the Kūš of the Syriac legend of Alexander.[3] It is true that the Armenian K'ušank' has probably (but not necessarily, as I am informed by a most competent Armenian scholar) to be regarded as a plural of K'ušan (not K'uš or K'uša). I do not think, however, that this fact can outweigh the authority of Kumārajīva—one of the most famous scholars of Buddhist antiquity—borne out, as it is, by the Māṭ inscription and by certain coin-legends of Kadphises I.

May I conclude this note by drawing attention to the manner in which Dr. J. F. Fleet deals with the documentary evidence supporting the view put forward in my article "Was there a Kuṣana Race?" (above, pp. 79–88). One die-sinker's mistake repeated in several dies,[4] two accidents,[5]

[1] The expression *Kuei-shuang* never, as far as I know, occurs in places where it cannot be explained as the Chinese rendering of an Iranian plural form or of a singular form of the type Preussen. It would be a different matter if e.g. Kadphises I were called a *Kuei-shuang* instead of being spoken of as a *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou* or *Kuei-shuang-wang* (cf. above, p. 80).

[2] *Ērānšahr*, p. 36, n. 2. [3] Cf. Marquart, op. cit., p. 88.

[4] It is implied above (p. 407) that the expression XOPANCY of the Kadaphes-coins is a mistake for XOPANOY.

[5] The *anusvāra* which necessitates the reading *Kuṣāṇaṃ putr[o]*, "scion of the Kuṣa's," is dismissed as due to damage to the stone

and two translator's errors[1] are assumed in order to disprove the correctness of the name Kuṣa.

A case in assailing which, assumptions of this kind have to be so freely resorted to, must be a very strong one, and I am as convinced as ever that Kuṣa (not Kuṣana or Kushān) was the correct name of Kaniṣka's race.

A. VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN.

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Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President of the Society, has been elected an Honorary Member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft; and nearly simultaneously the University of Strassburg conferred upon him the honorary degree of Ph. D. On June 2 he was present at the Oxford Convocation to receive the Honorary D. Litt. These distinctions are in recognition of Sir Charles' eminence in Arabic studies—more especially in connexion with the old poetry—as shown in his edition of the *Mu'allaqāt* (with commentary, Calcutta, 1891), the *Dīwāns* of 'Abīd and 'Āmir ibn at-Ṭufail (Leyden, etc., 1913), and the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (in progress), and in the translations associated with these or published independently.

(cf. above, pp. 371, 755), and the mark in the Māṇikyāla inscription which Mr. Pargiter describes (p. 649) as "clearly cut, precise, and deliberate", is disregarded as "nothing but a slight exaggeration of the slope to the left with which the Kharōshṭhī *ṇ* often ends" (p. 374).

[1] Both translators, who are evidently quite independent of each other, give the name as Kuṣa (cf. pp. 380, 754), and Dr. J. F. Fleet believes that they are wrong, having mistaken *Kuṣaṇavaṃśe* for *Kuṣāṇāṃ vaṃśe*. Another error must be assumed if the passage of the Li-yul-lo-rgyus-pa quoted above (p. 381), "the king Kanika AND the king of Guzan and king Vijayakīrti, lord of Li, and others . . . ," is to have any force. If the text is considered as correct, Kanika cannot be the king of Guzan, and it becomes impossible to connect Guzan with Kūšān. But, even if we do assume an error in the text and consider Guzan as a form of Kūšān, we need not attach more importance to Guzan than to the Chinese *Kuei-shuang* (cf. above, p. 761). I do not, owing to want of time, discuss at present the new interpretation of a certain Kidāra coin legend suggested above (p. 410) and some other matters less intimately connected with the main question (Kuṣa or Kushān) involved, but I hope I may be allowed to do so at a future date.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE DĪWĀNS OF 'ABĪD IBN AL-ABRAṢ AND 'ĀMIR IBN AT-ṬUFAYL. Edited for the first time and supplied with a translation and notes by Sir CHARLES LYALL. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, 1913.

Most of the poems in this volume, together with the commentary elucidating them, are edited from a unique manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 6771) written early in the fifth century of the Hijra; and the text thus obtained has been supplemented by a collection of all poems and fragments of verse ascribed to 'Abīd and 'Āmir that occur in Arabic lexica, anthologies, and other works. The total number of verses is exactly 1,000; of these about two-thirds belong to 'Abīd. The text of the poems is fully vocalized throughout, nor has the commentary been stinted in this respect. Critical and explanatory notes to both are added at the foot of every page. The Arabic portion of the book is concluded by four indices: rhymes and metres, personal names, geographical names, and selected words. Facing p. ١٨ will be found an excellent facsimile of two folios of the original MS. The English portion comprises an elaborate introduction to each Dīwān, descriptions and translations of the poems, with many fine remarks on points of interpretation, and a list of Emendanda et Addenda. This summary will serve to indicate the range of the work. Very few, if any, editions of Oriental poetry are so completely equipped. It is dedicated to Professor Theodor Nöldeke, "the acknowledged master of all European scholars in this field of study"—a just and graceful tribute of gratitude for the help which he has given in preparing it for the press.

Of the two poets 'Abīd is by far the more remarkable. His odes take us back to near the beginning of the sixth century A.D., when Asad and the Northern Arab tribes had come under the rule of Ḥujr, the father of Imra' al-Qais. Several passages in the Dīwān refer to the slaying of Ḥujr by 'Abīd's fellow-tribesmen, and one poem (which can hardly be genuine) is actually addressed to him. Others are addressed or refer to Imra' al-Qais, who as his father's avenger was engaged in a bitter feud with the men of Asad. These historical notices are important. To give a single instance, the verse (iv, 19)

"Didst thou say that thou wouldst seek to Cæsar for help?
—then shalt thou surely die a Syrian (subject to Rome)!"

shows that an appeal to Justinian was at least threatened by Imra' al-Qais; and there is evidence that he carried out his threat, since, as the editor observes, the well-attested story of as-Samau'al and the coats of mail implies that Imra' al-Qais had become a subject of Rome. The poems of 'Abīd exhibit striking parallelisms with those of his greater rival; e.g., the anomalous metre (on which Professor Nöldeke contributes a valuable note) of

أَقْفَرَ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ مَلْحُوبُ * فَالْقُطَبِيَّاتُ فَالذَّنُوبُ

also occurs in the Dīwān of Imra' al-Qais, and no third example is known. In discussing the authenticity of the poems ascribed to 'Abīd, and of the pre-Islamic poetry as a whole, Sir Charles Lyall lays stress upon the individuality of character which appears in the work of the ancient bards. He thinks "it would be a most fantastic view to take" that these poems, or at any rate the main part of them, were "fabricated in a later age, by scholars who lived under totally different conditions, in a world which had radically changed from the days of the nomadic life of desert Arabia". Such forgery on a large scale is plainly incredible, and the fact that a few Moslem scholars imitated the old poetry to perfection only proves how

intimately they had studied it. No doubt Khalaf al-Aḥmar could have copied the various styles of celebrated poets of antiquity well enough to deceive his contemporaries, but he could never have written one of the *Mu'allaqāt*. To what extent is it possible for a European scholar thoroughly at home in pre-Islamic literature to distinguish the work of one poet from that of another by stylistic evidence alone? It would be interesting to hear Sir Charles Lyall on this point. Some years ago the present writer had an opportunity of trying the same experiment with several Persian ghazels woven, as the fashion is, round the margins of rugs and carpets. He found himself able to assign some of them conjecturally to different authors—Sa'dī, Ḥāfiz, and Jāmī, and as a rule his conjectures were verified on investigation. Here the criterion was not linguistic peculiarity, but a certain distinctive, though indefinable, individuality of treatment.

The contrast between the two poets with whom this volume is concerned will be felt by every reader. Placed beside 'Abīd's original and often vividly imaginative style (cf., for example, i, 35 to the end; vi; viii, 4–6; xv, 16–17; xix, 9–14), the war-songs of 'Āmir seem mediocre and monotonous. It may be that the English version exaggerates our impression of his inferiority. All his poems are rendered in prose, while in translating 'Abīd Sir Charles Lyall has in many passages reproduced the form as well as the meaning. Although poetry is better translated into good prose than into prosaic verse, there can be no question that verse is the ideal medium in the hands of one who has the secret of using it. These metrical versions are beyond praise. In Sir Charles Lyall the artist keeps even pace with the scholar, and one might almost say that his genius for translation is the result of that singular harmony. He makes light of the intractable material; his English fits the Arabic like a glove, and he seems never at a loss for the right word.

Whereas the text of ʿĀmir has a good commentary, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Anbārī (the most eminent pupil of Thaʿlab), and is in sound condition, that of ʿAbīd, so far as it rests upon the sole authority of the British Museum codex, presents great difficulties, having been transcribed "in a manner which frequently shows the grossest ignorance and carelessness"; moreover, the anonymous commentator leaves much unexplained, and some poems are without any commentary at all. Suggestions for the improvement of a text that has undergone the scrutiny of the editor and Professor Nöldeke must be more or less speculative. The following are, perhaps, worth consideration.

p. ٣, l. 1. كنتَ قد عَفَتَّ له المِتَّةَ. Possibly حَقَقْتَ له المِنَّةَ, "you will have given him the right to reproach you with a benefit (if you put him to death after taking delight in his praise; and therefore you will be inclined to spare him. On the other hand, should his eulogy fail to please you, it will be easy for you to kill him)." Perhaps هيّنًا should be substituted for هنيئًا.

p. ٨, l. 2. The oft-quoted verse

مَن يَسَلِ الناسَ يَحْرِموهُ * وسائلُ اللهِ لا يَخيبُ

is followed in Tibrīzī's recension of the poem by two verses, the first of which runs:

باللهِ يُدْرَكُ كُلُّ خَيْرٍ * والقَوْلُ فى بَعْضِهِ تلغيبُ

This verse the editor translates (p. 17):

"In God is all good attained to:
the doctrine that He is made up of separate Persons (?) is foolishness,"

taking بعضه as equivalent to تبعيضه; but he adds that the second hemistich may be rendered: "in certain statements (that are made about God) is foolishness." I think, however, that the pronoun in

بعضه stands neither for الله nor for القول, but for الخير. "Through God is *all* good attained to"; consequently it is "foolishness" to say that through Him only *some* good is attained to. As the preceding verse indicates, this refers to the antithetic doctrines of *tawakkul* (which is closely connected with *tawḥīd*) and *kasb*. The false statement is a denial of the well-known Ṣūfī theory that in reality none but God provides the means of subsistence or is the author of benefits and injuries. It seems highly improbable that v. 23, though older than the two additional verses, belongs to the pre-Islamic age.

p. ١٤, l. 5.

وإذا أخوك تركتهُ وأخا آمرئٍ * أوْدَى أخوك وكُنتَ أنتَ تتَبَّبُ

Sir Charles Lyall describes the words وأخا آمرئٍ as unintelligible, and he thinks that two half-verses may have accidentally dropped out. I propose to read وإذا آمْتَرَى: "when thou desertest thy brother and when he refuses (to help thee as he ought) . . ."

p. ٢١, l. 6. حتّى خَطَرْنَ بِهِ وهُنَّ شَوارِعُ.

The commentator explains: خَطَرْنَ يعنى الرماح اى يقعنه. Sir Charles Lyall suggests يقعن عليه, but a preterite is required. I propose نَفَضْنَهُ.

p. ٢٢, l. 10. Is not ثُمَّ preferable to ثُمَّتْ, following ورامَتْ?

p. ٤٧, l. 9.

غَوَّتْ بَنُو أَسَدٍ غَسّانَ أَمْرَهُمُ * وقَلَّ ما وَقَفَتْ غَسّانُ لِلرَّشَدِ

The MS. reads عَيَّتْ. Professor Nöldeke suggests غَبَّتْ, but this does not satisfy him; and of غَوَّتْ, which the editor has adopted, he remarks: "misslich ist das auch!" In my opinion the true reading is عَدَّتْ, derived from the phrase عَداهُ الأَمْرُ, "the affair passed from him." The poet boasts that the Banū Asad "caused the fortune of Ghassān to pass from

them", i.e. defeated them in battle, and concludes with the taunt that they know little of success.

p. ١٣, l. 6. Read قَدْ نَكَّبَتْ (which, I think, is what the copyist wrote) instead of فَوَرَدَتْ.

p. ١٧, l. 17.

او صِرْتُ ذا بُومةٍ فى رأسِ رابيةٍ * او فى قَرارِ مِنَ الأَرْضينَ قِرْواحِ

The phrase ذا بومة seems rather strange, and the reading is uncertain. The facsimile shows no dot under the first letter of بومة, but there appear to be two dots over it; and the immediately preceding letter is either ر or و. The beginning of the word is quite illegible. I submit that the copyist wrote مُجَرْثُومةً, "wind-swept dust," which is an appropriate word in this place.

R. A. N.

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THE GOVERNORS AND JUDGES OF EGYPT, OR KITÂB EL-'UMARÂ' (EL-WULÂH) WA KITÂB EL-QUḌÂH OF EL-KINDÎ. By RHUVON GUEST. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xix. 8vo; pp. 72, ١٨١. London, 1912.

En un gros volume, M. Guest nous donne le texte de l'Histoire des Gouverneurs et des Qâḍîs d'Égypte. Il y a joint l'appendice d'Ibn Zûlâq à l'Histoire des Gouverneurs, celui d'Aḥmad ibn 'Abd el-Raḥmân ibn Burd à l'Histoire des Qâḍîs: des biographies de certains qâḍîs par Ibn Ḥajar et el-Dhahabî (113 pages) ont été également éditées dans ce livre. Nous y trouvons encore une solide introduction sur Kindî et ses ouvrages; une étude méthodique sur les sources qui ont servi de base aux deux œuvres indiquées ci-dessus: cette étude, exposée très clairement, peut servir d'exemple pour les enquêtes du même genre; des tableaux permettent de situer très rapidement les traditionnistes à leur date. Un glossaire, un fac-simile de six pages du manuscrit, un index

considérable (69 pages) font de ce livre un instrument de travail de premier ordre. Signalons une innovation intéressante : deux cartes, une de l'Égypte, l'autre de l'empire 'abbâside, permettent de suivre le texte avec intelligence, d'autant plus vite que dans l'index des renvois aux cartes sont faits pour chaque nom géographique.

La lecture de quelques pages de l'Histoire des Gouverneurs et des Qâḍîs d'Égypte suffit pour nous faire apprécier le travail de bénédictin qu'a dû fournir M. Guest : ce volume est un véritable catalogue de noms propres. Devant les recherches pénibles et laborieuses que l'éditeur a dû effectuer il faut s'incliner, et je m'excuse de relever au milieu de nombreuses phrases parfaitement étudiées quelques erreurs de détail.

Avant M. Guest, deux essais d'édition du texte de Kindî avaient été tentés, l'un par M. Koenig, qui s'était borné à publier quelques pages du Livre des Gouverneurs, l'autre par M. Gottheil, qui avait donné le texte de l'Histoire des Qâḍîs. Les jugements sur ces éditions avaient été unanimement sévéres : leur œuvre était une mauvaise plaisanterie, et leurs auteurs étaient bien insuffisamment préparés.

Dans Kindî, comme dans Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakam, qui le précéda d'un siècle, la série des autorités qui appuient un fait a autant d'importance que le fond de l'histoire contée. Les noms des traditionnistes nous serviront beaucoup pour la critique de ces textes, et nous constaterons sans doute que ce sont les mêmes hommes qui ont la paternité de certaines anecdotes tendancieuses. Il est rare d'ailleurs que les traditions citées par Kindî aient un caractère d'appréciation : le plus souvent elles enregistrent des faits. Kindî nous donne le nom des Gouverneurs de l'Égypte, des principaux fonctionnaires (*kharâj*, *šurṭah*, *barîd*), des suppléants du gouverneur en cas d'absence, des qâḍîs. Puis les faits importants sont cités dans l'ordre chronologique, avec un grand luxe de détails : chefs

d'armée, organisateurs de révoltes, et, en cas de représailles, noms des coupables exécutés; les dates sont données toujours avec une précision absolue, et la férie et le quantième du mois sont souvent indiqués.

L'allure constamment simple du récit donne un certain humour aux histoires drôles que Kindî nous a transmises: elles valent toutes la peine d'être lues dans le texte, car un simple détail fournit une note très comique. Surpris douloureusement d'être révoqué de son poste de gouverneur, 'Abd-Allah ibn 'Abd el-Malik met ses chaussures avant son pantalon (p. 63). Entre autres mesures, le gouverneur Abû Çâliḥ el-Khursî supprime les gardiens des bains; chaque baigneur, en quittant ses habits, disait: "Garde-les, Abû Çâliḥ" (p. 122). Un qâḍî prodigue veut être le tuteur d'un prodigue et s'attire cette vive riposte: "Et quel sera ton tuteur, qâḍî?" (p. 347). L'histoire de l'homme qui met un talisman dans sa barbe pour se protéger du mauvais œil (p. 420); celle du juge facétieux qui force un plaideur à cracher à la figure de son adversaire et le condamne ensuite parce qu'un tel acte ne prouve pas en sa faveur (p. 438); celle du qâḍî qui interdit de porter des grands bonnets et se réserve ce luxe comme un privilège, puis qui est dépouillé du sien par des enfants qui s'en servent comme jouet (pp. 460–2); toutes ces anecdotes ne manquent pas de saveur.

L'*Histoire des Qâḍîs* est surtout intéressante, parce qu'elle nous permet de suivre dans ses grandes lignes l'organisation de la justice en Égypte. Le qâḍî est nommé tantôt directement par le Khalife, tantôt par le gouverneur de l'Égypte (voir les premières lignes de chaque chapitre). De nombreux personnages manifestent vivement leur répugnance pour la fonction de qâḍî, et souvent ils sont nommés contre leur gré (Introd., p. 24; texte, pp. 302, 305, 311, 315, 417–18, 458). Le grand qâḍî d'Égypte, appelé d'abord *qâḍî Miçr*, prit à l'époque

fâṭimite le nom de *qâḍî des qâḍîs*, et il porte alors une série de titres officiels, dont quelques-uns sont illustrés par l'épigraphie égyptienne de cette époque (pp. 497, 590, 597, 599–600, 613). La compétence territoriale de ce fonctionnaire augmenta naturellement en proportion avec l'accroissement de l'importance de l'Égypte ; à la fin du iv^e^ siècle, un document officiel l'appelle qâḍî du Caire et du Vieux-Caire, d'Alexandrie, des deux sanctuaires (la Mecque et Médine), de Damas (ou de Syrie), d'el-Raḥbah, d'el-Raqqah, et du Magrib (pp. 599–600) ; Barqah, la Sicile furent ajoutées plus tard (p. 611). Sa compétence *ratione materiæ* fut d'abord très étendue ; juge au civil, il le fut aussi au criminel (p. 309) ; puis le *naẓar fi'l-maẓâlim* fut une fonction distincte, qui était quelquefois donnée au qâḍî. Ses appointements varièrent considérablement ; si certains qâḍîs jugeaient gratuitement (p. 339), d'autres acceptaient des rémunérations très élevées. Les traitements augmentèrent naturellement : la principale raison vient de ce fait que la communauté musulmane prit une importance toujours croissante. Voici quelques chiffres : 200 dînârs par an, de 69 à 83 H. (p. 317) ; 360 dînârs, en 155–68 H. (pp. 369, 377, 378) ; 2,016 dînârs [*sic*], en 199 H. (p. 421) ; 3,016 dînârs, en 212 H. (p. 435) ; ces deux traitements durent être exceptionnels, et Kindî éprouve le besoin d'insister (أوّل قاض أجرى عليه هذا) ; 1,440 dînârs, en 311 H. (p. 531). Les fonctionnaires qui entourent le qâḍî finirent par être nombreux : on peut en voir une liste, p. 468. La mosquée sert de tribunal, sauf au début pour les chrétiens, qui étaient jugés devant la porte, jusqu'en 180 H. environ (pp. 390–1) : il semble, cependant, qu'un jugement prononcé ailleurs que dans la mosquée était valable, mais le fait est exceptionnel (p. 374). A partir de la seconde moitié du premier siècle de l'hégire, les jugements étaient consignés dans un registre (p. 310 ; voir aussi p. 379).

On sait quel rôle important joue le témoignage oral dans la législation musulmane ; aussi les qâḍîs se montraient-ils particulièrement difficiles sur la moralité des témoins (p. 344), au point de ne pas accepter le témoignage d'un homme d'une tribu contre un homme d'un autre groupe (pp. 345–6) ; de même le témoignage d'un chrétien ou d'un juif n'était valable que contre un chrétien ou un juif (p. 351) ; le témoignage d'un homme était facilement récusé par le qâḍî à cause des opinions religieuses de cet homme (p. 422) : c'est ainsi qu'au moment de la *miḥnah*, ceux qui refusaient d'adhérer à la doctrine alors officielle de la création du Coran ne pouvaient témoigner (pp. 446–7). Des enquêtes discrètes étaient faites par ordre du juge sur l'honorabilité des témoins (p. 361) ; un fonctionnaire, nommé *ṣâḥib masâ'il* (p. 441), en était spécialement chargé, et Kindî nous affirme que certaines personnes lui offraient des pots-de-vin afin d'être inscrits sur la liste des témoins (p. 385) ; cette liste se trouvait consignée dans un registre (p. 394), et une nouvelle enquête avait lieu tous les six mois (p. 422) ; le témoignage des enfants était admis dans les affaires criminelles (p. 351). Quelquefois, le qâḍî allait sur place se renseigner sur la réalité d'un fait—par exemple, dans le cas d'une contestation au sujet d'un mur mitoyen (p. 387). Les peines prononcées par le juge consistaient le plus souvent en coups de fouet (pp. 383, 391–2, 444) ; le qâḍî condamnait aussi le coupable à être promené dans la ville suivant un cérémonial donné (pp. 328–9, 391, 404, 444, 452) ; à la prison (p. 593). Les injures contre la mémoire de Mahomet étaient punies de mort (pp. 382, 470) ; l'adultère, de la lapidation (p. 594). —Il est à noter que le qâḍî a toujours été chargé de l'administration des biens des orphelins (pp. 325, 355, 386, 390, 404, 405).

Quelques corrections sont à faire : de nombreux passages du texte étaient et restent très obscurs et prêtent matière à discussion.

page ligne

4 11 العربية, lire الغربية (voir *Introd.*, p. 8).

7 14 محمد داوود, lire محمد بن داوود.

8 10 et n. 1: بُلْبَيس. Il est certain que l'auteur du *Qâmûs* a voulu ramener ce nom à la forme d'un diminutif arabe, à cause de la prononciation connue de la dernière syllabe. En tout cas, c'est précisément la lecture *Bulbeïs* qui est la seule à rejeter parmi celles que donnent les auteurs arabes : le copte ⲫⲉⲗⲃⲉⲥ a pu aboutir à Balbeïs ou plutôt Bilbeïs, qui est plus courant (cf. J. Maspero et G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, i, pp. 45-6).

8 12 المندقور ne peut pas rester. On peut corriger en المندتور, transcription de *mandator* (Casanova, trad. de Maqrîzî, p. 116, n. 4), ou plutôt en المندفور, lecture qui respecte plus la graphie, et qui dériverait de *βανδοφόρος*, porte-étendard (Amedroz, JRAS., 1912, p. 266: M. Amedroz me prie de dire que cette idée lui a été suggérée par M. E. W. Brooks).

8 12 Il est curieux de voir que le manuscrit dont s'est servi Maqrîzî avait aussi une lacune en cet endroit. Il avait lu (i, p. 289, l. 27) المندقور الذى يقال له الأعيرج قبل المقوقس. M. Koenig (p. 3) proposait heureusement de lire ici وهو.

18 5 حدبج, lire حديج.

18 n. 5: i, p. 335, lire ii, p. 335.

18 14 L'orthographe du manuscrit البهنسا était à garder; elle est la plus fréquente (J. Maspero et G. Wiet, op. cit, p. 51).

19 3 خَرِبْتا est encore une forme grammaticale, inventée par Yâqût: il est difficile de donner d'après Yâqût ou le *Qâmûs* la vraie prononciation de noms dérivant du copte. D'ailleurs la forme actuelle Kherbeta (copte ⲉⲣⲃⲁⲧ) contredit singulièrement l'affirmation de Yâqût (cf. J. Maspero et G. Wiet, op. cit., pp. 77-8).

page ligne

20 15 محمد موسى, lire محمد بن موسى.

21 n. 4 } i, p. 336, lire ii, p. 336.
23 n. 6 }

33 10 بن الحكم, lire بن عبد الحكم.

38 9 المغرب, lire plutôt, avec Maqrîzî (i, p. 301, l. 19), الغزو. Mu'âwiy*ah* lui conféra la prière, l'impôt et la *guerre*.

38 n. 2 : 101, lire 301.

47 6 ينقاد. Il faut comme aux deux lignes précédentes mettre le conditionnel ينقَد, ou ne pas faire les autres corrections.

48 12 بكنى, lire يكنى.

50 9 } اشناس. Il faut bien lire أثيناس, supposition faite
59 1 } par M. Guest, dans les *Additions*, pp. 69-70 ; rajouter ce nom à l'index, et supprimer (pp. 622 et 623) اشناس et انيتاس. Il s'agit d'Athanase d'Edesse, d'abord précepteur de 'Abd el-'Azîz ibn Marwân, puis préposé aux finances d'Égypte (Maqrîzî, éd. Wiet, ii, pp. 58, 186).

68 2 بعفر, lire يعفر.

73 14 تنو, lire نتو certainement (voir *Additions*, p. 70). قُرْبيط : nous proposerons, M. J. Maspero et moi, la correction قَرْبيط, transcription du copte ϥⲁⲣⲃⲁⲓⲧ. طُرابية : le ḍamm*ah* du *Qâmûs* est inexplicable.

87 12 } شربح, lire شريح.
90 10 }

102 8 الثانية, lire الثانية.

La lacune de la p. 101, l. 16, peut être comblée à l'aide du texte de Maqrîzî (i, p. 308, l. 8). Il faut lire فهرب ابو عون إلى يشكر و استخلف.

115 5 Le contexte n'indique pas que طوة se trouve dans la Haute-Égypte, comme le veut l'index (p. 646). قرية من طوة indique suffisamment que طوة est ici le nom d'une *kûrah*, or il n'y a que dans le Delta que

page ligne

nous trouvons un district du nom de *ṭawwah* (cf. J. Maspero et G. Wiet, op. cit., p. 123).

116 13 البجوم a été corrigé à tort en الخوم dans les *Additions* (p. 70). الخوم, simple village, est différent de البجوم, district (cf. J. Maspero et G. Wiet, loc. cit., p. 32).

136 14 ليومين خلتا, lire لليلتين خلتا avec Maqrîzî (i, p. 309, l. 8), ou bien ليومين خلا.

140 12 العبسية, lire القيسية avec Maqrîzî (éd. Wiet, i, p. 337, l. 10, comme le propose la note de M. Guest).

155 3
158 18
168 18
169 6
170 12,14 } الحروى, lire الجروى.

158 17 الحيزة, lire الجيزة.

162 14 حدج, lire حديج.

197 n. 2 : 313, lire 312.

206 13 La forme ابو صير est parfaitement correcte (cf. J. Maspero et G. Wiet, i, p. 53).

213 16 Tinnîs n'existe pas dans les Oasis. Il faut d'ailleurs lire, au lieu de بنّيس : il y séjourna *deux ans*, سنتين (Maqrîzî, ii, p. 339, l. 36).

243 n. 1 : Manbûbah et Anbâbah sont des villages très rapprochés l'un de l'autre, mais non pas un groupement à deux dénominations (voir la carte de l'Égypte au 1 : 50,000).

270 1,15
275 11 } الحيزة, lire الجيزة.

278 2 تهنمت, lire تنهمت.

281 5 لستّة, lire لستّ.

297 n. 4 : 320, lire 330.

305 10,11 Ka'b ibn Yasâr ibn Ḍinnah était le fils de la fille de Khâlid ibn Sinân ; ce dernier était considéré par les

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Berbères comme un prophète. Je n'éprouve aucune difficulté à accepter la correction proposée par M. Torrey ("Al-Kindî's History of the Qâḍîs of Egypt": Amer. Journ. of Semitic Languages, xxvi, 1910, p. 190). M. Gottheil avait édité ابن بنت sans mettre une note (p 6); à son tour, M. Guest donne بن بنت sans *alif*, et il semble nous fournir aussi le texte du manuscrit. La leçon de M. Gottheil est en fait bien meilleure, et il faudrait lire وكان كعبُ بن ضنّة ابنَ بنت خالد فبالغرب كثير من البربر فى موالية. La phrase est alors très compréhensible, et les corrections ne sont pas risquées: ما العرب possède un *alif* en trop, et كثير a été écrit deux fois par le copiste.

327 10 عبد الله, lire عبيد الله.

339 15 جوزتين: M. Torrey (p. 191) propose خرزتين.

351 17 Il faut lire comme p. 352, ll. 2-3 :
احمد بن [رشد بن قال: حدّثنا زيد بن] بشر.

365 3 إتريب. Le *Qâmûs* a encore voulu rapprocher ce nom de la forme grammaticale connue إفعيل; j'insiste à nouveau: le *Qâmûs* n'est pas un livre sur lequel on puisse s'appuyer pour discuter la prononciation des noms géographiques de l'Égypte. D'ailleurs M. Guest suit une méthode discutable: quelle fut pour lui la véritable autorité, Yâqût ou le *Qâmûs*? Yâqût donne *Atrîb*, transcription de ⲁⲧⲣⲏⲃⲓ (cf. J. Maspero et G. Wiet, op. cit., pp 3-4).

369 8 ابو, lire ابى.

378 10 ذو, lire ذا.

384 5 عن يزيد, lire أن (Torrey, p. 193).

403 1 قسره, lire قنبرة.

413 14 حدبج, lire حديج.

425 1 نصر بن نصر, lire بحر بن نصر (Torrey, p. 194), et rajouter cette page à l'index.

page ligne
466 10 La lacune contenait probablement المیمس (p. 467, l. 13).
498 15 بالربلعی, lire بالزیلعی (voir l'index).

*Corrections à l'index.*—الأشمونين, ajouter p. 96. برقة, ajouter p. 287, et lire p. 288 au lieu de 688. سمنّود, lire p. 94 au lieu de 93. شغب, lire p. 143 au lieu de 341. عين شمس, ajouter p. 247. Ajouter مقداس, p. 109. منية الأصبغ, ajouter p. 280. نيميا, ajouter p. 176.

Dans l'article cité plus haut, M. Torrey propose d'autres corrections.

G. WIET.

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JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY, 1914.
Vol. I, Pts. I–II.

We welcome the appearance of this new quarterly devoted to the antiquities of the Nile Valley and published by the Egypt Exploration Fund. It is in form a large quarto of handsome appearance, excellently printed, and with abundant illustrations. Among the articles in the first two numbers are to be distinguished those in which Professor Naville, the veteran excavator of the Fund, describes his discoveries at the so-called Osireion at Abydos. Here Professor Naville has unearthed a gigantic monument consisting of a hall over 100 feet long by 60 feet wide, which he identifies with the Pool of Osiris described by Strabo. It was, when he found it, partly filled with water, down to which staircases extended, and in the middle of which was a kind of island, while in the surrounding walls were sixteen niches or cells reminding him of the "cells of Osiris" referred to in the Book of the Dead. The whole construction is composed of huge blocks of red quartzite and other hard stones measuring as much as 15 by 8 feet, from which Professor Naville concludes that it must be contemporary with the Temple of the Sphinx at Gizeh,

or at any rate must belong to the pyramid-building age. Further excavation may possibly reveal the purpose of this subterranean lake, which is not without parallel in other temples, such as that of Karnak, and may possibly be connected with the "Mysteries" or celebration of the funerary rites of Osiris. In the Journal are also included an article by Professor A. S. Hunt on Papyri and Papyrology, in which he gives a description of a new ode by Sappho containing more than five stanzas, replete with, in his own words, "the simple directness and apparently effortless felicity of thought" of her whom the Greeks called simply "the poetess" as they called Homer "the poet". Dr. Alan Gardiner gives us also the translation of a new inscription now at St. Petersburg containing the predictions in the reign of Amenemhat I of the Twelfth Dynasty of a reader or scribe named Neferrohu. The prophecy, which belongs to the class of those which are fulfilled because written after the event, tells us of woe after woe coming upon Egypt, when the Nile shall dry up until men can walk from bank to bank, the sun shall cease to shine for more than an hour a day and the earth to bear fruit, and when man's hand shall be raised against his brother, until prosperity shall be restored by the advent of a king from the South, who is evidently Amenemhat himself. There is also an excellent article by Captain H. D. Lyons, which explains, for the first time in detail, the new law relating to the excavation and sale of Egyptian antiquities and which should be studied by every tourist. There are further valuable summaries of all recent books and papers dealing with ancient Egypt; and, as Mr. J. G. Milne contributes an article on what he supposes to be a caricature of Antony and Cleopatra scratched on an ibis-jar found at Abydos, it will be seen that appeal is made in the new journal to the general reader as well as to the archæologist.

F. L.

EARLY ZOROASTRIANISM. The Hibbert Lectures for 1912, 2nd series. By J. H. MOULTON, D.Lit., D.D., late Fellow King's College, Cambridge. pp. 468. London: Williams & Norgate, 1913. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

In these lectures the author of the recent Cambridge manual on *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* seeks to establish the historical character of Zarathushtra and his teaching and to trace the origin and development of the reformation effected by that prophet in the ancient religion of Persia. Owing to the scantiness of trustworthy historical material for the early periods the treatment of this theme is necessarily to a great extent speculative, but to this task Dr. Moulton brings an intimate acquaintance with most of the recent research on the subject, amongst which it is noticeable that the sources in Dr. Hastings' great *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* are freely utilized. Upon these data and on his own study of the Avesta, the author, in attempting to reconstruct the history of the unknown past, rears many fresh theories of his own, more or less plausible, if not always convincing. His arguments, mainly linguistic, are always interesting and suggestive, and he frankly invites criticism thereon.

The *Gāthās*, now considered to be the oldest portion of the Avesta and the primary source of our knowledge of Zoroastrianism, are upheld against the denial of their antiquity enshrined in the Introduction to the English translation of the Avesta in the Sacred Books of the East. Since Darmesteter wrote in 1893, however, the great advances in Oriental research have made it clear (as shown by West, Mills, Jackson, and others) that the Gāthā part of the Parsi canon preceded by several centuries the school of Philo of Alexandria, from which Darmesteter believed that some of the leading tenets of Zoroaster had been borrowed. In defending and expounding the originality of the Avesta, Dr. Moulton discards as incorrect

the term *Zend-Avesta* for the sacred book, as well as *Zend* for the language, and uses instead "Gathas" and "Later Avesta" (the "Younger Avesta" of others) for the former and "Gathic" and "Later Avestan" for the latter, though he retains *Vendîdad* (or properly *Vendîdâd*) for the magical ritual, even if it is a misreading for *Vîdêvdât*. "Parsism," to denote the religion of the Parsis, sounds to us less satisfactory or phonetically correct than the familiar "Parsiism".

Although the glimpses obtained of Zoroaster in the Avesta and in Parsi tradition reveal an eminently human personality, no agreement has yet been reached respecting his date. There are strong reasons for placing the prophet and his Gâthâs several generations earlier than the Parsi traditional date of 660–583 B.C., and Dr. Moulton "would like to give it" as the eleventh century B.C. (p. 412); but, in seeking for support for such a conjectural date, is it not taking unwarrantable liberties with his authority to suggest that the estimate for Zoroaster by Xanthus the Lydian, at "six *thousand* years before Xerxes" (p. 77), should be altered to six *hundred* years (p. 410), in the face of the fact that all the other native Greek historians also place Zoroaster's epoch at a date corresponding to about 6000 B.C.? It is indeed difficult to explain why the Greek historians Plutarch, Diogenes, and Hermodorus, writing within two centuries of the advent of Zoroaster according to Parsi tradition, should place that epoch so far back in remote antiquity as six millenniums. In attempting to account also for the remarkable omission by Herodotus of all mention of Zoroaster in describing in considerable detail the system associated with his name, Dr. Moulton concludes that the Father of History obtained his knowledge of this religion "from strata wholly untouched by Zarathushtra's teaching". Is this conclusion justifiable or even probable in the view of the generally accepted fact, summarized by Rawlinson, the chief

exponent of the great historian, that "Herodotus had travelled in Persia and derived much of his information from Persian informants"? In the discussion of these historical points it would, we think, have conduced to greater clearness had the known dates of contemporary writers and inscriptions been more freely cited, and repeated when necessary; for in treating the different aspects of the subjects there is considerable overlapping and incidental references to different periods which, in the absence of specified dates, tends somewhat to confuse the reader.

The relationship of Zoroaster to the Magian cult is descanted on at considerable length. To the Greeks Zoroaster is always a "Magus". In Dr. Moulton's opinion, however, the Magi were indigenous priests or *shamans* of low culture and non-Aryan race, and the name he believes means "slave". They were the leaders of the non-Aryan population of Media, and it was against these Magi that Zoroaster directed his reformation. Yet these same despised "slaves" and aliens contrived to secure the priesthood of the reformed religion!

*Mazdāh* or "The Wise [Lord]" was supposed to be a title of God, introduced by Zoroaster, who usually addresses the supreme god as *Ahura Mazdāh*, the *Ormazd* of later times; but it is found in the inscription of Assur-bani-pal of 668–626 B.C., that is before the epoch of Zoroaster as a teacher, according to the Parsi traditional date. In the same connexion when referring to the famous trilingual inscription of Darius the author invariably spells the name of the place "Behistan", instead of the classical form of *Behistūn*, introduced by Sir H. Rawlinson, the discoverer and decipherer of that inscription. If this be not a recurrent printer's error, some explanation or reference was desirable for the altered form. The latest authoritative exposition of this name, by Dr. Mills in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and*

*Ethics*, ii, 450, makes no mention of such a form: the present-day name of the village is *Būsītūn* or *Bīsutūn*, and the last two syllables are interpreted as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *sthūṇa*, a pillar, with reference to the columnar form of the rock (or, as the present writer might venture to suggest, to the great monolith in its neighbourhood). If the place (lat. 34·75, E. long. 47·35) is really the "Bagistanon" of Diodorus Siculus (A.D. first century), this might indicate for the last syllable the familiar affix *sthān*, which has been generally corrupted into *stan* by European cartographers; but "Behistan" is neither one nor the other.

A novel ethnological theory is propounded to account for the occurrence of the names of Indian Vedic gods in the famous Hittite inscriptions of about 1400 B.C. discovered by Winckler at Boghazi-keui — in about 40 N. latitude and 34·5 E. longitude, that is so far west in Asia Minor as to be almost north-west of Palestine, and only about 400 miles east of Constantinople. So very western a location for proto-Indo-Aryan gods does not fit in with the current theory of the probable date of the Indo-Iranian separation. To explain this difficulty Dr. Moulton imagines "a prehistoric migration out of India backwards to the north-west". Such an hypothesis, however, unsupported by any known fact or probability, cannot, we fear, be seriously considered. Nor do we think that the author has established his conclusion that "Parsism" is practically "independent of Babylon. . . . *The complete freedom of Early Zoroastrianism from such* [Babylonian] *influence* comes out more and more clearly from the inquiry . . . we may dismiss all round the notion that Parsism *owes anything* to the religion of the powerful culture on her west". For none of the arguments adduced appear to us to affect materially Meyer's emphatic conclusion that "Babylon . . . influenced most strongly the civilization and religion of Iran".

Ancient Persia was in direct geographical contact with Babylonia, and the leading traits of the reformed religion, as ascribed to Zoroaster, had for a millennium previously been prominent in Semitic Babylonia, such as the dualistic notion of the perpetual conflict between the primordial powers of Light (and Truth) and Darkness (and Evil), dominated by the supreme monotheistic ideal. It is admitted that the great Mother-Goddess, Ishtar of Babylon, was borrowed by the Iranians for their Anahita, and she is found to be actually present in Zoroastrianism about the fifth century B.C. by the inscriptions. Herodotus records that in his day Iranian tradition related that the religion "came from the Assyrians and the Arabians"; also the fact, noted elsewhere with approval by Dr. Moulton, that "the Persians adopt foreign customs most readily of all men". If this be so, and the Achæmenian Persians borrowed from Egypt, as the author notes, the winged solar disc as a symbol of the deity, why should it be improbable that their predecessors, a few generations before, did not borrow from their immediate and older civilized neighbours, the Babylonians, those elements in their religion which are found to be essentially identical?

There is a very full index, but in a book dealing to a great extent with the origin and migrations of ancient religion and culture, by modern methods, the want of a map is a serious omission.

These are some of the more outstanding points that seem to us to invite notice; but the book deals with a wide range of associated topics, and Dr. Moulton has done good service in putting forward so many ingenious theories, which by provoking discussion will doubtless contribute towards the advance of our knowledge.

L. A. WADDELL.

PALACE AND MOSQUE AT UKHAIḌIR. By GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.

An account of this palace, discovered by Miss Bell in 1909—a real romance of travel—and already described all too briefly in *Amurath to Amurath* and in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, at last appears in a form worthy of it. The book contains a minute description of the palace, to which some forty-four plates are devoted; a description, with plans and illustrations of three small buildings in its vicinity, and new plans of Kasr i Shīrīn, made by Miss Bell.

The book is, further, a comparative study and summing up of all the work that has been done, up to the present, on the genesis of Mohammedan architecture. Here is traced out the way in which the architecture of Mesopotamia, thrown into the melting-pot in the first century of the Flight, and fanned by various influences, part Persian, part Byzantine, yet ever steadied by its own structural tradition, emerged after two centuries, stamped with an individuality of its own. But we learn also its history and evolution at a still earlier period, when, affected first by the plans of Hittite palaces, and later by the wave of Hellenism commencing with the triumphant progress of Alexander and far from extinct under the Parthians, it underwent distinctly marked modifications. The genesis of the early Mohammedan palace plan is traced back in an exhaustive and masterly manner. Ukhaiḍir, though an isolated example on the eastern side of the desert, is shown to be merely one of a series, of which the western side affords numerous examples, testifying to the slow and reluctant transition of a people and their princes from nomad life to settled existence; a culmination desired by Mohammed, who could not help at times expressing his fears that his people would abandon the centres of reunion.

For an explanation of the architectural scheme of Ukhaiḍir we must first look, Miss Bell says, to Sasanian

palaces, such as Kasr i Shīrīn. Their plan is almost always a development of the liwan type. Eastern palaces, we are told, are composed of a number of self-contained "baits", i.e. courts, with halls or liwan groups on the north and south sides, which serve in turn as summer and winter quarters. These "baits" are so arranged that ultimately there is a court left over. This, Miss Bell tells us, is in accordance with Professor Koldeway's brilliant generalization that the palaces of antiquity may be divided into three types, viz., the Babylonian or injunctive plan, as above, which is also that of Ukhaiḍir; the Greek or conjunctive, in which the chambers are so placed that ultimately a court results; and the Italiot or disjunctive, which creates a kind of court by sundering a roof that was originally continuous. The liwan itself is traced back to the khilāni palaces of the Southern Hittites, from one of the thirteenth century B.C. at Zindjirli, through intervening examples of the tenth and seventh centuries. Its evolution is dominated by the monumental gateway. "To the Parthian interpretation of the venerable khilāni scheme the Moslem East has remained unswervingly true." The huge Parthian liwan, rendered possible by the monumental vault, with its interior space unbroken by piers or columns, took the fancy of the Sasanians, and has remained a persistent feature of domestic architecture down almost to the present day.

Ukhaiḍir in many respects derives from Kasr i Shīrīn, but the great hall, corresponding to the monumental gateway of the Hittites, belongs to a system of defence absent from the Sasanian palaces, since these stood in large pleasure gardens. The flanking towers of the encompassing wall are shown to be a device in fortification, purely Eastern in origin, yet, though the legionary camp was powerless to affect the ancient palace plan, it affected the enclosing wall. At Ukhaiḍir we find the four gateways of the Roman camp, one in the centre of each

face, though the Eastern practice had been to have one entrance only. Later, at Sāmarrā, in the great palace of Balkuwārā — almost a town in itself — are found the crossed thoroughfares which were once the Via Principalis and the Via Prætoria.

Chapter v treats of the genesis of the façade and its decoration. Here, again, Miss Bell, with immense learning, traces back each decorative motive and constructive feature through a chain of buildings to its earliest known example, estimating in this way, as can be done by no other method, the exact origin and extent of the streams of influence which, flowing together, have made the style. She refers with approval to the comparison which Dr. Herzfeld has drawn between the triple-arched façade at Hatra, in which the central arch surpasses its flanking arches in height and span, and the façade of the triple Roman triumphal arch. This Hellenistic triple-arched scheme suited the liwan scheme, in that it provided the great central vault opening together with side vaults affording abutment. The two openings into these side vaults, *from the façade*, were, however, an innovation.

Chapter vi treats of the evolution of the mosque plan during the first six centuries of Islam. Tracing its development with minute detail, Miss Bell shows it to have been simply an extension of the idea of the primitive Arab courtyard, which itself was always invested with a kind of sanctity. The mosque at Mecca, of course, was a thing apart, its arrangement could never be the same as that of ordinary mosques, in fact Tabari is quoted as saying: "And such was the mosque (at that time), with the exception of the mosque at Mekkah which they would not imitate." The first mosque was the courtyard of Mohammed's house at Medina; the congregation faced Jerusalem (i.e. north), and on this side there was a roof of woven palm-leaves, supported on wooden columns. After his quarrel with the Jews everything was reversed, a door

was pierced on the northern side and the congregation faced Mekkah (i.e. south). Improvements were carried out by Uthman and later by al-Walīd. The earliest mosques were built on columns, the earliest extant example of a mosque with the arches resting on piers, being, Miss Bell says, probably that at Harran, parts of which may date from the eighth century. It is interesting to learn that the maksūra and the mihrāb were copied, the one from the Imperial enclosed daïs of Byzantine churches, the other from the Christian apse. The mihrāb was received with some reluctance by Islam, it was considered to be the least holy part of the mosque, and the Imam was earnestly warned not to take up his position within it. In keeping with this idea, the exceedingly early mihrāb in the mosque courtyard at Ukhaiḍir is entirely without decoration. Towards the close of the Umayyad period the two steps and a seat of the Prophet's minbar gave way to the high pulpit. Miss Bell thinks this probably came from Christianity also, as the minbar which was set up in the time of 'Abd al-Azīz ibn Marwān (A.D. 685–705) in the mosque of 'Amr is said to have been taken from a Christian church.

Continuing the history of the evolution of the mosque plan, Miss Bell gives on plate 92 a plan of the so-called mosque of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Mayāfārqīn. This plan is of great interest, as it is one of the earliest yet published of a mosque in which the dome plays an important part. Up to this time the arcaded cloister type appears to have prevailed, at least in Mesopotamia and Egypt, though this may not have been the case in Persia. The central part of this mosque dates from the second half of the twelfth century; the wings are later. An illustration of its very finely decorated façade is also given.

The date of Ukhaiḍir is discussed in the last chapter. It cannot be earlier than 711, Miss Bell says, because it contains a mihrāb, a feature not introduced into Islam till

A.D. 709–11, according to Makrizi. Its latest date she considers to be the khalifate of Harūn al-Rāshīd; its most probable date architecturally to be about A.D. 750.

In conclusion, it is not too much to say that under each heading Miss Bell, with the whole available literature at her finger-tips, exhausts her subject, and the book is a model for all time of the scientific method.

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

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CATALOGUE OF THE COINS OF THE GUPTA DYNASTIES AND OF SASANKA, KING OF GAUDA. By JOHN ALLAN, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Coins in the British Museum. 8vo; pp. cxxxviii, 184, with twenty-four plates. London: printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum: 1914.

The time is so short, and the available space in this number of the Journal is so small, that we can do little more than say that this volume is a most worthy successor to the previous Catalogues of Coins issued by the Department of the British Museum to which Mr. Allan belongs, and congratulate him warmly on the work that he has done: he has made his mark at once, publicly, as an authority in the Indian numismatic field. His book gives us a treatment of the Gupta coins which goes far beyond anything that has been previously published about them; and the whole of the Introduction, pp. i to cxxxv, is full of most interesting reading, on the history, geography, and chronology, as well as the technical numismatic details. A specially interesting detail is that Mr. Allan has brought out in § 128 the point that many of the legends are metrical. The fact is incontestable; and an important thing connected with it is that Mr. Allan's detection of it has enabled him to make material improvements in the readings of several of the legends. Further, in Macdonald's *Coin Types* (1905), p. 243, we were told that the oldest known clear example

of a metrical inscription on a coin seemed to be a Greek hexameter line on Byzantine coins which were probably struck by Romanus IV (A.D. 1067–70). It is, thus, doubly interesting to find instances in India dating from seven centuries before that time.

Though, for the reasons stated above, any attempt at a detailed review is out of the question, a few running comments may be made on that part of the Introduction which deals with the history and chronology.

In § 22 for "Mantarāja of Kaurala" read "Maṇṭarāja of Kaurāḷa", or better "Kurāḷa" or "Korāḷa", and in note 6 thereon for "*I.A.*" read "*E.I.*" The only other slip in the book which I detect is *anuṣvāra*, for *anusvāra*, in § 150.

In § 24 Mr. Allan has notified an improvement on my rendering of line 24 of the Allahābād Praśasti of Samudragupta: in the word *garutmadaṅka* the allusion is to charters bearing the Garuḍa seal; not to coins marked with a Garuḍa. And, by the way, I may notify two other improvements in my treatment of that record, which, I think, have not been put on record as yet: in line 16 for °*guṇa-mati-vidushāṁ* read °*guṇa iti vidushāṁ*; and note that in line 30–1 the passage from *pradāna* to *payaḥ* is a verse, in the Pṛithvībhara metre.

In § 38 it might have been noted that another name of Chandragupta II, disclosed by the Sāñchi inscription of A.D. 412, was Dēvarāja: the point, brought to notice by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 160, seems undeniable.

As Mr. Allan has said in § 40, the Vāhlikas of the Mēharaulī iron pillar inscription certainly cannot be the people of Balkh: this is marked plainly by the statement in the record that it was on crossing the Seven Mouths of the Indus that Chandra conquered the Vāhlikas; which statement locates these people somewhere in the south of the modern Baluchistān, some six hundred miles at least

from Balkh, which is even on the north of the Hindu Kush. The identity of the king Chandra of this record still remains more or less open to question. On this point mention may be made, "without prejudice", of a proposal advanced by Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu in 1895 and supported by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri in *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 217, to identify him with a *Mahārāja* Chandravarman, king of Pushkaraṇa (Pōkaraṇ in Jōdhpūr), mentioned in an inscription at Susuniā in the Bānkurā District, Bengal, and to take him as one of the rulers who were subdued by Samudragupta. This proposal may be thought over when we have a facsimile and full treatment of the Susuniā record.

In § 57 Mr. Allan has shown clearly that Puragupta is not Skandagupta; and in § 58 he has made it highly probable Prakāśāditya was not Puragupta.

In § 60 he has brought to notice a new king of the Gupta series, Chandragupta III, with the secondary name Dvādaśāditya.

In § 64 he has reopened the question of the identity of the Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana of the Mandasōr inscription of A.D. 532–33, and has expressed the opinion, in accordance with my original treatment of the record, that the two persons were separate, and that Yaśōdharman was the suzerain of Vishṇuvardhana. The question is not an easy one. But, on the whole, I am inclined to agree with him, and to consider that I acted too complacently and without enough thought when I accepted the opposite view in an *obiter dictum* to which I gave utterance in 1896.

The genealogical table of the Gupta Dynasty on p. cxxxvi might, with advantage, have been placed more prominently, by putting it to face § 9.

This hurried notice does but scanty justice to Mr. Allan's volume: but a glance into the book itself will at once secure the attention of anyone who is interested in the subject with which it deals.

J. F. FLEET.

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE PANJAB MUSEUM, LAHORE. Vol. I: Indo-Greek Coins. Vol. II: Coins of the Mughal Emperors. By R. B. WHITEHEAD, I.C.S. Oxford, 1914.

The publication of these two excellent volumes gives at length a worthy representation of the fine collection of Oriental Coins in the Lahore Museum, and one which would have delighted the heart of the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers, to whom not only the Lahore Collection but Oriental numismatics in general owes so much. Mr. Rodgers devoted many years of poorly remunerated labour to the collection and description of these coins, but the catalogue as it appeared in 1893, without any illustrations, was no credit to the Government of the Panjab. More enlightened and liberal views now prevail, and the present catalogue (published, like the Calcutta Catalogue of 1906–8, by the Clarendon Press) lacks nothing in the way of printing and illustrations to enable it to rank in the first grade of numismatic works.

Mr. R. B. Whitehead must also be congratulated on the fulness and ability of his treatment of the subject. He had already shown himself, in some excellent articles in the numismatic supplements of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to be possessed of all the qualifications necessary for an important and difficult work like this, and it could not have been entrusted to better hands.

The two volumes now published deal with two very distinct branches of numismatics, vol. i with the Indo-Greek Coins, and vol. ii with the coins of the Mughal Emperors of India.

*Volume I*

The acquisition of the Indo-Greek coins from the Bleazby Collection has raised the Lahore cabinet to a high level, and the collection must now be considered a richer one than that of the Indian Museum as illustrated in

Mr. Vincent Smith's fine catalogue, and is indeed richer than the British Museum Collection was in 1886 when Dr. Gardner's catalogue was issued. The number of coins under the various heads dealt with in vol. i may be compared as follows:—

| | *British Museum* (1886). | *Indian Museum* (1906). | *Lahore.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greek . . . . . | 515 | 346 | 698 |
| Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, etc. . . | 464 | 273 | 541 |
| Kushan . . . . . | 377 | 322 | 241 |

In the quality of the collection the Lahore Museum can hardly compete with the British Museum, which contains the unrivalled cabinet brought together by Sir A. Cunningham during his life-long work on Indian archæology and numismatics. It is nevertheless very rich in good and rare specimens, derived from early finds, from Mr. C. J. Rodgers, and from the Bleazby Collection purchased in 1911. The only known coins of one king, Polyxenos (which have been in the White King and Bleazby cabinets), are now in the Lahore Museum. Attention may also be drawn to the rare coins of Strato I, Hippostratos, Telephos, Theophilos, Artemidoros, and Nikias.

Turning to the other coins in this volume, which succeed those of the Greek kings, the first series to be considered is that of the kings called by Mr. Whitehead Indo-Scythian, followed by those of the Indo-Parthians and the Kushāns. In all these there is much of interest in the collection. The name "Sāka" for the first and second of these dynasties, as used by Cunningham, has been given up, without, I think, any sufficient reason. Vincent Smith classifies both classes as Indo-Parthian, and holds that all the kings, including Maues and his successor, are of Arsakidan origin. At present the evidence does not seem to me to justify this view, and

I think Mr. Whitehead was well advised in adhering in the main to Cunningham's classification. On the whole, I think that "Saka" should be used for the kings of the first class and the name Indo-Parthian restricted to those of obviously Parthian affinities.

The Lahore Collection is very full in these classes, it includes the unique gold coin of Athama (already described by Professor Rapson in part vi of *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*) and a fine series of silver coins of Azilises formerly in the Bleazby Collection. Among these the Didrachma (No. 332) showing Lakshmi between two elephants is very remarkable as an early appearance of an Indian divinity (in a still persisting type) on the coins of a foreign invader. In this connexion allusion may be made to the square copper coin of Maues (pl. x, 31), in which the seated figure is described as "a king to front seated cross-legged on square cushion". Mr. Vincent Smith (Indian Museum Cat., p. 40, 12) considers this figure to represent a king or deity. The description of the coin in the B.M. Cat. (p. 71, 20) calls the figure a king, and says there is a sword on his knees, but a close examination of the plates and of three specimens in my possession fails to confirm the presence of a sword, the horizontal line to the right being probably part of the seat. The attitude of the figure seems to justify its identification as a seated Buddha, very like the seated figure on Kanishka's coin (B.M. Cat., pl. xxxii, 14). If this attribution is correct it is probably the earliest appearance of Buddha in coinage. Mr. Vincent Smith has already recognized the figure of Buddha on a coin of Kadaphes (JASB., 1897), of which a good specimen appears in this Catalogue (pl. xvii, 29), and, following the hitherto accepted chronology, he was justified in considering it as prior to the appearance of Buddha on Kanishka's coins, but Maues must take us back to an earlier period.

The classification of the coins of Soter Megas has long been a subject of controversy. His coin types associate him with the Sakas and Parthians, while on other grounds he may be considered as connected with the early Kushāns. At present, until more light is thrown on this subject, it is advisable to place him, as Mr. Whitehead has done, at the end of the Parthian series. The much debated Heraos or Miaos has been placed next to him, but perhaps it would have been better to accept him as a sub-ruler under the early Kushāns and classify the coins accordingly with those of the Kushān kings.

The Kushān series is also full and instructive, and the catalogue should be consulted by all interested in recent discussions on the chronology of this period, and on the development of Buddhist and Hindū worship as shown by figures and emblems on the coins. In addition to the coin of Maues above-mentioned (which I consider to show the figure of a seated Buddha), there are already Buddhist symbols on the "Aspavarma" coins of Azes, the "Sasa" type of Gondophernes, and the coins of Zeionises (all illustrated in this catalogue), and attention may also be drawn to the coin attributed by Mr. Whitehead to Gondophernes and Aspavarma which bears the same symbol (pl. xv, 35). It is not, however, till the establishment of Kushān rule that these symbols become frequent. The Buddha coin of Kadaphes has been alluded to above. Kanishka gives a small place in his pantheon to Buddha and a rather larger one to Śiva, and on the coins of the later Kushāns the figures of Śiva with his bull and Lakshmī become predominant; while Wema-Kadphises also adopts the figure of Śiva with Nandi, accompanied by the Buddhist symbol. The eclectic pantheon appears only on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. These and other similar developments may be advantageously studied in this catalogue, which is more comprehensive than any yet published, containing as it does descriptions of all

known types as well as those in the Lahore Museum. This arrangement is highly to be commended and adds greatly to the usefulness of the Catalogue.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

*(To be continued.)*

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ANCIENT INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FIRST CENTURY A.D. By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge and Fellow of St. John's College. Crown 8vo: pp. viii, 199, with six plates and two maps. Cambridge: the University Press: 1914.

This little book does not aim at covering the same extensive ground with Dr. Barnett's *Antiquities of India*, published last year, but is directed to examining the Sources of Indian history —literary, both indigenous and foreign; and inscriptional and numismatic— for the period from B.C. 1200 to the end of the first century A.D., and to giving a brief sketch of the chronological results. As would of course be the case with anything written by Professor Rapson, it is both good reading and useful. And it is for the most part sound. But, not unnaturally, it lays itself open to a little friendly criticism in some details.

In the first place, the book seems to be not quite up-to-date. On p. 75, in respect of the historical chapters in the Purāṇas it is remarked that many apparent discrepancies and contradictions may disappear when the text has been critically edited. But the long-wanted critical edition was given to us by Mr. Pargiter, in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, a year ago.

And it classes among the literary sources two works which it is really surprising to find accepted so seriously. It is difficult to understand how anyone can propose, in the present day, to attach any historical value to

(1) the Gārgī-Saṁhitā, —or, to speak more correctly, the Yugapurāṇa, which claims to be a chapter of the Gārgī-Saṁhitā,— which is used on p. 131 as an authority for occurrences of the time of Menander and thereabouts; and (2) to the Kālikāchāryakathā, which is used on p. 143 for the uncompromising assertion on p. 184, in respect of the era of B.C. 58, that:—"The establishment of this era marks the defeat of the Çakas in Mālava by a king who is known as Vikramāditya." The Kālikāchāryakathā is a late Jain work, based on legends about a fabulous king Vikramāditya which mix up hopelessly the two eras of B.C. 58 and A.D. 78; and it furnishes absolutely no basis for the real events of that period. As regards the other work, the Yugapurāṇa is an apocryphal production, of the most feeble kind, about which we need say no more, beyond referring to some remarks already made in this Journal, 1912, p. 792–3: we may be sure that it was not written either by Garga, who flourished about A.D. 400, or by Vriddha-Garga, who is to be placed between A.D. 250 and 350, and that it is worth nothing at all historically.

Some of the statements about results challenge remark. For instance, it is said on pp. 20, 107, that Aśōka's empire included all India with the exception of the extreme South. But the records of Aśōka at Brahmagiri and its neighbourhood in Mysore do not mark local sovereignty. The most southern of his inscriptions which do that are those at Girnār in Kāṭhiāwār on the west and at Dhauli and Jaugada in the east. And the indications thus given limit Aśōka's empire in India itself to the territory above the Narbadā and the Mahānadī, with just the exception of the Kaliṅga provinces which he conquered on the eastern coast. The Narbadā and Mahānadī rivers were always a great dividing-line of sovereignty prior to the Mughal period: and there are no sound reasons for thinking that at any time during the earlier period

any great northern power prevailed on the south of that line, or vice versa, except to a small extent occasionally at either end of the line.

On p. 141 we are told that king Moga of the record on the Taxila plate dated in the year 78 "is without doubt to be identified with Maues, since *Moga* is merely a dialectical variant of *Moa*, the Indian equivalent of the name Maues found on the coins". Incidentally, as regards the last remark, are we really to look on *Moa* as the Indian equivalent of *Mauēs*, or *Mauēs* as the Greek equivalent of *Moa*? The latter is, in my opinion, the better way of taking this and many other analogous double presentations of names on the coins. However, the question is as to the identity of Moa-Mauēs and Moga.

The real basis for it, though it does not seem to be stated in this book, is that, unless we do identify the two persons, then Moa-Mauēs has no inscriptions and Moga has no coins. But various other rulers besides Moga could easily be mentioned, in whose cases no coins have been found. And Moa-Mauēs certainly does not stand alone in having no inscriptions: in fact, out of the numerous foreign rulers to whose class he belongs, Antialcidas alone, as stated on p. 134, has been found mentioned in an inscription. Such a basis gives no reason for the proposed identification. Nor does the fact that a medial *g* between vowels is liable to disappear, so that *Moga* and *Moa* may be taken as one and the same name: that is certainly so: but it is as certainly not the case that every such *g* disappears; and, in any circumstances, identity of name does not establish identity of person.

In connection, too, with this identification, it is suggested on p. 142, by way of finding for Moga the early date which is indispensable in making him to be Moa-Mauēs, that the year 78 of the record on the Taxila plate belongs to a reckoning dating from the beginning of the reign of Mithradates I of Parthia in B.C. 171. "But

—[it is added]— it must be admitted that there is no evidence of the existence of such an era." Quite so. And the point that a reckoning running from B.C. 171 would give a date for Moa-Maues in B.C. 93, more or less suitable to the indications of his coins (but in reality too late by about a quarter of a century), is a very insufficient reason for imagining the existence of a reckoning which cannot be traced anywhere else; which the Parthians, who had already the Seleucidan era of B.C. 312 and their own era of B.C. 248, did not at all require; and which could not be of the slightest use for any intelligible purposes to people in India. In this suggestion we have simply another instance of an almost incomprehensible desire to be always discovering some new reckoning, and that, if possible, a foreign one, rather than try to arrange and interpret the Indian records by means of well-established Indian eras.

However free from doubt Professor Rapson may be in his view of this matter, I, for one, have, on my side, no doubt that Moga is certainly not to be identified with Moa-Maues; that this will become undeniably clear if we ever succeed in obtaining coins of Moga; and that the year 78 of the Taxila record of him is the year 78 of the era of B.C. 58, and places him in A.D. 22: for my full statement of the case in this matter see this Journal, 1913, p. 1000.

In this book there are other details, too, in respect of which there is certainly not the absence of doubt at which Professor Rapson has arrived. However, they are moot-points in respect of which he has and is entitled to his convictions, and other people have and are entitled to theirs; and only time can show, by discoveries not yet made, which side is right. Meanwhile, this book, which is probably a forerunner to another treatment of the same subject in which some of the statements made in it may possibly be modified, may be cordially recommended to

students of the matters with which it deals, provided that they read it with the knowledge that there are different opinions about some of those matters.

J. F. FLEET.

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PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS. II: PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. London: Published for the Pali Text Society by Henry Frowde, 1913.

Mrs. Rhys Davids continues and concludes, in the latest of the Pali Text Society's series of translations, a task begun in 1909, namely, the interpreting of those early utterances of Indian Buddhist saints which are known as the Therī- and Theragāthā of the Pali Canon. The Theragāthā (translated "Psalms of the Brethren") appear in the second of these volumes, though the Psalms of the Sisters are comparatively few and the women recluses were naturally less prominent and active in the early history of the Buddhist Sangha. The translator's choice perhaps inclined to placing the Therīs first because of the pathetic interest (which the Introduction to "Psalms of the Sisters" has brought home to all readers) in that brief document. There were also practical reasons to determine the choice; the material for translating the Sisters was more readily accessible, and the text of Dhammapāla's commentary (edited by Professor E. Müller in 1893) is of manageable length. But the same commentator's lengthy work on the many hundreds of stanzas ascribed to the Brethren is still inedited and not easy to obtain in manuscript nowadays, even from Ceylon. And there have been delays and hindrances in bringing out the Psalms of the Brethren to which only a brief allusion is made in the introductory pages, but which the present reviewer is bound to mention, if only to offer a tardy but sincere apology for having had some hand in the hindrances.

The reader, however, will not feel that anything is missing in the work carried through with as much thoroughness as sympathy. Completed it presents to us these individual lives of Brethren of the ancient Buddhist community (for the first time in English). A picture full of colour and detail emerges from within the scanty and perplexing outlines of the original stanzas, and we close the book familiar with the thoughts and ways of men certainly more living and impressive than the bhikkhus who crowd the scene in the prosy pages of the Vinaya.

Mrs. Rhys Davids has followed the method chosen by her for the Therīgāthā. She translates from the Pali Text Society's edition of the text, that of Professor H. Oldenberg. The (metrical) translation of each group of verses is prefaced by a short account of the personage to whom tradition has ascribed them. This account is condensed from Dhammapāla's commentary. The introduction is devoted to remarks on the commentary, an appreciation of the gāthās as poetry, and a study of the spirit of Theras and Therīs, taken as typical thought and feeling of the Buddhist ascetic.

The first part, dealing with Dhammapāla's work, condenses much research into some useful pages for the student and general reader. Mrs. Rhys Davids explains Dhammapāla's good title to a heritage of tradition, going back (through the ancient Siñhalese *Aṭṭhakathā*) even to the oral testimony of some who were of the earlier generation of Theras. It is true that Dhammapāla, in his mediæval way, leaves a number of difficulties for modern curiosity to solve as best it can by ransacking Piṭaka texts, Indian lore in Sanskrit books, and whatever else the Palist is obliged to lay by in his storehouse. But then the omissions serve as a spur to research, while, as illustration of typical Buddhist lives, Dhammapāla's work has its particular value. There are also indications here and there of a certain nearness to the traditions

enshrined elsewhere than in Pali and hints of some of the influences that wrought upon Theravāda Buddhism between the fixing of the Pali Canon and the period of the Commentators.

The commentary is rendered here in abridged form; such legends are selected as illustrate the verses themselves, rather than those that take the personages back to a time some thousands of æons before the first meeting with "Our Buddha". Grammatical notes (of which Dhammapāla is never very liberal) are mostly not reproduced. Mrs. Rhys Davids points out (p. xxvi) that at times the utility of Dhammapāla's work is "at zero-point, e.g. in those poems which are sermons, e.g. ccxxxv [the example cited is Kappina's discourse to the sisters], or collections of folk-philosophy or gnomic runes, e.g. clxxii [the aged Bākula's saws on procrastination and talk], or hymns of general import, cciv [Mettaji praises the Buddha], cxvii [Yasa's rapid conversion]".

But he had an immense store of edifying stories, and, allowing for all that may have been arranged for edification, Mrs. Rhys Davids sees no necessity for scepticism as to all the traditions held by this orthodox ācariya. She holds that there is no good reason to see in most of the names of theras "literary fictions", nor in many of the thera-verses "literary concoctions".

The names, indeed, are chiefly of importance for those who must collect every scrap of tradition to trace the kinship of Buddhist schools in their respective stores of legends and sayings, carried far and wide through Asia in various languages. As to the authentic existence of the personages, it may be either taken for granted or denied without any great change in the final impression they leave with us. The matter for study in these typical verses and legends is the action on men's minds of an emancipating doctrine and of a new discipline, the influence of a mighty personality. It costs much labour

to wring this knowledge from such documents as the Theragāthā, and we cannot but offer a tribute of gratitude to those who take them in hand, undaunted by their obscurity. In these cases the second translator of a text often achieves a great advance upon the first without effacing the merit of the earlier work. Dr. Neumann's German translation is of course mentioned by Mrs. Rhys Davids among the aids available in grappling with the difficulties of the Pali; and these are not few.

There is one method of conscientious translation which leaves ancient literary monuments still remote and still enigmatic. But the task which Mrs. Rhys Davids has made particularly her own is to explore intimately and reconstruct with minute care. Students of some of her other works will remember that Buddhist discussions and teachings on the mind, the will, and so forth are explained and commented in the modern technical terms of psychology as the terms best fitted to bring out the essential features of the system. The ideas and ideals of the early Buddhists—revealed so far as words can reveal them—are then compared, as occasion arises, with the ideas and ideals of the West. In the present work the exploration is continued with no less care and zeal than in the field of systematic mental science. But in the Theragāthā the matter to be interpreted is perhaps even more elusive—some elements of emotion are here. Verse such as the Theragāthā may be treated either as unthinking simple self-revelation or as literary art. The translator would have us listen attentively, to hear now the one and now the other note in the Psalms. With this aim she has prepared the reader by a study of the features most characteristic of the gāthās, such as joy in the sense of emancipation, devout remembrance of the Buddha, or love of nature and the forest life. With subtlety and sympathy she points out the differences of temperament, opportunity, and age

of the holy men (some were boys, some aged and feeble, some were rough of speech, some certainly poets).

As to the main part of the theras' verse, the translator admits from time to time that it was difficult to "get poetry" from it. It is difficult, therefore, to see why the gāthās were all forced into metrical form. The very honesty and scholarly exactness of the translator are the cause, in many instances, that the blank-verse or other metre jars upon the ear as simply quite unsuited to the matter and words, distracting the mind from the thought conveyed rather than making it clear and acceptable. Stanzas in which conventional terms of Buddhism and phrases such as "fivefold organism", "purview celestial have I clarified", "the confluence of the factors five", "a thoroughbred", and so on, are better put in a setting of plain, straightforward prose. If this had been done there would still have been abundant opportunity for the rhythmic treatment which the translator gives with admirable effect to the utterances of some theras in their less doctrinal moments. Instances (chosen among a very large number) are stanzas 32, 151, 152, 191 ff., 307 ff., 507 ff. The translation of Tāḷapuṭa's long and beautiful hymn (where the translator justly notes the telling effect of the metre in the Pali) is a thing to be read with something more than pleasure. In passing we may note the forceful and felicitous renderings, for instance, of compound words. An example is (1094) *bhayajananim dukkhâvahaṃ taṇhâlataṃ bahuvidhânuvattaniṃ*, translated:

"This creeper of Desire,
With all its tendrils twining far and strong,
Breeder of many fears,
Bearer of pain and woe";

and in another passage (1144) the English:

"There on the mountain, where no crowd can come,
Shalt find thy joy,"

exactly reflects in its clear simplicity the Pali

*anākule tattha nage ramissasi.*

But in the same poem the translation of the phrase (1099) *samathehi yutto* by "yoked with avenues of calm" is not easily justified, unless the superfluous word "avenues" reproduces an amplified rendering by the commentator. Even so the two metaphors together eclipse each other's sense completely and we cannot tell what is meant.

But such points of detail cannot fairly take up too much space in a review of this valuable work as a whole. Mrs. Rhys Davids, it has been already observed, has had well in view the needs of the general reader and the inquirer who is not a student in the academic sense of the word. She has spared no labour to make the obscure Buddhist phraseology mean something to him, to make the most perplexing verses reveal all that they hide of emotion and thought. A great and characteristic merit of the whole work is that here the scholar refrains from that adapting which tempts, perhaps too often, the translator of nowadays, eager to make the East morally useful to the West. Mrs. Rhys Davids does not try to present early Buddhist language and ideas in certain words and general phrases which are persuasive for us, even imperative, by their associations. She holds that the Buddhist ideal is able to do without any aid but its own greatness and, besides, with the conscience of the scholar, she often sacrifices effect willingly for faithfulness to the Pali original. And the practical Palist is not forgotten. The translation is therefore enriched with a number of notes on Pali words and phrases and literal renderings of many which have been translated freely in the verse. In a number of instances the mediæval commentator's explanations are given in his own words.

Those concerned with Pali lexicography will find some

stimulating reminders that there is still much to be done, and will profit by the notes and appendices. Finally there are many very valuable references to parallel passages in Piṭaka texts, the Milindapañha, the Divyāvadāna, or the Abhidhammatthasangha, and stores from the encyclopædic Buddhaghosa. When parallels are missing there are indications of many points that call for further research.

A longer analysis of this new volume is not necessary. We can but hope that wherever new students are hovering on the brink of Pali Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Psalms of the Brethren* will come into their hands and stay there till it has done its good work as a stimulus and an example.

M. H. B.

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THE YAMAKA, being the sixth book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. Edited by CAROLINE RHYS DAVIDS, M.A.; assisted by MARY C. FOLEY, B.Sc., MABEL HUNT, CECILIA DIBBEN, and MAY SMITH. Pali Text Society. Vol. I, 1911; Vol. II, 1913. Oxford University Press.

The Abhidhamma as an essential part of the Buddhist Canon has had its full share of labour from the Pali Text Society. Since the Puggalapaññatti was edited with an introduction by the late Dr. Richard Morris in 1883 the books of the third Piṭaka have gradually appeared, namely, the Dhammasangani (E. Müller) in 1885, the Dhātukathā (E. K. Goonaratne) in 1892, the Kathāvatthu (A. Taylor) in 1894, 1895, the Vibhanga (C. A. F. Rhys Davids) in 1904, and the Dukapaṭṭhāna (C. A. F. Rhys Davids) 1906. Among later publications of the Society the Yamaka (in two volumes) may be added to this list, edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, who does readers the good service of prefacing both the first and second parts with an introduction. Without the aid of an editor already versed in the style of the Abhidhamma books (which the

Yamaka exhibits in an aggravated form) it would be difficult to face the tangle of questions, turned first this way and then that, abrupt statements, and endless repetitions of which the "Book of Pairs" consists.

The editor, equipped with knowledge won formerly in translating the Dhammasangani with Buddhaghosa's commentary, discusses the probable use (in the Theravāda schools) of expositions of this kind. She concludes that the "analysis of term and concept", which is the chief feature of the bewildering catechism placed before us, was a method for reaching clearness and consistency of concepts. Minds chastened by the Theravāda discipline were to work at analysis with the one view—deliverance—and to avoid speculation. The thinking energy was to be exercised in a certain set way on certain statements as to which no doubt or question was raised. As may be seen by study of some typical chapters of the Yamaka, these statements concerned all varieties of rebirth. They might be called—so brief are they—mere formulas for the recomposition of beings or lives on various planes of existence; in other words, beings of various grades of intelligence and sense-development. The use of these exercises can be divined by those who have studied the Suttapiṭaka thoroughly. There is in fact no other satisfactory way of approaching the Abhidhamma.

As to the method employed in this text Mrs. Rhys Davids observes that the Abhidhamma teachers applied logical methods, but there is "no evidence that they had clearly formulated or abstracted" (as logic) the procedure kept up all through the Yamaka. But she is inclined to think that the work of the Buddhists as founders of Indian logic was begun within the period when the Pali Abhidhamma was compiled.

The Yamaka would be hard reading at the best, but even Buddhaghosa leaves us in the lurch. Mrs. Rhys Davids quotes his advice to those in difficulties with the

commentary: they should "learn by waiting on a teacher and listening attentively". This is not encouraging; but in the introduction to the second volume we find that the editor has followed Buddhaghosa's advice and approached a Buddhist centre of learning for further enlightenment. By the good offices of Mrs. Rhys Davids' valued collaborator, Mr. S. Z. Aung, some questions drawn up in writing were duly forwarded, and the edition of the Yamaka is enriched by a Pali dissertation from the pen of the venerable Ledi Sadaw of Mandalay. The chapters added by the distinguished thera should be carefully read by those whose excuse for not reading modern Pali is that the Burmese and Sinhalese characters are almost as great a trial in print as on palm-leaf. The Ledi Sadaw's contribution to these volumes has the advantage of the Pali Text Society's admirable print and paper, and is welcomed with words of preface and appreciation from the editor. Mrs. Rhys Davids has been happily inspired to make the publication of the old Abhidhamma text an occasion for readers to learn the views of a noted orthodox scholar in a branch of Buddhist study specially associated for many centuries with the pious and learned Doctors of Burma.

M. H. B.

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A MANUAL OF COLLOQUIAL HINDUSTANI AND BENGALI. By N. C. CHATTERJEE, Superintendent Board of Examiners, Calcutta. Published at Calcutta by the Author, 1914. Price, Rs. 2.8.

Here is a book which, incidentally, supplies a test to the phonetic doctrines of the Rev. J. Knowles on the one hand, and the advocates of the application of the I.P.A. script to Indian languages on the other. I do not think that it has been noticed that Indian alphabets can be, and are, used phonetically to express current pronunciation. Thus, in Bengali, people write *karitechi*, "I am doing," but say

*kac-ci*. They write *giyāchilām*, "I had gone," but say *gec-lum*. They write *yāïtechi*, "I am in the act of going," but say *jāc-ci*, and so on. Mr. Chatterjee simply transliterates the vernacular phonetic script into that of the Geneva Convention. He distinguishes between the normal and *vikṛta* pronunciations of *a* and *e* by using an italic letter to represent the former, and a roman letter for the latter. Otherwise, he uses the transliteration in use in this Journal, except that he writes *ch*, *chh*, instead of *c*, *ch*, and makes one or two other trifling changes chiefly in the use of diacritical marks. How would the Calcutta pronunciation of *āsitechen*, "he is in the act of coming," be represented in the three scripts before us? Mr. Chatterjee writes *āschen*, Mr. Knowles would write *ascen*, and Mr. Daniel Jones, noting that dental *s* in Bengali is now pronounced as palatal *ś*, would write *aʃtʃen*. I need not continue the comparison. It suffices to say that a transliteration of Bengali phonetic script into Geneva script enables the learner to read the phonetic writing commonly used in novels to represent conversation.

The simplest means of showing Mr. Chatterjee's method of teaching is to quote an example at random from p. 19. (The book contains about 750 such sentences in English, Hindustani, and Bengali.)

6. The wall is cracked. Call the mason to come and mend it.

H. Dīwār phaṭ-gaˌī hai; rāj-ko bulā-kar marammat karāo.

B. Del-ṭā chir kheye (*or* pheṭe) geche: rāj mistirī-ke ḍākiye eṭā sārte bala.

Mr. Chatterjee's idea in collecting these sentences is best expressed in his own words. "The object of this little volume is to help Europeans, or any foreigner with a fair knowledge of English, to learn to talk and understand

colloquial Hindustani or Bengali, as spoken in ordinary daily life. An attempt to first learn the alphabet of a foreign language is a mistake and waste of time. . . . The manual further aims at teaching these languages in complete short sentences and not by detached words. Systematic study should follow and be built up on oral lessons. . . . Translating does not mean putting one word for another, but expressing the thought and idiom of one language in the thought and idiom of another."

This is not the place to discuss these generalizations. I will only say that I have found Mr. Chatterjee's vernacular sentences very useful in reviving fading memories of the spoken language of Bengal, and also as a reminder of the pronunciation of Calcutta and its vicinity. One practical difficulty in teaching Bengali is that there are many provincial pronunciations. This even affects the writing of poetry, which is usually composed in a compromise between literary Bengali and one or other of the local speeches, as, for instance, Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's lines beginning—

ār kata dūre niye yābe more,
he sundarī ?
bala kon pār bhiḍibe tomār
sonār tarī ?

Here, *niye yābe more* is the Calcutta pronunciation of the literary *laïyā yāïbe āmāke.*

Mr. Chatterjee's little book is a very interesting phonetic record of the popular speech of Calcutta. Of the Hindustani sentences I do not venture to write. But they provide an easy means of comparing the vocabulary and phonology of sister languages. Compare, for instance, the phrases—

Ghũs kā denā aur lenā donõ burā hai.
Ghuṣ dewā· bā newā duï-i a-nyāy.

Even in such a vernacular expression Bengali is still a little nearer the classical form than Hindi. Teachers

and learners alike will find in this little book a useful collection of phrases such as do not often occur in books. In the Bengali portion they will even discover words which are not found in dictionaries.

J. D. A.

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ESAGIL OU LE TEMPLE DE BEL-MARDUK À BABYLONE. Étude Documentaire par le Père SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut; Étude arithmétique et architectonique, par M. MARCEL DIEULAFOY, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale: Librarie Klincksieck, 1913.

Quite a romance attaches to the publication which is now before us, in consequence of the document in question —a large tablet in Babylonian characters—having been for a time in the hands of the late George Smith, who published a condensed description of its principal contents in the *Athenæum* for February 12, 1876. Unfortunately fate, more than unkind, cut this scholar off in the prime of his usefulness, so that he never had an opportunity to publish the text of this important inscription, and since his preliminary notice of it, it has been lost to view, notwithstanding public references to its disappearance. The tablet suddenly came to light, however, last year, and forms the subject of Father Scheil's noteworthy monograph.

It is a beautifully written tablet, 7½ inches high by 4 inches wide, inscribed with thirty-nine lines of writing in seven paragraphs on the obverse, and eleven lines in three paragraphs on the reverse. Below the text proper on this side are three wide-spaced lines containing the colophon, showing that the copy was made at Erech in the 83rd year, Seleucus being king.

The first section contains the dimensions of the *du-maḫ* or "sublime sanctuary", with which were associated the

sanctuaries (*du*) of Ištar and Zagaga, and the *azamū* of the "place of Assembly", *Ubšukina*. These did not form portions of the tower, but of Ê-sagila, the great temple of Belus (Bel-Merodach). At this point the dimensions of the structure, which was situated south of the tower, are given. The terrace of Ištar and Zagaga, according to M. Dieulafoy, measured 633⅓ Babylonian feet from north to south, and 270 from east to west. To the east of this again was the great terrace, measuring 540 Babylonian feet wide (from north to south) and 720 long (from east to west). These two structures were centred on a lower platform measuring in total depth from east to west 990 feet. The total width of the lower terrace (whereon was situated the higher central portion) was 1,200 feet.

The great temple-tower, called Ê-temen-an-ki, "the house of the foundation of heaven and earth," was situated west and a little south of this. One first crossed the great courtyard—the terrace of Ê-temen-an-ki—measuring 1,200 Babylonian feet wide, and of the same depth from east to west.

But before proceeding to describe the tower itself, the structures of the platform of the tower must be dealt with. The description of this is given in paragraph 3, from which we have the names of the gates—the sublime gate, the gate of the rising sun (the eastern gate was apparently that giving admission to the temple Ê-sagila), the great gate, the gate of the Lamassu (protecting genius), the gate of abundance, and the gate of the glorious wonder (*ka u-di-barra*)—altogether six gates giving access to (the platform or terrace), which was used for the ceremonies of the Êkur ("temple of the land") on the sides of the place of the Assembly, shutting in (or opening upon) Ê-sagila and the enclosure (of ?) the gate Ka-silm-šu-lila. Only six gates are enumerated and totalled, but the plan drawn up by Koldewey shows nine. This would point to the description of the fanes having been drawn up at

a late date, when the cells running along the south-west wall had been carried right along, blocking, apparently, three of the gates.

Within the enclosure of the terrace, near the south-west wall, lay the *ki-gallu*$^{m}$ or platform of the temple-tower, measuring 600 Babylonian feet each way. This is the base of the first stage (according to Herodotus), and the substructure (*kigallu*) (§ 4) of the world-renowned tower itself. At the south-eastern end of this, again, lay the *kigallu* proper (§ 5)—its lowest stage—which measured 300 "enlarged" feet each way. This rose to a height of 120 Babylonian feet above the platform upon which it stood.

The description and statements of the dimensions of this portion are followed on the tablet (§ 6) by a list of the chapels or sanctuaries of the tower. On the east lay the sanctuary of Merodach, 45 (cubits ?) long, 40 wide: that of Nabû and Tasmêtu$^{m}$ having the same dimensions; on the north, in couples, were the temples of Êa and Nusku; on the south, the temple of Anu and Sin; on the west, the *Tu'um* and the house of the net; and behind this, facing the "gate of the vessels", the house of the couch.

The association of the net (*nam'ištu*$^{m}$) with the *tu'um* suggests that the latter is the Heb. *Tehom*, or "deep", the concrete idea of the deified Tiawath (*Tiamatu*) of the Babylonian Creation-story. As is well-known, the latter was feminine, and conceived in the form of a dragon or great serpent, and it seems not improbable that the divine prefix, being absent before *Tu'um*, some symbolical "sea" or similar erection may be intended. No image of the sea-dragon Timat is mentioned here, otherwise the dragon whose image Daniel so mysteriously destroyed (see Bel and the Dragon) might be compared. Perhaps her image was in the Temple of the Net, for it is not by any means improbable that the priests of Bel practised the deceit attributed to them. There is no

evidence, on the other hand, that the Babylonians worshipped the Dragon of Chaos, and it is moreover exceedingly unlikely that Cyrus believed either in Bel or in that mythological creature. That the scene of Daniel's trap to catch the three score and ten priests of Bel, and to destroy the dragon with seethed balls of pitch, fat, and hair, causing the dragon to "burst in sunder", may have been laid here, is exceedingly probable.

Facing this was the house of the vessels and a covered court shut in. The couch in the god's chamber was 9 cubits long by 4 cubits wide, and that and the throne set there formed two pieces. This "abode" of the god seems to have had four gates—the gate of the Rising, that of the south, that of the Setting, and that of the north. Apparently it took up a third part of the space on that side—length, width, and height, and its name is described as having been the "*nuḫar* of Babylon".

After this come the dimensions of the stages—six of the seven which constituted the *nuḫar*. The first, which corresponds with Herodotus's third, was 150 feet each way, by 55 feet high; the second was 130 feet square by 30 feet high; the third 100 feet square by 10 feet high; the fourth 85 feet square by 10 feet high; the fifth 70 feet square by 10 feet high; the sixth is omitted, but was supposed by George Smith to have had corresponding dimensions to the three preceding (55 feet square by 10 feet high); whilst the seventh, which was the abode of the god on the summit, was 40 feet long, a fraction under 35 feet wide, and 25 feet high.[1]

The lowest stage is described as being of *im-ru-a*, probably moulded and kneaded clay; the next was of *šim-bi*, in Babylonian *ellu*, "bright," probably enamelled brick; whilst the third, fourth, and fifth are described by the character *u*, "to ride," but here meaning, perhaps,

[1] In all these M. Dieulafoy's "enlarged" feet are apparently to be understood.

"rutted," i.e. "recessed" — the common Babylonian moulded decoration. The description of the highest stage or chapel of the god is rendered by Scheil as "variegated up to the top".

The ninth section is simply a statement to the effect that the record gives details of the emplacement, etc., was a copy of an original at Borsippa, and that it had been written out, completed, and made clear.

The tenth section gives the measurements of certain additions which Father Scheil regards as gardens and prairies belonging to the foundation.

After a broad space comes the colophon, which consists of three lines of inscription wide apart. It is as follows:—

"Tablet of Anu-bêl-šunu, son of Anu-balaṭsu-iqbi, descendant of Aḫu'utu, the *Tir-annaite* (= Erechite). Written by Anu-bêl-šunu, son of Nidintu$^{m}$-Anu, descendant of Sin-liki-unnini. Erech, month Chisleu, day 26th, year 83rd, Siluku (Seleucus), king."

The following words are written on the edge (probably between the beginning of the obverse and the end of the reverse):—

"By the will of Anu and Anatu$^{m}$ may (the tablet) remain sound."

This prayer has been fairly well granted, for the document has received very little damage since the scribe completed it in the year 229 B.C., the equivalent of the 83rd year of the Seleucid era.

The copyist to whom we owe this precious record must have been one of an extremely ancient family of scribes, as he traced his descent from Sin-liki-unnini, the traditional writer of the tablets of the Gilgameš-legend, the eleventh of which contains the story of the Flood.

In the elevation of the temple-tower M. Marcel Dieulafoy adheres rigidly to the data of the tablet, and does not insert the possible dimensions of the omitted sixth stage. George Smith, however, believed that it ought to be

restored, and in this I think he was right. At the time the description was written, however, it is just possible that the sixth stage had disappeared, and the seventh—the sanctuary at the top—erected on the fifth stage. My own scheme, based on Smith's data, shows the structure with the missing stage (see Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, London, 1908, Article *Babel, Tower of*). It also has another departure, namely incurved sides to the second stage. This was owing to Smith's opinion as to the meaning of *šim-bi*, a word which he did not reproduce. This we have to render by the Semitic *ellu*, "bright" or "white". Dieulafoy's restoration is, therefore, more correct here.

It is seldom that one has to welcome such an interesting and important architectural document as this. The reproductions of the text are good, and M. Dieulafoy's plans very noteworthy. Professor Scheil's renderings are likewise excellent.

T. G. PINCHES.

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BABYLONIAN LITURGIES: Sumerian texts from the early period and from the Library of Ashurbanipal. For the most part transliterated and translated, with introduction and index, by STEPHEN LANGDON, Shellito Reader of Assyriology, Oxford. With 73 plates. Paris: Geuthner, 1913.

This work consists of an exceedingly important introduction of lii pages and 151 pages of transcriptions, translations, and notes. The number of texts and fragments contained in the seventy-three plates is about 206, so that the amount of new material is considerable. Scientific treatment of these literary productions of the ancient Sumerian priesthood is a predominant feature of Dr. Langdon's work upon them, and the renderings read exceedingly well. Imperfections are naturally inseparable from such work as this, so that one is more justified in

noting the author's successes than his failures, of which, doubtless, he is himself all too conscious, as all true students of these inscriptions—which are often enough without any Semitic rendering—ought to be. The inscriptions are described as being mainly in the British Museum, but eight or nine are in the Edinburgh Royal Museum, and several others are published elsewhere.

The author points out that liturgical services in Babylonia originated among the Sumerians, as the early use of the word *gala-kalû*, "psalmist," shows. In all probability, as this word stands also for "servant" (dialectic *mulu*), the idea contained therein is that of "deacon". An interesting reference to this occurs on p. 32, l. 28 ff. :—

*ée mulu-zu (-bi) la-ba-gub li-zu aba ip-tar*

O temple, thy deacon is not present—who decideth thy future ?

This is rendered in the Semitic version by "Temple, he who knoweth thee", and "The temple, he who knoweth it is not present", etc.

In the next line the rendering of *uš-ku-e* as *lagar-e* (properly *labar-e*, this being a dialectic text) does not seem right. Read therefore *mulu-e* (non-dialectic *gala-e*) *sir-zu (-bi) la-ba-gub li-zu balag-di sir-(nu-dug)*,

"the deacon (knowing) thy chant is not present, thy future to the lyre he singeth [not]."

The chief psalmist or deacon was called in (non-dialectic) Sumerian *gal-maḫa*; and the author points out that king (Bûr-Sin) had his *gala* or *kalê* (the names of whom occur, together with that of the "house of the dulcimer", or, possibly, "music-house").

Females also bore this title (*sal-gala*, dialectic *sal-mulu*) and may have been deaconesses or psalmists. Another word with a similar meaning and translated in Semitic Babylonian in the same way is *lagar*, and to this must be added also the *ir* or "wailer", who was regarded as being

of the same class. Several other ideographs for this word, and their possible meanings, are discussed, as well as the words *lallaru*, *munambû*, *ṣariḫu*, "he who chants to the lyre"; *zammeru*, probably originally "singer" in general, *nâru*, "singer to the harp (?)," or the like.

Interesting is the fact that the god of these *nâru*-singers was Éa, the god of unsearchable wisdom, who, in this connexion, was called *Dunga*, whilst as god of the *kalê* he bore the name of *Lumḫa*, expressed by means of the character for *balaga*, "harp" or "lyre", with the prefix of divinity.

This portion is followed by a disquisition upon the musical instruments, which is of considerable interest. The "kettle-drum" (?) he gives in Sumerian as *ála*, Semitic *álu*; the drum as *ub*, Sem. *uppu*: the tambourine as *liles*, Sem. *lilissu*; another (probably similar) instrument as *meṣi*, Sem. *manzu*; the "double flute" as *šem*, Sem. *ḫalḫallatu*; the ordinary reed-flute as *tigi*, Sem. *tigû*; the flute or flageolet as *gi-gid*, "long-reed," Sem. *mâlilu*; the bagpipe (?) as *gi-di*, Sem. *takaltu*; another bagpipe as *sa-li-ne-lu*, Sem. *pagû*; the dulcimer as *baḫag-di*, Sem. *timbuttu*; an instrument (probably the lyre) as *giš-gu-silim* (thus, apparently, to be read), and meaning "an instrument of sweet tone"; and the lute (?) as *giš-al-gar*.

Many of these are naturally to be regarded as mere suggestions, but the assembling of the words and passages, together with his reasons for the renderings given, is a work of great utility, for which scholars will be thankful. The present writer has his own views as to many of the above words, and thinks more precise definitions may be possible. For the present, however, it is noteworthy that a bilingual list in the British Museum speaks of *masak balaggu*, *masak timbutti*, *masak li'i* (skin of a drum—the Sumerian is *ála*), *masak dubdubbu*, *masak pagû*, and *masak pagûtu*, where the word *masak*, "skin of," implies that all these objects

were instruments of the drum, tambourine, or bagpipe kind, though the harp, especially if supplied with strings of tough hide, would not be excluded.

Dr. Langdon gives on p. xxxv the following translation of an inscription referring to the music of a Babylonian temple:—

"Unto the temple to the accompaniment of the lyre a song of lament we will take.

The liturgists (*zir-zu*) the melody (*sir*) will sing (*izammuru*).

The liturgists a melody of lordly praise will sing.

The liturgist a melody of the lyre will sing.

To the sacred drum and the sacred tambourine they will sing.

To the double flute and bagpipe a holy chant they will sing."

Many other specimens are given, and the notes upon the subject of Babylonian temple-services are exceedingly valuable. Odes and lyrics, it seems, were discouraged. Processions and prostrations were common, as might be expected in an Oriental land. The introduction concludes with remarks on the forms and arrangement of the compositions.

It is needless to say that the 130 pages of transcriptions and translations form a varied corpus of liturgical texts such as no other ancient religion furnishes for such an early date.

T. G. PINCHES.

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April–June, 1914.)

## I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society

*April 7, 1914.*—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Rai Bahadur Charu Chandra Choudhuri.
Babu Gopaldas Choudhuri.
Mr. Mohammed Yamin Khan.
Babu Radha Krishna.
Captain D. L. R. Lorimer, I.A.
Mr. Tajuddin Pir.
The Ven. Samaṇa Puṇṇānanda Swami.
Mr. Narain Singh Sandhu, M.A.
Mr. Muhammad Shahidullah, M.A.
Mr. Asuri Srinivasachari.
Pandit Lingesha Vidyabhusana.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. K. A. C. Creswell read a paper on "The Evolution of the Dome in Persia".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Finn, Mrs. Villiers Stewart, Sir Henry Howorth, Mr. Chisholm, Colonel Plunkett, and Colonel Sykes took part.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 12, 1914, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. N. G. Cholmeley, C.S.I.
Babu Haribhusan De, M.A., B.L.

Mr. Karpur Srinivasa Rao, B.Sc.
Mr. Ghulam Rasul, B.A.
Professor H. G. Rawlinson.

Three nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

The Secretary then read the Annual Report.

## Report of the Council for 1913–14

The steady though small increase in the membership which has taken place for many years past is recorded again this year: the number of Members has increased by nine; and eleven more Libraries have become subscribers to the Journal. The number of new Members elected is fifty-eight. The losses by death have been severe: they include an Honorary Member whose death was recorded at the Anniversary Meeting last year, and six Resident and eight Non-Resident Members, several amongst them being well known to the Society: the names are—

Mr. H. W. Cave.
Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das.
Sir Robert K. Douglas.
Colonel G. E. Gerini.
Count A. de Gubernatis.
Miss Hertz.
Sir William Lee-Warner.
Mr. M. MacCauliffe.
Mr. Herman Miesegaes.
Professor H. C. Norman.
Dr. C. F. Oldham.
Rai Bahadur P. M. Madooray Pillay.
Captain B. E. A. Pritchard.
Dr. T. H. Thornton.
Mr. F. W. Verney.

The list of resignations is but small:—

Mr. E. N. Adler.
Mr. R. A. Becher.
Mr. Ganes Chandra Chandra.
Mr. S. A. Cook.
Rev. B. M. Jones.
Dr. E. M. Modi.
Mrs. F. W. Thomas.

Two persons who were elected as members, Mr. Upendra Krishna Bonerjea and Mr. Satya Prosonna Mukerjee, have not taken up election: and under Rule 25 (*d*) the

following twenty-five persons cease to be Members of the Society:—

Mr. Shah Moniruddin Ahmad.
Mr. Shambhu Dayal Bhatnagar.
Mr. N. N. Bose.
Mr. Hafiz Mahomed Bux.
Mr. Birbhadra Chandra Chowdhuri.
Mr. Muhammad Fazlul-Karim.
Sriman A. Govindacharya Svamin.
Babu Jogendra Nath Gupta.
Principal Talammuz Husain, M.A.
Maung Ba Kin (2).
Rai Brij Behari Lal.
Dr. F. R. Martin.
Mr. Muralidhar Mitter.
Mr. Mirza Kazim Namazi.
Mr. Ahmed Hosein Nomani.
Mr. E. H. Ohtani.
Moung May Oung.
Mr. Saw Hla Pru.
Mr. Mukand Lal Puri.
Mr. Parames Prasanna Roy.
Professor P. Sankaranarayana.
Pandit C. N. Ananta Ramaiya Sastri, M.A.
Mr. T. S. S. Singal.
Sardar Labh Singh.
Sardar Nihal Singh.

Leone Caetani, Principe di Teano, has been elected to the vacancy among the Honorary Members; and fifty-seven Ordinary Members have been elected, as follows:—

Mr. Ghulam Ahmad.
Mr. Gauranganath Bandyopadhyaya, M.A.
Rev. G. S. Belasco.
Mr. Shripad Krishna Belvalkar.
Dr. Pierre Arnold Bernard, Shastri.
Mr. Upendra Krishna Bonerjea.
Mr. Andrew Caldecott.
Rev. David Catt.
Mr. P. S. Ramulu Chetty.
Mr. J. Coatman.
Dr. William Cohn.
Mr. J. N. Datta.
Dr. Muhammad Deen.
Mr. Krishnalal Govindram Dewashrayee.
Lieutenant S. Doraisamy, I.M.S., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
Mr. John R. Egan.
Mr. John Gerald Gardner Gardner-Brown.
Mr. Saurindra Kumar Gupta.
Rev. Robert Harper, M.D.
Mrs. Hervey.
Mr. S. C. Hill, I.E.S. (ret.).
Mr. Mahbubul Huq, M.A.
Mr. Nawal Kishore.
Mr. M. Krishnamachariar, M.A., M.L.
Mr. Har Pratap Singh Kunwar.
Mr. J. E. Lockyer.
Sir Claude Macdonald, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

Babu Kishori Mohan Maitra, M.A.
Professor Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A.
Mr. Sailesh Chandra Majumdar.
Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, M.A.
Rev. C. W. Mitchell.
Mr. J. M. Mitra.
Mr. Satya Prosonna Mukerjee.
Lala Lachmi Narayan.
Dr. Johannes Nobel.
Mr. E. L. Norton, I.C.S.
M. R. Ry. S. Rm. M. Ct. Pethachi Chettiar, Avl.
Pandit C. P. Govinda Pillai.
Pandit C. P. Paramesvaram Pillai.
Mr. G. Hurry Krisha Pillay.
Shrimati Parvatibhai Powar.
Shrimant Sadashiva Rao Powar.
Babu Siva Prosada.
Hakim Syed Shamsullah Qadri.
M. R. Ry. Rao Sahib Gidugu Venketa Ramamurti.
Mr. W. Sheldon Ridge.
Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia.
Mr. Gauri Shankar.
Rev. D. C. Simpson, M.A.
Lala Gulbahar Singh, M.A., LL.B.
Babu Rudra Datta Sinha, M.A., LL.B.
Mr. T. Isaac Tambyah.
Pandit Upendranath Vidyabhusana.
Rev. George Albert Wilder, M.A., D.D.
Mr. S. Azhar Yusoof.
Rev. Dr. Robert Zimmermann, S.J.

This year the accounts are normal in every respect. On the receipts side there is a slight increase in members' subscriptions and in the Journal receipts, and a substantial increase in rents from our tenant Societies. The expenditure is satisfactory: after an investment of £300 in New Zealand Government four per cent Inscribed Stock, there is a balance of £724 at our Bankers; and the receipts for the year are £282 over our expenditure. The Council has just authorized a further purchase of £200 New Zealand Government four per cent Stock: thus the invested funds of the Society now total over £2,600. With so substantial a sum available for any possible future calls, the Council feel that they can carry out some really necessary work: they have authorized a larger expenditure than usual on the Library,

and have undertaken the restoration of some of the more important pictures in the Society's possession.

The Journal has maintained during 1913 its high reputation for both quantity and quality. A special item in it is the Discussion of the Date of Kanishka,—started by a paper by Dr. Thomas, published in the July number, which was evoked by Mr. Kennedy's well-known articles on "The Secret of Kanishka" which appeared in the volume of 1912, and continued by Professor Rapson, Messrs. Fleet, Kennedy, Vincent Smith, and Barnett, Colonel Waddell, Mr. Longworth Dames, and Dr. Hoey, whose observations, along with Dr. Thomas' summing up of his position, were issued in the October number. The Discussion did not succeed in settling the matter: each side retains its original belief,—one that Kanishka began to reign in 58 B.C.; the other that he must be dated from or after A.D. 78. But it has had at any rate the great advantage of bringing together everything which could be said, up to that time, in support of both views.

The thanks of the Society are due to all those who have read papers at the General Meetings of the Society during the year, namely, Dr. and Mrs. Bullock Workman on the "Exploration and Physical Features of the Siachen Glacier"; Mrs. Herbert T. Bulstrode on "A Tour in Mongolia"; Sir Charles Lyall on "Old Arabian Poetry and the Hebrew Literature of the Old Testament"; Mr. F. E. Pargiter on "The Earliest Indian Traditional 'History'"; Dr. B. Moritz on "The Hijaz Railroad"; and Mr. Yoné Noguchi on "No: the Japanese Play of Silence".

Several of these papers were admirably illustrated by lantern slides.

The Oriental Translation Fund has just published the second volume of the "Memoirs of Jahangir", which work was announced last year. The twenty-third volume of this series has now been undertaken, namely, the

# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS.

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SUBSCRIPTIONS ... ... ... ... ... ... | | | | 876 | 19 | 0 |
| Resident Members— | | | | | | |
| 76 at £3 3s. ... ... ... ... ... | 239 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| Advance Subscription—1 at £3 3s.... ... | 3 | 3 | 0 | | | |
| Non-Resident Members— | | | | | | |
| 5 at £1 1s. ... ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| 384 at £1 10s. ... ... ... ... | 576 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Advance Subscriptions ... ... ... | 30 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Arrears received ... ... ... ... | 19 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Part Subscriptions ... ... ... ... | 3 | 3 | 0 | | | |
| | 876 | 19 | 0 | | | |
| RENTS RECEIVED ... ... ... ... ... | | | | 248 | 11 | 6 |
| GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE ... ... ... ... | | | | 210 | 0 | 0 |
| JOURNAL ACCOUNT ... ... ... ... ... | | | | 363 | 9 | 9 |
| Subscriptions ... ... ... ... ... | 256 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Additional copies sold ... ... ... ... | 81 | 13 | 0 | | | |
| Sale of Pamphlets ... ... ... ... | 9 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| Advertisements ... .. ... ... ... | 14 | 3 | 9 | | | |
| Sale of Index ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 18 | 0 | | | |
| | 363 | 9 | 9 | | | |
| DIVIDENDS ... ... ... ... ... ... | | | | 92 | 5 | 10 |
| New South Wales 4 per cent Stock ... ... | 32 | 2 | 0 | | | |
| Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock... | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock (includes June, 1912) ... | 30 | 7 | 2 | | | |
| New Zealand 4 per cent Inscribed Stock ... | 11 | 4 | 0 | | | |
| Local Loans Stock... ... ... ... ... | 13 | 12 | 8 | | | |
| | 92 | 5 | 10 | | | |
| INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS ... ... ... | | | | 25 | 5 | 3 |
| Lloyds Bank, Limited ... ... ... ... | 21 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| Post Office Savings Bank ... ... ... | 4 | 0 | 3 | | | |
| | 25 | 5 | 3 | | | |
| SUNDRY RECEIPTS ... ... ... ... ... | | | | 2 | 2 | 9 |
| | | | | 1,818 | 14 | 1 |
| Balance as at January 1, 1913 ... ... ... | | | | 742 | 14 | 8 |
| | | | | £2,561 | 8 | 9 |

### FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock.
£212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock.
£664 16s. 2d. South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.

*Purchased during year—*
£297 7s. New Zealand Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock.

# PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1913.

## PAYMENTS.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| HOUSE ACCOUNT ... ... ... ... ... | | 585 19 11 |
| Rent ... ... ... ... ... ... | 465 0 0 | |
| Legal expenses ... ... ... ... ... | 1 17 0 | |
| Insurance (including Fire Insurance on Library, £10,000) ... ... ... ... ... | 15 18 0 | |
| Repairs ... ... ... ... ... ... | 32 18 0 | |
| Lighting, Heating, and Water ... ... ... | 45 10 7 | |
| Other expenditure ... ... ... ... | 24 16 4 | |
| | 585 19 11 | |
| SALARIES AND WAGES ... ... ... ... | | 306 6 10 |
| PRINTING AND STATIONERY ... ... ... ... | | 32 11 8 |
| LIBRARY ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 42 11 6 |
| New Books ... ... ... ... ... | 13 3 1 | |
| Binding ... ... ... ... ... ... | 29 8 5 | |
| | 42 11 6 | |
| JOURNAL ACCOUNT ... ... ... ... ... | | 510 11 5 |
| Printing ... ... ... ... ... ... | 442 9 0 | |
| Illustrations ... ... ... ... ... | 23 6 10 | |
| Postage ... ... ... ... ... ... | 44 15 7 | |
| | 510 11 5 | |
| DONATION TO PALI DICTIONARY ... ... ... | | 10 10 0 |
| POSTAGE .... ... ... ... ... ... | | 34 0 4 |
| AUDITOR'S FEE ... ... ... ... ... | | 5 5 0 |
| SUNDRY PAYMENTS ... ... ... ... ... | | 8 12 6 |
| PURCHASE OF £297 7*s.* NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT 4 PER CENT INSCRIBED STOCK ... ... ... | | 300 0 0 |
| | | 1,836 9 2 |
| BALANCE as at December 31, 1913, being cash at Bankers and in hand ... ... ... ... | | 724 19 7 |
| Lloyds Bank, Limited ... ... ... ... | 549 19 4 | |
| Post Office Savings Bank ... ... ... | 171 5 10 | |
| Petty Cash ... ... ... ... ... | 0 11 1 | |
| Postage ... ... ... ... ... ... | 3 3 4 | |
| | 724 19 7 | |
| | | £2,561 8 9 |

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

W. CREWDSON, for the Council.
R. H. MACLEOD, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A., Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, *Hon. Treasurer.* LONDON, *February 5, 1914.*

# SPECIAL FUNDS.

## ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

| 1913. | Receipts. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | 1913. | Payments. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance ... ... ... ... | | 275 13 0 | Dec. 31. | Binding ... ... ... ... | 5 15 5 | |
| | Sales ... ... ... ... | 55 2 6 | | | Postage, 1912 and 1913 ... | 4 4 0 | |
| | Interest ... ... ... ... | 8 2 0 | | | Insurance of Quire Stock at Printers ... ... ... | 1 17 6 | |
| | H. Beveridge, Esq., for part cost of Vol. XXII ... ... | 25 0 0 | | | | | 11 16 11 |
| | | | 88 4 6 | | Balance carried to Summary ... | | 352 0 7 |
| | | | £363 17 6 | | | | £363 17 6 |

## INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance ... ... ... ... | | 139 11 0 | Dec. 31. | Balance carried to Summary ... | 145 3 0 |
| | Subscriptions ... ... ... | 2 2 0 | | | | |
| | Interest ... ... ... | 3 10 0 | | | | |
| | | | 5 12 0 | | | |
| | | | £145 3 0 | | | £145 3 0 |

## PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance ... ... ... ... | | 52 19 10 | Dec. 31. | Vol. IV, Printing ... ... | 36 3 0 | |
| | Sales ... ... ... ... | 20 8 9 | | | ,, Binding ... ... | 7 16 3 | |
| | India Office, for part cost of Vol. IV ... ... ... | 30 0 0 | | | ,, Index ... ... ... | 3 3 0 | |
| | Dividends ... ... ... | 18 0 0 | | | Postage, 1912 and 1913 ... | 2 10 0 | |
| | Interest ... ... ... ... | 1 10 6 | | | | | 49 12 3 |
| | | | 69 19 3 | | Balance carried to Summary ... | | 73 6 10 |
| | | | £122 19 1 | | | | £122 19 1 |

## MONOGRAPH FUND.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance ... ... ... ... | | 61 4 6 | Dec. 31. | Vols. XIII, XIV, Covers, etc. | 7 3 0 | |
| | Sales ... ... ... ... | 15 16 0 | | | Postage, 1912 and 1913 ... | 2 2 0 | |
| | Interest ... ... ... ... | 1 16 2 | | | | | 9 5 0 |
| | | | 17 12 2 | | Balance carried to Summary ... | | 69 11 8 |
| | | | £78 16 8 | | | | £78 16 8 |

## SPECIAL FUNDS (*Continued*).

### MEDAL FUND.

| RECEIPTS. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | PAYMENTS. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1913. | | | | 1913. | | | |
| Jan. 1. | Balance ... ... ... ... | | 31 10 2 | Dec. 31. | Balance carried to Summary ... | | 42 5 10 |
| | Dividends ... ... ... | 9 15 0 | | | | | |
| | Interest ... ... ... ... | 1 0 8 | | | | | |
| | | | 10 15 8 | | | | |
| | | | £42 5 10 | | | | £42 5 10 |

### PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance ... ... ... ... | | 25 8 1 | Dec. 31. | Cost of Medal ... ... ... | 5 0 0 | |
| | Dividends ... ... ... | 19 7 4 | | | Printing, etc. ... ... ... | 9 4 0 | |
| | Interest ... ... ... ... | 0 15 0 | | | Book Prizes and Binding ... ... | 5 16 0 | |
| | | | 20 2 4 | | | | 20 10 0 |
| | | | | | Balance carried to Summary ... | | 25 10 5 |
| | | | £45 10 5 | | | | £45 10 5 |

### *SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND ... | 352 0 7 | Cash at Bankers—On Deposit Account ... ... | 536 12 6 |
| INDIA EXPLORATION FUND ... ... | 145 3 0 | On Current Account ... ... | 171 5 10 |
| PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND ... ... | 73 6 10 | | |
| MONOGRAPH FUND ... ... ... | 69 11 8 | | |
| MEDAL FUND ... ... ... ... | 42 5 10 | | |
| PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND ... | 25 10 5 | | |
| | £707 18 4 | | £707 18 4 |

FUNDS.

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable B Stock (Prize Publication Fund).

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable A Stock (Medal Fund).

£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable B Stock (Public School Medal Fund).

J. KENNEDY, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investments and Bank balances.

W. CREWDSON, for the Council.
R. H. MACLEOD, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

*February 5, 1914.*

"Vis and Ramin", translated by Mr. O. Wardrop: this is one of the oldest books in Georgian literature; it is based on an old Pahlavi text, now lost, and is of considerable interest to students of Eastern epic literature.

In the Monograph Series, originated in 1902, the Council has sanctioned the production of the sixteenth volume, "Tablets from Lagaš and other Babylonian Sites in the possession of Mr. Randolph Berens," by Dr. T. G. Pinches. Generous financial assistance has been promised by Mr. Berens in the production of this work.

The Prize Publication Fund brought out during the year, with financial assistance from the India Office, its fourth volume—"The Life-History of a Brāhūī" by Mr. Denys Bray, which has been very well received.

The Society's Dinner took place on the 5th May, 1913, and was largely attended. Among the guests were the French Ambassador and the representatives of France, Germany, and Belgium at the Colonial Conference which was held in London during the first week in May.

The Public Schools Gold Medal for 1912–13 was won by Mr. S. P. Martin, of Merchant Taylors' School, by his Essay on Dupleix; and the presentation was made by Lord Sydenham on the 10th June.

By the death of Mrs. Forlong in August last the Society became entitled to a legacy of £5,000, which had been left to it by the late Major-General Forlong, on his death in 1904, as a Trust for the promotion of Oriental Studies, but which was not to come to the Society until the death of his wife. Major-General Forlong was a member of the Society from 1879 until his death, and took a very great interest in the project of forming an Oriental School of Languages and Literature in London which the Society had so much at heart, and to which under the able guidance of its President, Lord Reay, it has devoted much time and thought. It is expected that the new School of Oriental Languages

will be in working order early in 1915, and then the Society will make such arrangements as are feasible with the Governing Body of the School for the promotion of Oriental Studies as directed under Major-General Forlong's will.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended. The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to the Auditors, Mr. Crewdson, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Waterhouse.

Under Rule 29 Lord Reay retires from the office of President.

The Council recommend his re-election.

Under Rule 29 Sir Mortimer Durand retires from the office of Director.

The Council recommend his re-election.

Under Rule 31 Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from their respective offices of Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretary, and Honorary Librarian.

The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 32 the following Ordinary Members of Council retire:—

Professor Barnett.
Mr. Blagden.
Mr. Ellis.
Professor Margoliouth.

The Council recommend in their stead:—

Professor T. W. Arnold.
Sir Claude Macdonald.
Colonel P. M. Sykes.
Dr. F. W. Thomas.

Under Rule 81

Mr. Crewdson,
Mr. Sewell,
Mr. Waterhouse

are nominated auditors for the ensuing year.

MR. LONGWORTH DAMES moved the adoption of the Report. He said they would all agree that the position it disclosed was very satisfactory. Financially they were in an extremely sound position, and would now be able to carry out more fully the objects to which the Society was devoted. Their activities might not be very large at any one time, but they continued steadily from year to year, and increased as the membership increased. The work of the Society during the past year was certainly not below the standard of former years. A number of very interesting papers had been read, and the Journal had maintained its high standard. Perhaps to many of them the most interesting feature of the year was the discussion which took place on the date of Kanishka. Probably all those who took part in it retained their original opinions and thought the other side was wrong; but still a few probably had some sort of idea in the bottom of their minds that the other side had brought forward some pretty strong arguments, though they might not be convincing. There the matter would have to rest until some more convincing evidence one way or another was discovered. Among the most interesting papers of the year it might be permissible to allude to Sir Charles Lyall's fascinating study on Arabian and Hebrew poetry. Mr. Denys Bray's illuminating *Life-history of a Brāhūī* also was a noteworthy piece of work. The part taken by the Society in promoting the project for a School of Oriental Languages would doubtless meet with the approval of all, especially now that it was taking practical shape and might be expected to be soon in active operation.

MAJOR C. E. LUARD, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said they were indebted to the Council and officers for the way in which they had managed their affairs in the past year. The balance-sheet, that important indicator of their healthy condition, was excellent in every way. But they ought to remember that in another

five years or so they might possibly be obliged to leave those premises and seek accommodation elsewhere, and moving was always an expensive undertaking. It behoved all of them, therefore, and especially those still in India, to endeavour to increase their membership. There was a considerable field for such increase in India, for educated Indians were becoming more and more interested in the critical study of the history, ethnology, archæology, and antiquities of their own country. This was shown by the success of such organizations as the lately started Punjab Historical Society. Even in other parts of the country, such as Central India, where he himself had been serving, though they lacked large towns, there was nevertheless a considerable number of educated Indians interested in such studies and ready to take part in them if only they had some assistance in shaping their course. They must have support and direction in their work, and in a sense this could be provided by the Society, but only indirectly, as in India they had to rely entirely on the Journal to bring Indians into contact with the work of the Society, and this fact ought to be considered in the preparation of the Journal. He did not mean to say that they should not publish technical papers as at present, for that was their *métier*, but he believed there ought to be a certain number of contributions of more general interest, such as those of Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Pargiter, which dealt with particular historical periods and episodes in a more general way. Another practical proposal he wished to make was that at the end of each number of the Journal there should be forms of membership which could be filled in and torn out, as many people would fill in a form who would not sit down and write a letter. On these there might be a brief statement of the advantages of membership, and the subscription should be stated both in sterling and rupees. He thought that if it were possible for Indian members to pay their subscriptions in rupees to an agent in Bombay

or elsewhere it would be an advantage. It was a fact that even educated Indians in many cases were absolutely at a loss when they had to send money home, since the conversion from rupees to sterling was strange to them. If they could pay their subscriptions to an agent in India he thought that would induce people to join.

Many of them were present at the Mansion House meeting of the previous week in support of the projected School of Oriental Studies. He thought the proceedings were typical of the way we did things in this country; we could not get a School of Oriental Studies without going to the City for financial help. They were to be represented on the Council of the School, and thereby had undertaken a new responsibility. It was their duty to see that the School did not become entirely commercialized. As the City found a good deal of the money, it would have a considerable voice in running the School; but it was the duty of the Society to watch and protect the interests of knowledge—pure knowledge, as such. He had no more to say, except to express the thanks of the Society in general to the Council for managing their business so well, and last, but not least, to their most competent and courteous Secretary, Miss Hughes.

THE PRESIDENT: At previous meetings of the Society I have referred to the serious losses we have sustained by the death during the past year of members of such distinction as Sir Robert Douglas, Sir William Lee-Warner, Mr. Macauliffe, and Dr. Thornton, and this is why I only mention it without further comment. Generally, I think the Report is cheering in the survey it gives of our work for the past year. The suggestions made by Major Luard for increasing our membership are certainly well worthy of our consideration, and I can assure him that the Council will carefully consider the very important question of the recruitment of our

membership in India. Personally, I regret that there are not more members in England, and especially that the number of retired civilians belonging to the Society is not so large as it might be.

Major Luard has referred to the Mansion House meeting last week with regard to the School of Oriental Studies to be established at the London Institution. The meeting marked a great step in advance toward this long-needed provision for our Empire. Regarding the risk of which Major Luard has spoken that the School may be too commercialized, I think I can satisfy him that the Board of Governors is so constituted that that peril will certainly not arise. It would be a reactionary movement if the School were no longer to be a centre for the learned philologist, archæologist, and epigraphist. At present the commercial element is too much ignored, but to fall into the other extreme and make the institution a purely commercial school would be an undoubted mistake. A fact to bear in mind is that the School must ultimately be incorporated in the University at London, and then it will come partly under the Board of Oriental Studies of the University, and that will be a guarantee for maintaining the present standard, for improving it, and for securing more postgraduate students than hitherto for research in connexion with all the materials which are to be found in the Metropolis.

I wish to make clear a point I mentioned at the Mansion House meeting, that in starting this School we are not inaugurating an entirely new institution. There is amongst the public an impression that there is nothing of the kind at the present moment in London to provide for the needs of those who wish to attend Oriental studies. That is not so, and it would be very ungrateful not to recognize the work that has been done in the past under very adverse circumstances, both at University College and at King's College. We have

always had a supply of distinguished and learned professors at those colleges, but their students have been so few, owing to no fault of their own, and they have not been adequately rewarded. If I remind you that at University College no less than about 600 civilians have had their Oriental linguistic training, that alone indicates what has been done in the past. The new School will have a better equipment, and will concentrate the various branches of Oriental studies. It will attract more distinguished men into fields of research which have been too long neglected here. The neglect indeed, considering our responsibilities toward the Orient, has been an absolute scandal. In the Report of the Committee of which I was Chairman we were most careful not to ask for too much money; the scheme was based on the minimum sum required to put the School on a solid footing. We may hope that the men who have distinguished themselves and have worked well under adverse circumstances will now be placed in a better position and will be enabled to do their work under favourable conditions. I mentioned at the Mansion House that the Journal of this Society has at all events kept the flag of Oriental learning flying. It has in this respect been the representative of British scholarship in every Continental capital. Through the Journal we have been able so to concentrate our efforts as to give opportunities to many students of Oriental languages and institutions who otherwise would not have had the means of submitting their views on many controversial topics. Besides the Journal, which has always maintained its high standard, you will see in the Report that the Oriental Translation Fund has just published the second volume of the *Memoirs of Jahangir*, and is undertaking the twenty-third volume of the series. By the Monograph Series and the Prize Publication Fund we have also contributed to Oriental literature. In

a letter I recently received from Mrs. Lewis she says that she is greatly interested in the proposed School for many reasons—"one of these being that I hope that women may be spared the difficulties which I encountered when I tried to get adequate instruction in Arabic thirty years ago." There are perhaps many others who were in the same position, but that will now, we hope, be ancient history. I think that a new horizon is now in view, and that when the School opens in 1915 all those who are interested in Oriental studies will there find the welcome they have a right to receive. I am quite sure that if once the institution is put on a proper footing by its incorporation with the University of London its career will be one of future expansion, and that we shall ere long be not on an inferior but on a superior footing to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg in the matter of Oriental studies.

The past year is noteworthy in respect to the Public School's Medal because we have brought a considerable number of fresh schools into the competition. The result is so far satisfactory that the medal has been won by one of the new schools—Denstone College in Staffordshire—and the second school is Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, and the third the Royal Grammar School, Worcester. Thus the two schools which are *proxime accessit* are in Worcestershire. The three successful writers will be invited to the presentation of the medal to take place here on June 23, when the presentation will be made by Lord Ronaldshay.

I am pleased to be able to announce that Dr. Von le Coq, who has just returned from Chinese Turkestan, will come to London in November and lecture to our Society concerning the remarkable discoveries he made on his last tour. In a letter dated from Berlin on April 23, he writes:—

"The results of this journey are, I am happy to say, very satisfactory both in quality and in quantity; indeed, we have

got away with the largest number of cases ever yet exported from that land—152 cases and packages.

"I worked mainly at Kuchā and at Tumshuq, near Maralbashi. In the latter place I was so fortunate as to find quite a number of *true* Gandhāra 'sculptures', some being exact counterparts of some of the sculptures, in slate, in our Gandhāra collections; only these Tumshuq finds were not carved from Himalaya slate, but moulded, in clay *and* in plaster, in moulds some of which were found alongside. Many of these 'sculptures' still were covered with paint and leaf-gold, and I hope they will not lose this embellishment on the dreary roads they have to come by. Seventy cases are already here, but eighty-two are still on the road.

"I have also been so fortunate as to find MSS. at Tumshuq, the first, I think, ever discovered there. Some are in Sanskrit, others (and these are in a perfect state of preservation) are in an Iranian language of interesting type.

"A very fine but small cornice, decorated in pure Sassanian style, and a number of heads of Sassanian knights, come also from Tumshuq, some good bronzes, painted or enamelled glass (one fragment only), statuettes in wood, etc.—altogether it is an unhoped-for addition to our collection of Central Asian things."

I am very glad to think that when Dr. Von le Coq comes here we shall be able to show him the most valuable collection of Sir Aurel Stein in the new quarter of the British Museum, where at last justice has been done to this very remarkable collection. It is there absolutely intact, and can therefore be fully utilized by students of Central Asian antiquities. This is most fortunate, for it means that at last when foreign students come to investigate the collection they can see it in a proper habitation. I hope the British public will show their appreciation by visiting it, and thus follow the illustrious example set by the King and Queen when their Majesties inspected the collection a few days ago.

I agree with what has been said as to our satisfactory financial position. I believe there is a general awakening to our responsibilities as a great Oriental power with regard to the spread of Oriental learning, and that a new chapter is opening up to us in this respect. The authorities at the India Office and in India are quite alive to their duty in this respect. One of the last proofs of this is the increased grant made by the India Office for the publication of a critical text of the *Mahabharata*, which has been undertaken, as you are aware, by the International Association of Academies, and for which the British Academy sought their assistance.

I now have the pleasing duty to ask you to give a most cordial vote of thanks to Miss Hughes for all the excellent work she has again done during the past year on behalf of the Society.

SIR CHARLES LYALL moved the re-election of Lord Reay as President. He said his Lordship had filled the position with great dignity and tact, and they were sure he would do so so long as he was good enough to occupy that chair.

Sir Mortimer Durand was re-elected Director on the motion of SIR CHARLES LYALL, who said that Sir Mortimer had been a very efficient Director, and most regular in attendance at their meetings.

On the motion of the PRESIDENT, the honorary officers were re-elected, and the recommendations of the Council in respect to the vacancies on that body and for the nomination of Auditors were accepted.

The Report was then unanimously adopted, and the meeting closed.

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*June 16, 1914.*—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Mohammad Anwar-ul-Azim.
Mr. Mirza Badaruddin.
Mr. Kshemada Kenkar Ray, Smritibhusana, M.A.

Professor Sylvain Lévi read a paper "On Central Asian Studies".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thomas, Mr. Sewell, and Professor Hagopian took part.

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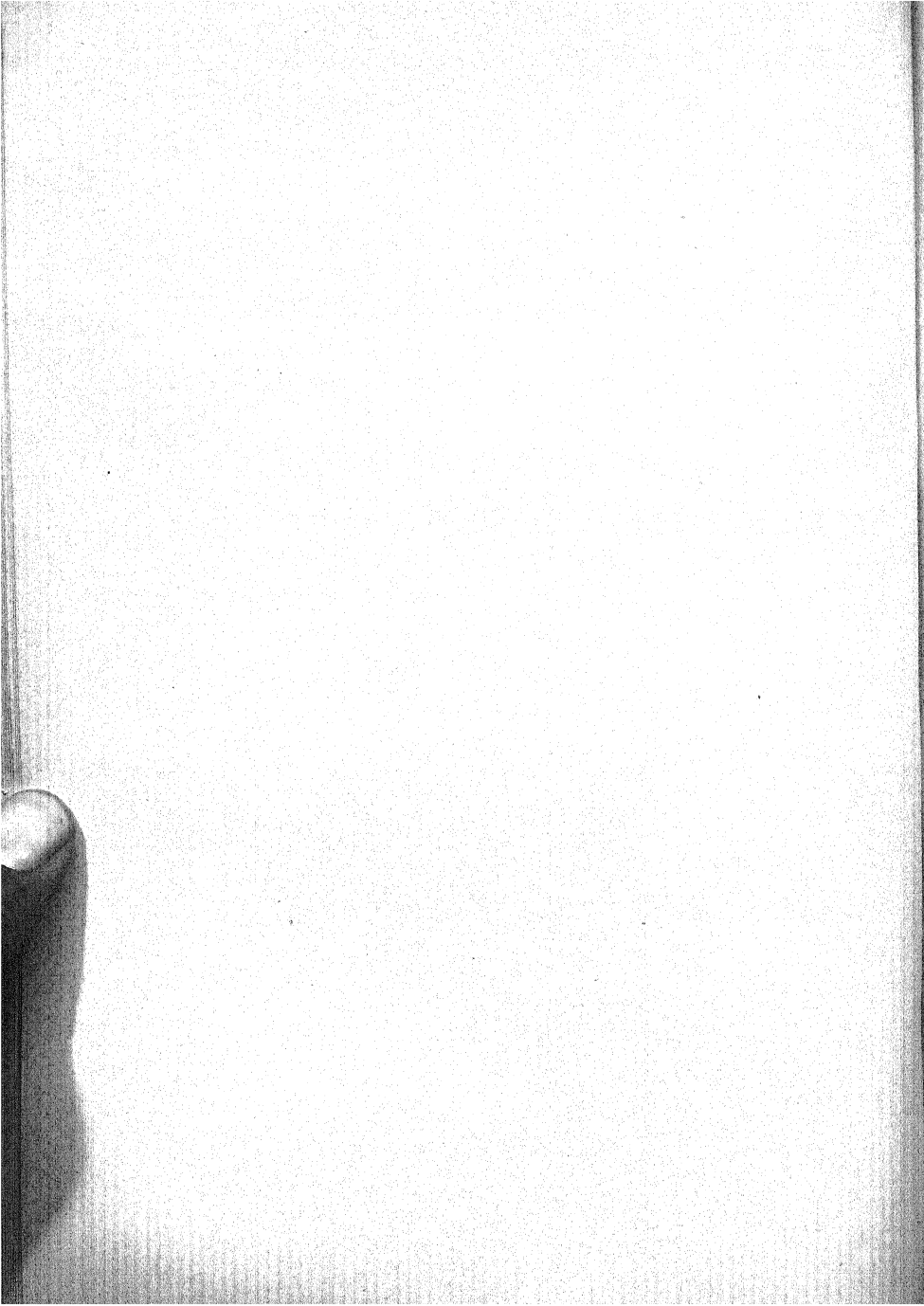

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JOURNAL

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1914

## XXIII

# LIFE IN A KHALKHA STEPPE LAMASERY

By G. C. BINSTEED, Lieutenant, The Essex Regiment

IN August, September, and October, 1913, I was engaged on one of a series of journeys in Mongolia, which I hope, if I am given the opportunity to complete them, will enable me to collect sufficient data for a work about this little-known country and its people, a subject upon which English literature is perhaps even poorer than that of the other Western European nations, and certainly far poorer than that of Russia. The particular journey in question started at Hailar, in Barga, and was pursued via the valley of the Kerulen River and Urga to the Mongolyor Goldfields on the Upper Iro and thence to Kiakhta, where modern means of travel again became available for the return to Peking. During this journey I saw a great variety of lamaseries and temples; I had as my constant and only companions two lamas, and for a week I lived continuously in a lamasery in the room of a lama. I was thus able to observe a large number of facts, some of which may be of interest to students of Lamaism, even if only as having been noted in a remote corner of the vast domain of the Yellow Faith, where, unlike Tibet, English-speaking people have seldom travelled.

Without attempting to describe Mongolian Lamaism as a whole, I shall here embody just those notes which I made on this particular journey, more especially while spending a week at the Hoshun Lamasery of Sait Südjict Gung Hoshun on the Kerulen River, at a point about 60 miles below Tsetsen Khan Urgo, and 160 miles above San Beisa Urgo (Kerulen Urgo).[1]

The cause of my halt here was as follows. Before leaving Peking I obtained through a friend the assistance as interpreter of one Baljir, a lama of the famous Yung Ho Kung, known to visitors to Peking as "the Lama Temple". Baljir was a native of this Südjict Gung Hoshun on the Kerulen, but had not been home for sixteen years. During his long stay in Peking he had thoroughly mastered the Pekinese dialect of the spoken Chinese language, and this formed the medium of speech between us. Baljir was naturally delighted to accompany me to Urga, as the route lay through his old home, which he was thus enabled to revisit at my expense. I promised him to make a break of at least seven days there, to give him the opportunity to see again all his relatives and friends, and this prolonged halt proved in the event most desirable from other points of view, as it gave our poor ponies a much needed rest, and enabled me to make observations which were difficult during the shorter halts.

Before proceeding to describe the temple, it will be best to give some details of the *hoshun* or principality of which it is the official lamasery (Hoshúni Súmu).

[1] *System used in transliterating Mongol sounds.*—The consonants to be pronounced as in English, e.g. *j* hard, as *dj*, like *J* in "Jack". *Kh* when initial as *h*; when in centre of word as *ch* in "loch", or as strongly aspirate *h*. *R* to be fully pronounced, as *rr* in English. The vowels in general as in Italian, e.g., *a* as in English "father"; *e* as in "bet"; *i* as *ee* in "meet"; *o* as in "cot"; *oa* as in "boa"; *oi* as in "soil"; *ei* as *ay* in "clay"; *ai* as the word "eye" or "I"; *u* as *oo* in English "soot"; *ü* as French *u*. The accent ′ merely indicates the stress or emphasized syllable. In transliterating Chinese characters the Wade system is adhered to.

Khalkha (pronounced Hál-ha) consists now of four *aimaks*,[1] those of Tushetu Khan,[2] Tsetsen Khan, Jasaktu Khan, and Sain Noin.[3] An *aimak* is a group of principalities or *hoshuns*, all the reigning princes (*jássaks*) of which trace their descent to a certain common ancestor; this common ancestor ruled the whole of the present *aimak* directly and as one principality. Later on parts of the *aimak* were at different times separated from the direct heritage of the head of the princely family and apportioned, under the name of *hoshuns*, as the hereditary dominions of some junior member of the reigning house.

This multiplication of reigning branches of the original family was a deliberate policy of the Ta Ch'ing Manchu emperors, who thereby aimed at and successfully attained the weakening of the power of their new Khalkha vassals. Before 1688, when the Khalkhas, to save themselves from being overwhelmed by the Western Mongols or Eleuths under the famous Galdan, Khan of the Jungarian Empire, placed themselves under K'anghsi's protection, the Khalkhas were never divided under more than eight *jassaks*, and it seems that all the chief power lay in the hands of the three khans. To-day Khalkha contains eighty-six *hoshuns*, each under its own hereditary and almost absolute ruler, the *jassak*. Moreover, the power of the prince senior by descent in each *aimak*, by whose hereditary title the *aimak* is still distinguished, was gradually reduced to the level of that of the heads of the other junior branches of his family, and the small portion of the *aimak* which remained under his direct rule came to be classed simply as one of the *hoshuns*.[4]

Dayan Khan, the last Mongol ruler of all Mongolia, died in 1544, and split up his people between his eleven sons. Geresantza, one of the younger sons, obtained as

[1] Pronounced *aĭ-mak*.
[2] Pronounced *Hān*.
[3] Pronounced *Sāīn No-ĭn*.
[4] Since Khalkha declared its independence the influence of the khans has been on the increase.

his portion that which now forms Khalkha. On his death he also divided his people amongst his three sons, who each received a portion which corresponds to one of the three original *aimaks* of Khalkha. (The present fourth *aimak*, that of Sain Noin, was artificially created later on, in 1725, by the Manchu emperor from out of the huge Tushetu Khan Aimak.) Of Geresantza's sons Amin Dural received what is now Tsetsen Khan Aimak, in which lies Südjict Gung Hoshun. However, the first to take the actual title of Tsetsen Khan was Amin Dural's grandson, Sholui Makhasamadi. When in 1688 Khalkha was being overrun by Galdan Khan, the title of Tsetsen Khan descended upon a child Umukhei, whose father and grandfather (Norbo Tsetsen Khan) had suddenly died. This child was taken for safety into the Manchu Empire by his uncle Namjal Taiji, who, together with the other Khalkha potentates, tendered the submission of his people to K'anghsi, and invoked his protection against the Eleuths. K'anghsi confirmed all the reigning princes in their rights, undertook campaigns against Galdan Khan (who was finally crushed and died in 1697), and then began to develop his policy of taming and weakening his new vassals by the fostering of Lamaism, and of mutual rivalries and jealousies amongst them, and by the splitting up of their dominions into smaller units. Thus it was that in 1701 there came into being the *hoshun* at whose temple I stayed.

In that year an uncle of Umukhei Tsetsen Khan, one Choijamtso, a son of Norbo Tsetsen Khan, was selected as one of those scions of the princely house for whom were to be carved out one of the new *hoshuns*. In the *Meng Ku Yu Mu Chi*[1] no details are given as to

[1] The *Meng Ku Yu Mu Chi* is a most valuable Chinese compilation about the princely houses of Mongolia, their history and their territories, written in the middle of last century. It has been translated into Russian by P. S. Popoff, formerly first Dragoman of the Russian Legation in Peking.

Choijamtso's successors nor even their names. From the *hoshun* officials I learnt that the present *jassak's* father and predecessor was known as Damdung Gung (*gung* or *kung*, according to the Wade system of romanizing Chinese characters, covers the fifth and sixth grades of Manchu titles of nobility, and is usually rendered as "duke"). Damdung Gung was preceded on the throne by his father, Doma Jassak. The present *jassak* was until 1912 known as Dalai Jassak. But after the Bogdo Gegen, the Hutukhta of Urga, mounted the secular throne of would-be independent Outer Mongolia, he systematically promoted nearly every *jassak* in his dominions to a title at least one grade higher than that which he had borne hitherto.

The Mongols are extremely fond of titular distinctions, a fact which had been turned to much advantage in the past by the Imperial Government in Peking and which the new Republican Government of China now also tried to use as a means of retaining or recovering the real or outward allegiance of the various princes of Mongolia. Dalai Jassak under the Manchus was, as the word *jassak* implies, only a first-class *taiji*, which is the lowest grade amongst reigning princes, and means that he was only a Mongol nobleman, and did not enjoy any of the higher titles of Manchu nobility. By the Bogdo Gegen he was granted the lowest of these six higher titles, namely, that of Ulustur Túsalakchi Gung (corresponding to Fu Kuo Kung in Chinese), and he has become known as Sait Südjict Gung or as Dalai Gung. In Khalkha the *hoshuns*, which are very numerous and often very small, have not, as in other parts of Mongolia, any permanent name by which they are generally known. They are spoken of by one of the names or titles of their ruler coupled with his rank, e.g. Ma Gung Hoshun, Dalai Wang Hoshun, Namsarai Gung Hoshun. In all cases the rank, whether *khan*, *wang*, *beile*, *beisa*, *gung*, or *jassak* (which last stands for those who have no Manchu title, but are only

first-class *taiji* or nobles), immediately precedes the word *hoshun*. This rank is in turn preceded by either a personal name or else a titular distinction of the *jassak*. If a personal name is used it is sometimes abbreviated to its first syllable (Ma for Mandorva). Again, one *hoshun* is sometimes referred to in two or three ways, as in the case of our present *hoshun*, which is now variously called Dalai Gung Hoshun, Südjict Gung Hoshun, and Dalai Jassak Hoshun. The two first are variations of the new name, Südjict Gung being the correct official appellation and Dalai Gung a more popular term. "Dalai Jassak Hoshun" is simply the old name, which refuses to die out all of a sudden. The latter phenomenon is very frequent, and sometimes when a *hoshun* is blessed with a particularly famous prince it continues to be known popularly by his name for a generation or so after his death.

The titular distinctions spoken of above are either complimentary epithets borne, sometimes hereditarily and sometimes personally, by the *jassak*, e.g. Darkhan, Erdeni, Dalai, which corresponds to the European custom in the Middle Ages of adding such epithets as "the great" or "the good" to the names of kings, or else these distinctions denote some office held by the prince, e.g. Da, which is placed before his title, and means that he is the elected President of his League (Chigulgán Dárga), or Chiang Chün Beisa (i.e. a *beisa* who holds the office of Chiang Chün or General). The only *hoshuns* which are permanently referred to by one name are those of the khans, e.g. Tsetsen Khan Hoshun.[1]

[1] Südjict Gung Hoshun contains only one *somon*. (*Somons* are the divisions into which *hoshuns* are divided, and theoretically represent a fraction of the population such as could supply a *somon* of 150 mounted warriors in case of the mobilization of the Mongol Banners by the Emperor.) The boundaries of this *hoshun* are as follows (the names given first are the popular names of *hoshuns*, in parentheses are the full personal names and titles of the *jassaks*): On N.N.E. and north with Dáichin Béisa Hoshun (Beisa Dashi-Tseren); on north-west with Hóbchin Jánoin Gung Hoshun (Beile Tungalak); on west with Sérulen

A glance at the accompanying photographs and at the plan to scale will give the reader some impression what sort of place a steppe lamasery is like. Mongol lama temples and lamaseries are of many varying kinds, both as regards architecture, size, and construction material. In architecture there are two main styles, between the pure representations of which are many transition and mixed examples. These two styles may be termed Tibetan and Chinese. The chief distinction of the Tibetan style is its rectangular character, white walls and flat roofs, while the Chinese-style lama temple differs little or not at all from the well-known general character of Chinese temple architecture as seen everywhere in North China. In the Chinese-style lama temple, however, the centre of the main ridge of the temple roof is generally surmounted by the golden *ganjur*, a spike emblem of Lamaism (see Photos).

In the temples of mixed architecture the main lower mass of the building generally retains the Tibetan character, while the Chinese element is represented in a turret capped with a typically Chinese roof and also often in the decorative painting of the woodwork of the porch.

The Chinese style predominates in the lama communities situated either actually in China or on its borders where the advancing wave of Chinese colonization has already taken firm hold, and also at large temples in other parts, either founded by imperial patronage or else by wealthy Mongols who wished to display their wealth or curry favour with the Manchu authorities by the imitation of the art of China. Such localities are Peking, Jehol, Urga. The purely Tibetan style is found in those out-of-the-way

Gung Hoshun (Tsétsen Gung); on south-west with Tsétsen Khan Hoshun; on south with Hárdal Dáichin Gung Hoshun (Gung Lubsan Choidob Agwang Pilji Dashi Tseren); on south-east (for a tiny stretch) with Sait Dálai Wang Hoshun (Chiang Chün Wang Gombo Surun); on east with Hoshoi Ch'in Wang Hoshun (Ch'in Wang Jigjit Tsurun).

parts of Mongolia where Chinese influence is, or was at the time of the building of the temples, but little developed.

The purely Chinese-style temples are of course built in courtyards, the ground in which is often paved. In the courtyard the main building (*cheng tien*) occupies the north side, facing south on to the court. The courtyard gate and the porch hall, if there be one, occupy the centre of the south wall. The east and west sides of the courtyard are occupied by "side halls" (*p'ei tien*), which face each other. In the smaller temple courtyards there may be only a *cheng tien* or north hall, while in the larger temples there may be as many as three or four successive courtyards, one behind another, from north to south. In the latter case the southernmost or entrance yard will probably only contain a porch shrine and a bell tower and drum tower and perhaps the banner poles. The second yard would probably have a large north hall, two side halls, and a hall of the four Lords of the Heavens on the south leading into the entrance courtyard. The next yard would contain a north hall and two side halls, while its southern face would be formed by the back of the north hall of the courtyard in front. The attached rough sketch of one of the temples at Jehol shows a fully developed example of a Chinese-style lama temple.

In the Tibetan-style temple, as seen in the steppe regions of Mongolia, the various halls[1] rise direct from the surrounding grass, without any courtyard or wall around them. The whole temple area in such cases is only marked off from the rest of the boundless grass steppe by the lines of huts and *yurts* inhabited by the

[1] It is necessary to distinguish between the expression temple or lamasery and temple hall or hall as used here. Most temples or lamaseries contain a large number of temple buildings, to which I apply the term hall, but which in some cases might equally well be termed shrine or chapel.

lamas, which in turn are generally surrounded by a ring of piles of argol stacked here for the use of the lamas.

But amongst the temples of mixed architecture one finds halls of Tibetan-style surrounded by stone and brick walls and wooden palisades, or halls of mixed architecture rising direct from the grass without any enclosure, or again halls with only a space enclosed in on their southern side.

With this brief introduction to lamaseries in general we can proceed later to examine more in detail Südjict Gung Hoshun Temple.

My interpreter Baljir had given no foreword of his journey, so that his people were wholly ignorant of his coming. The evening before arriving at the temple (September 1) we just succeeded in reaching the boundary of Südjict Gung Hoshun and halted for the night by some *yurts*, one of which, strangely enough, turned out to belong to a connexion of Baljir's. However, these people, poor and old, had no opportunity of sending word into the temple. Next day, as we topped the last rise and came into sight of the white buildings dotted in regular pattern on the valley floor, Baljir's excitement became very great. He used to travel sitting in the wagon, and as I was mounted he begged that I would ride on ahead and tell the lamas that Baljir was coming, and to ask for Baljir's *urgo* or residence, for he said there was always a place ready for him in his "alma mater". And certainly at the mere mention of the name Baljir the lamas whom I first accosted seemed to realize of whom I spoke and led me to the only Chinese-type house (*fang tzŭ*) in the whole lamasery, which belonged to Baljir's paternal uncle.

My wagon soon arrived, and the greatest joy was shown by this uncle and the other lamas at the sight of Baljir, whom they had almost given up hope of ever seeing again, especially owing to the uncertainty as to what was happening in China and as to the attitude of the Peking Government to the Khalkha lamas in the Yung Ho Kung,

who were in the position of helpless hostages in the enemy's land. Baljir's own family lived some 20 miles from the temple, and word was at once sent to tell them of the good news. Next day the father and elder brother both arrived to welcome him and escort him back to their home. For the coming of his relations Baljir, who hitherto had been dressed in travelling clothes, arrayed himself in a most magnificent brand-new crimson silk gown with bright yellow silk waistcoat, and produced from his baggage various costly gifts which he had brought from Peking. The appearance of the silk robes caused me considerable annoyance, as I considered them unnecessary impedimenta for such a journey, and as their bulk had added greatly to the weight of our cart and to the slow rate of our progress. My own outfit in garments turned out to be a far smaller one than that of my interpreter, who, moreover, had protested all along that the large box sewn up in sacking contained only presents which would be all left at his home. However, I was so well treated during my stay here that it was impossible for me to remonstrate against this piece of deception.

Baljir's uncle was one of the chief personages of the lamasery. He had formerly been the Da Lama (which for the sake of translation might be rendered "abbot"). He had always been reputed as a learned doctor, and had amassed a large fortune in the practice of the medical art. He had lately retired from the post of Da Lama and was now the Momboin Shiretu Lama of the temple. *Shiretu* is a distinction given to all lamas occupying high positions, and apparently, like *bakshi*, conveys the idea of "teacher", "spiritual father". *Momboin* is the adjective of *momba*, the lamaistic art of medicine. This Momboin Lama had applied a part of his fortune to erecting at his own cost a Momboin Sumu or Shrine of Medicine, which, after the central or Gol Sumu, was certainly the finest edifice in the lamasery.

The family of Baljir was evidently one of the wealthiest in the *hoshun*. They were connexions of the reigning prince. In Baljir's young days his father owned 1,000 horses, 1,000 head of cattle, and 2,000 sheep, but, owing to the series of bad seasons and other causes which had reduced the prosperity of the whole *aimak* and indeed of all Khalkha, the family at present owns only about half those numbers. The lama representatives of each family are practically kept by their relatives, and this no doubt accounts partly for the comparative wealth of Baljir's uncle, the Momboin Lama. He possessed the only brick residence in the whole lamasery. This consisted of a tiny three-*chien*[1] Chinese *fang tzŭ* with the usual verandah along the southern side. The two eastern *chien* formed one room, which was the living-room of the lama, while the western *chien* was separated off into a small private shrine or *duguni*. This building, or rather the living-room in it, was put at my complete disposal by the Momboin Lama. At first I was reluctant to deprive the old man of what seemed to me the only tolerably comfortable habitation in the whole lamasery. However, I was forced to accept, and I found out later that the lama made but little use of his Chinese house, except to pray in the private shrine and to receive visitors. Like all nomads he preferred his *yurt* to any house. This fact is everywhere apparent in Mongolia. Most of the princes have lately had built for themselves small Chinese *fang tzŭ* either of brick or wood. But these new-style palaces are merely for show. Beside them are always pitched one or two large *yurts*, and the prince and his family nearly always live in the *yurts*. At San Beisa Urgo Chinese houses had been

[1] *Chien* is a somewhat inexact measure for expressing the capacity of a Chinese house. Properly speaking it is the area enclosed between any four main upright supports to the roof, which in practice varies from 2 to 3 yards in width up to from 3 to 6 yards in depth. All *fang tzŭ* have of course only one floor.

built also for the accommodation of the Hoshun Yamen or Chancery (combining all the departments of State of the tiny principality), but on the occasion of my visit the official in charge (a *meiren*) was transacting all the government business seated on the floor of a *yurt* while the houses stood empty in rear. What seems perhaps strangest of all is that even those individuals who use their Chinese *fang tzŭ* in the summer invariably sit in and sleep in a *yurt* during the winter. The reason is that a well-made *yurt*, covered with thick new felt and protected round the bottom by wooden shutters to keep out the wind, is far warmer than the inferior wooden shanties which are all that one generally meets amongst the new-style imitations of Chinese settled civilization. One finds in the lamaseries numerous wooden huts, but, as often as not, they are used only for storage purposes, while the owners themselves live in a *yurt*. Again, sometimes the wealthier nomad families erect at their summer and winter pasturages log huts in which, upon their departure to the other pasturage, they store their bulkier possessions, including the parts of their *yurts*. When the family is wealthy enough and knows how to erect such huts at their two places of abode, it seems so strange to the man of settled race that they do not inhabit such huts, for this would not in any way prevent them from continuing to practise their present semi-nomadic form of life.[1]

The Momboin Lama was a most interesting personality. He was a small hunchback with a face and beaky nose which reminded one partly of Mr. Punch and partly of Don Q., especially of the latter when wearing or putting on the *orr-hwinch* or long red sash-shawl of the lamas. He was exceedingly well disposed towards me, as indeed were all the lamas, and I found the comparative comfort of his house most agreeable after the long days in the

[1] The Mongol name for a house is *baishin*.

saddle and the nights on the cold hard boards of my wagon.

The bulk of my room was occupied by a kind of Chinese *k'ang*.[1] It was a dais which ran along the northern and eastern walls, leaving only about 4 by 2 yards of ordinary flooring. Along the eastern wall, placed on the hinder part of the dais, were large wooden chests containing garments and other possessions of the Momboin Lama. Similarly, on the dais at the north-west corner was a cupboard on which were arranged various ornaments, including three tin clocks, none of which were going at my arrival, and only one of which could I succeed in starting. The central part of the dais along the northern wall was wholly filled by a large sofa seat or bed, such as is often seen in Mongolia in the rooms of princes and lama dignitaries. It consists of a heavy wooden tray, of the size of a bed, the low containing walls of which are formed of roughly carved and painted wood. Inside the tray are spread mattresses or hard Chinese cushions and bed coverings. In princes' huts this arrangement forms a sort of throne on which the prince sits for ceremonial occasions. It forms an excellent bed. The dais was also furnished with the usual low Chinese tables and stools that one sees on *k'angs*. An interesting assortment of pictures decorated the walls. There were three coloured prints of Chinese origin connected with stories of Ts'ai Shen, the Chinese God of Wealth, two pictures of events in the career of T'ang tsang Lama, another of the eighteen Lohans arriving from over the sea at the bidding of some Chinese emperor, a print of Tzonkhava surrounded with representations of episodes from his life, a painted drawing made by the Momboin Lama himself of the *hoshun* temple of Dalai Beisa (Dalai Wang) Hoshun, with all its lamas in full dress outside the various temple halls, a photograph of a white *suburgan*, and one or two other prints of like

[1] The dais-stove-bed used everywhere in North China.

lamaistic interest. All were of cheap and highly coloured character.

From the living-room a small doorway gave access through the partition into the *duguni* or private chapel. This tiny apartment was of far more interest than my room. It was crammed with pictures and figures of lamaistic objects of veneration and with ecclesiastical paraphernalia. The walls were covered with brightly coloured pictures of deities and of several of the Lohans. Along the northern and western walls were cabinets upon which were placed an assortment of bronze and earthen figures of deities, some in glass cases and some without, before whom were arranged the usual series of little metal bowls containing offerings, of oil lamps, and of the articles used by the lamas in prayer. In the centre of the large northern cabinet was a big mirror (see Photo). Along the south wall, under the window giving on to the verandah, were wooden chests and cupboards, and here was kept the large churn into which milk was poured every day and stirred up. On the walls also were hung two fine golden hats belonging to the Momboin Lama (see Photos). Usually the old lama himself performed the prayers in the *duguni*. But the first evening I was there, whether from shyness or from business owing to Baljir's arrival, the old man did not pray here, and all that happened was that his *t'u-ti* (acolyte) came in and performed the rite of placing a lighted night-light before the Borkhans, as are known the representations of lamaistic deities and spirits. This boy novice or acolyte was a relation of the old lama. He acted as a sort of servant, looking after the rooms, and at the same time was supposed to learn all his ecclesiastical duties and prayers from his *shih-fu*, as the Chinese would term the teacher lama. As a matter of fact he seemed to do very little learning of prayers. He was an exceedingly good-looking and jolly little fellow of about 14 and spent a large

part of the time wrestling in the yard with other boy lamas. He was of great use to me, for not only did he daily bring me some excellent milk for my porridge, but he would frequently succeed in preventing the inroad into my room of the host of other boy lamas who, having nothing much to do, would come round to look at the curious visitor.[1] I was very thankful that unlike many of his comrades this boy did wash his face and hands, though his body and limbs, which he exposed freely in his wrestling bouts, were literally streaked with black dirt. On the succeeding evenings the old lama himself would come in and spend about half an hour closeted in the *duguni*, chanting aloud various prayers and performing other rites, such as the ringing of the handbell and the many manipulations of the hands so well known in his religion. The handbell, I noticed, he always rung so that the tongue on each occasion struck out three notes, the long dying reverberations of the last of which seemed indeed in the semi-darkness to help his prayers to reach the ears of Buddha. Sometimes, before going into the *duguni*, the old man would sit with me in the gloaming. Silence reigned between us, broken only by the occasional muttered *om mane padme hum* from his lips, or the faint rumbling of the little wooden prayer-wheel set spinning by his crooked fingers. Though we could not speak to each other, our minds were on such occasions full of reflection. He no doubt wondered about what I had told him, through the interpreter, of Russia and England and of changing China, conjecturing as to what would soon happen in this century-old semi-civilization which surrounded him as the result of contact with these strange capable men from the West and especially as the result of

[1] Every foreigner in Mongolia is termed Óros, which, strictly speaking, means Russian, but, as most Mongols have only come into contact with Russians, all Europeans are Óros. The more discriminating and enlightened have been known to speak of the French Russians, the English Russians, and the German Russians.

the recent steps taken by the chiefs of his race. I on the other hand wondered at the vastness of the realm ruled over by this Lamaism, at the great stretches of almost unknown country which separated me from Lhasa, at the fewness of the human beings in all this great interval, and at the close ties which nevertheless bound together all these adherents of the Yellow Faith, and more than all at the complexity and mystery of this religion. It is a mysticism that is not meant to be understood. No one understands, and therein perhaps lies much of its power over the benighted and backward races who profess it.

As before mentioned, my host was reputed a learned doctor, and in the room on a little ledge over the doorway I found some old bones, which, I was informed, were being kept thus for the purpose of later making medicines therefrom. But what surprised me was that, in spite of the reputed and undoubtedly existing influence and power of the lamas over the whole Mongol race, there seemed to be but little practical faith in lamaistic medicine. My arrival was the signal for the coming hither of all the sick and ailing people from the temple and its neighbourhood. But though my host, the reputed doctor, was often sitting with me in the room, these people did not come to consult him, but me. It was useless for me to protest that I was not a doctor and that I only carried with me a small assortment of medicines for the road. Such statements were evidently regarded only as a somewhat ill-placed simulation of modesty. The patients implored me to give them some medicine if I had any. The majority were suffering from sore eyes, skin diseases, and boils. The grime on their bodies and the choking smoky atmosphere of the *yurts* in which they lived made the causes of these ailments only too apparent.

That many Mongols never wash anything but their faces and hands is undoubtedly true, certainly in the cases of the women. There are seldom any appliances

for washing in a *yurt* and I have never seen or heard of a woman bathing. Moreover, the utter absence of privacy in *yurt* life would make washing very difficult. Again, during seven or eight months of the year the coldness of the water, even when it is not frozen, is too severe to allow of bathing. In the middle of the day in the first week of September the warm sun used to make bathing in the river just possible, and I was surprised to find at such times half a dozen lamas who bathed and at the same time took the opportunity to rinse out their garments. However, one glance at the skin was sufficient to prove that the majority never bathed. Moreover, soap in any form is still almost unknown amongst the Mongols. Nor have they any appliances for washing their teeth, of which they take no care, but almost without exception they possess splendid white teeth, a fact which I suppose is due to the large proportion which milk and its products occupy in their diet.

I was specially consulted by proxy as to the case of the Hanbo Lama (High Abbot) of the temple. This individual both from his office and connexions was one of the chief personages in the principality and was greatly venerated. He was suffering from an acute form of what I conjectured from description to be syphilis, and he was unable to walk. When I had said that I was unfortunately incapable of doing anything for him, I was closely questioned as to where I thought he could obtain the best and closest foreign aid. I suggested, of course, the Russian medical authorities in Urga, also Verkhneudinsk and Peking. Before I left I was told that he had decided first to visit, as a last trial of Mongol medicine, a very reputed lama doctor in a *hoshun* to the west, and, if that failed, to go to a foreign doctor. This decision was probably right, for it is said that for the peculiar form of Asiatic syphilis the methods of the native doctors are often more efficient than those

applied by Westerners. As is well known, syphilis is rampant among the Mongols, and is probably a chief cause of the gradual dying out of this race. When the Russian doctors recently examined a batch of several hundred of Mongols sent as recruits for the Mongolian brigade trained by Russian officers at Hudjir Bulun, near Urga, it was found that 90 per cent were suffering from syphilis or rheumatism.

The temple buildings were situated in the almost level floor of the valley on a ledge slightly raised above the level of the river and situated about 600 yards from its northern or left bank at a point opposite a ford for mounted men and carts. Imagine a landscape in which the only vegetation, almost the only object, is grass—dull pale-brownish grass; not one tree; not one bush; one muddy sluggish river 40 yards wide meandering between mud banks which dropped down for some 3 or 4 feet from the level of the bordering grass to the level of the water, and which thus hid even the river except from its edge and from the hill-tops; rounded downs hemming in the valley at distances of 1 to 2 miles from the river; on one of these downs a dilapidated white *suburgan*; here and there in the valley a few rounded black heaps—the *yurts* of the impoverished inhabitants; on the gentle northern slopes of the valley two groups of tiny wooden huts separated by about a mile—the *urgo* or residence of the *jassak* and the Hoshun Yamen; far away to the west-north-west, peeping over the nearer hills, the azure head of a rock-crowned mountain—Baying Khan, the Rich Khan; near the temple a large herd of horses browsing on the scanty grass or wallowing in the river ford; scattered flocks of sheep; the white temple and its surrounding huts; and grass, everywhere grass, rolled out in levels or gentle undulations so that it was visible for miles and miles up and down the valley. Monotonous as such a landscape

seems, it is as nothing to the monotony which confronts one as soon as one leaves the great artery of local life, the Kerulen River, and travels across the upland steppes. There in places for scores of miles at a time one can eliminate the herds and flocks, the *yurts* and rocks, the temple, and the *suburgans*, and describe the landscape in two words—rolling grass.

The attached sketch and photographs will provide almost all the necessary description as regards the general exterior of the buildings, but a few words on the interior must be added. The plan of the temple halls themselves was made to scale on the spot. That of the surrounding living huts and *yurts* has been added in afterwards from memory. The Gol Sumu means the central shrine and was the chief hall in the temple. The whole building was of brick covered on the exterior with white plaster. In the broad porch-verandah, on the east side of the doorway, there was hung on the wall a Borkhan of Áriabalú (Avaloketishvara), to whom apparently the temple was dedicated. From the porch one entered by a broad folding door into the main chamber, which occupied all the ground floor. The ceiling of this chamber was supported by a series of wooden pillars (sixteen ? in number) distributed equally over the floor.

The centre of the ceiling was void and allowed one to see the gallery which encircled the interior of the central turret. Access to this gallery and turret was obtained by a flight of steps on the outside of the temple at the eastern extremity of the main porch. These steps gave on to the porch roof, whence an entry could be made into the turret. Just inside the main door, on the left as one enters, is a high large seat reserved for the *jassak* or prince of the *hoshun*. Next to this is a somewhat lower seat for the *gethgui*, the lama officer who is responsible for the maintenance of discipline and propriety during services and for the proper attendance of the others at the various

services. The seat on the right of the door as one enters was also for *gethgui*. In this temple there were two *gethgui*. The *gethgui* are distinguished slightly in their ceremonial robes from the other lamas, e.g. they wear blue streamers instead of red on their *oa-woa-tai* (see Appendix II). Their staff of office during service is known as the *birei*, and is a stout stick about 4 feet long, the lower end being shod with metal and the upper end encased in cloth, while from the centre is hung a bunch of *hadaks*.[1] It is with this staff that the *gethgui* chastises delinquents at service, and one is told that the *gethgui* is immune from all punishment, even if he kills an offender with this weapon. On one of the wooden pillars of the hall was nailed a small sounding-board, upon which the *gethgui* strikes with his staff whenever he wishes to call attention to himself during service.

Every morning about 9 a.m., before service is commenced in the Gol Sumu, a little opening ceremony is performed in the porchway. The two *gethgui* stand on the verandah facing south with their backs to the closed door. An *umzat* (lama charged with leading the chanting in minor services) stands facing them, while the rest of the attendant lamas, perhaps a dozen in all, stand to the sides. A few sentences of prayer are mumbled, the door is thrown open, and the lamas take their seats for the ensuing service. The number of services in this temple is very large. Some days there are services being performed in one or other of the halls almost without interruption all day. However, most of these services are performed by only a very few lamas. There is a service every morning at sunrise, but, as at Jehol, I found it was attended chiefly by the boys only, who were made to go there to learn

[1] *Hadak* is the silk scarf which is the conventional offering to show respect to a person. They vary greatly in length and quality. When being presented the scarf is unrolled and held with both hands slightly separated.

their duties and prayers. The call to service is made here in two ways. Sometimes a lama stands by the temple hall concerned and utters a long droning call with his own voice. It was interesting to note that such a proceeding as a call by human voice was quite unknown to my driver, a Kharchin[1] lama of Jehol. The other method of call was the more usual form by blowing of conch-shell and beating of drums. The conch-shell is usually taken by two young lamas up on to the wooden scaffolding platform which is to be found in all these steppe temples (see Photo) and there blown into, which causes it to emit a peculiarly deep and weird sound. These shells are an object of a certain veneration, and to them are often attached *hadaks* or silk ribbons. Conch-shells with the twist in the reverse direction to the ordinary are particularly prized and fetch large prices. Baljir brought one such shell with him from Peking and sold it later in Urga for, I believe, roubles 150.

The centre of the Gol Sumu was occupied with the usual low benches upon which the lamas sit cross-legged during services. These wooden benches are only about 6 inches high, are covered with thick and hard cushions, and are arranged in north and south rows, two or three rows being on each side of the central aisle of the hall, towards which the lamas usually face while chanting. Moreover, the whole way around the east, south, and west walls of the building there were seats either formed by low benches similar to the above or else by wooden chests for the storage of temple property. Between the first two pillars which faced one as one entered by the south door, and fastened to a horizontal beam between them, was a large framed representation of the Wheel of Life and another of some other mystic diagram. Along the south wall, two on each side of the door, were pictures of the

[1] Kharchin is the most south-easterly of the *aimaks* of Mongolia and has been completely Chinesefied.

four Maharajas of the Devas, Lords of the Sky (otherwise known as Lords of the Four Quarters, in Chinese as Ssu Ta Tien Wang, in Mongol as Deru (4), Ja(l)k-Chinsi ; see Appendix V). Along the eastern and western walls were other pictures, and here also were the windows of the building—rectangular openings in the thick temple walls, unprovided with any glass (as is the case in all these steppe temples), closeable only with red wooden shutters, which excluded all light.

As is usual, it was along the northern wall of the hall that were to be found the chief *borkhans* and articles of ecclesiastical paraphernalia. The centre of the north wall was occupied by the throne for high dignitaries of the Church. This throne faced south towards the main door and consisted of two tiers or seats, one above and behind the other. The uppermost seat is apparently reserved exclusively for the Bogdo Gegen or Hutukhta of Urga in the event of his presiding here. The lower seat was occupied during a service I witnessed by the Hanbo Lama,[1] and presumably also on occasions by the Hubilgan of this temple (Hubilgan is a "living buddha" pure and simple, who does not enjoy one of the extra distinctive titles of Gegen or Hutukhta). Round the sides of and behind this throne, which was draped in multicoloured silk hangings, was arranged a narrow passage-way which led to a small door giving access to the enclosed grass yard which contained the Urgoin Sumu and Gandjur Sumu. Right and left of the central throne along the north wall were large glass-faced cupboards in which were arranged a multitude of *borkhans*, chiefly metal and clay figures, the

[1] The chief personnel of this temple was as follows: 1 Hubilgan or reincarnated Boddhisattva (living Buddha), styled Jantsang Hubilgan; 1 Hanbo Lama or Jassak Lama (high abbot) (cf. Khamba in Kukunor); 1 Da (ta) Lama (abbot); 1 Momboin Shiretu Lama (priest of medicine); 1 Demchi (treasurer); 2 Gethgui (charged with discipline) (Gebgui); 4 Umzat (leaders of chanting). The total number of lamas present while I was there was probably about sixty, including twenty or more boys.

picture representations, whether on paper or silk, being reserved for the walls. On ledges and tables in front of these cupboards were an equal diversity of bowls containing offerings and lighted lamps.

In the two front rows of the lamas' benches the seats nearest the throne were raised higher than the rest. These are the seats of the Da Lama and other senior lamas. In front of these seats are little tables, not unlike a flat pew-front in England, on which are arranged the various utensils used by the officiating lamas in their prayers and incantations (see Appendix III and Photos).

The whole ceiling of the hall, but in greater profusion near the throne, was hung with the multicoloured banners and canopies of silk ribbons which are known respectively as *jantsang* and *batang* (see Appendix III and Photos).

I was allowed by the lamas to penetrate almost everywhere in the temple, both into their living quarters and into all the temple halls, not only when they were unoccupied but also during service. On the fourth day of my stay here great activity was observable in preparation for a special service which the Hanbo Lama was to conduct in person throughout. This operation, known in Chinese as *fang ching*, "letting forth of prayers," is apparently fairly common in Mongolia. Some reputed dignitary of the church gives notice that he will read prayers in the temple on such a date. At the appointed time the best part of the neighbouring population assembles to hear these prayers, thereby receiving great spiritual benefit. In token of respect and thanks they each bring with them a *hadak* to offer to the officiating priest. It is most remarkable to what great distances Mongols will travel in order to hear such prayers, especially if the *bakshi* is reputed as specially holy. Near the mouth of the Kerulen, at quite a small temple, on the occasion of such a *fang ching* I found people who had come from Gandjur, about 80 miles away, while the great

festivals at Urga and Gumbum (Kumbum) of course attract people from hundreds and even thousands of miles around. These pilgrims generally travel on horseback, covering 80 to 100 miles a day, and taking practically nothing with them.

On this occasion, on September 5, the lay assembly began to arrive early in the morning, though the service only began at 2.30. The visitors consisted in this case chiefly of women and children. The horses and carts on which they arrived were tied up at the edge of the temple area. At the limit of this area there are usually placed some poles specially for the above purpose. The women spent the time during which they waited for the commencement of the service in slowly walking round and round the various temple halls in clusters of twos and threes, leaving these sacred edifices of course always on their right hand. Whenever they passed any praying-wheels they would break their progress in order to turn them. When tired of parading round, they would create a change by sitting down in groups in the shade of the various *baishin* walls, or in that of the temple doorways. Seeing so many women and girls together I was particularly struck by their general coarseness and awkwardness. Mongol women, no less than men, acquire that peculiar clumsiness on their feet which arises from the fact that they usually get on a pony's back even to go and have a chat with a neighbour who lives only a stone's throw away. The gait of the seaman is graceful compared to the heavy-booted and tired flopping forward of a Khalkha who is so unfortunate as to have to walk somewhere. One of the most laughable spectacles I have ever witnessed was the performance of a newly formed batch of recruits at Hudjir Bulun who were being taught by their Russian instructors to march in step in close order drill.

Even the youngest girls in this assembly were clumsy and uncouth, their only redeeming feature being the

comparative freshness and delicacy of their complexions. But the latter again only existed in comparison to the repulsive redness and coarseness of the high cheek-boned faces of their older sisters. Many of the women bore a most striking resemblance to the Red Indian type of North America. But few of them on this occasion boasted the national horned and bedizened headgear of Khalkha married women. The majority had a simple queue with a coloured twist of cloth wound round the head above the forehead.

At 2.30 p.m. the blast of *bishgur* and *burei* (see Appendix IV) warned us that the procession had started which was to convey the Hanbo Lama in state from his *yurt* to the Gol Sumu, his *yurt* being situated by itself about 60 yards due north of the northernmost temple hall. Owing to the disease already mentioned, the Hanbo Lama was unable to walk. He therefore sat in a chair on wooden rollers which was dragged with ropes by several lamas. A band of monks also preceded and surrounded the chair, including several blowing *bishgur* trumpets, and one of the *gethgui*, who walked at the old man's left hand. From the *yurt* the procession passed over the grass along the east side of the Baga Darkhig and Gol Sumu and turned west to the main southern door of the latter. Opposite this doorway and a score of yards from it were placed two long *burei* trumpets on stands (see Appendix IV and Photos), and a great blast was blown from them as the Hanbo Lama arrived. That dignitary was then assisted from his chair into the temple hall. Meantime all the lay congregation and the majority of the lamas had already assembled in the hall. As the Hanbo Lama entered all rose and prostrated themselves as he took his seat immediately below the topmost throne of all reserved for the Bogdo Gegen. Then commenced a service which lasted for some four hours till 6.30 p.m.

The lamas were all seated on their usual low benches, but were turned so as to face the Hanbo Lama. The lay congregation sat on the floor at the sides of the hall and near the doorway; the officials from the Hoshun Yamen occupied a more privileged position near the north wall and on the Hanbo Lama's left. The whole of the prayers were chanted by the latter, though at times the congregation repeated the words after him or together with him. He was a kindly, paternal-looking old gentleman, and if one could only close one's eyes to his raiment, and eliminate the occasional mystic manipulations of his fingers and hands, one might see in him a replica of some elderly European divine expounding the Scriptures to a class of students. The service began with a prolonged chanting by the Hanbo Lama alone. The manner in which the lamas chant prayers seems to be an extraordinary rapid mumbling accompanied by a rhythmic rise and fall of the voice. They are chanting in Tibetan, of which language it seems that most lamas have only a very hazy knowledge, and when listening and watching one receives a strong impression that the sounds mean nothing to most of the chanters. The laymen of course understand not a syllable.

During this service there was no music. After the chanting two attendant lamas distributed to the assembly small handfuls of grain, which shortly afterwards were thrown by each person into the air. Later two lamas collected from every person in the congregation, lama and lay, the *hadaks* which they had brought to offer to the Hanbo Lama. These varied enormously in accordance with the material circumstances of the giver, some poor women producing strips of threadbare silk, which had evidently already passed through many hands, not more than 18 inches long by 4 inches broad. *Hadaks* given to lamas should be white, those given to princes and other "black" men (laymen) are pale blue. The *hadaks* when

collected were taken up and laid before the seat of the Hanbo Lama, who then distributed to a few of the chief lamas copies of some prayers he was about to read.[1] Later on again a form of Eucharist was performed, in which two lamas bore around the congregation an urn containing some perfumed yellowish water, a little of which was poured into the palm of each person, and a second urn with which the head of each person was touched in turn. The assembly used the holy water as follows: first the lips and face were lowered and rubbed with it, and then the remainder was smeared over the head. I was allowed to participate in this operation, and it appeared to me that the water possessed a taste of saffron.

The attitude of the lamas during the service seemed somewhat more strict and reverent than usual, perhaps because they felt themselves under the eye of their High Abbot. Although many, even in the upper seats, constantly turned round to see whether I was still there, only the youthful members in the back rows would openly laugh in my direction. However, during the ordinary daily services which I used to attend even elderly lamas would give me a jocular nod or wink in the middle of their chants. It was on rare occasions that one witnessed a lama whose attitude and expression seemed to convey any strong religious feeling or devotion at the moment. The usual attitude was one of automatic and apathetic performance of rites and chants learnt absolutely by heart.

At these daily services the chanting was usually accompanied by music. To hear a full lamaistic service with good chanting and music is a most impressive experience and one which it would be extremely difficult adequately to describe. Such services, may, however, be comparatively easily attended at the Yung ho Kung or

[1] Lamaistic prayers are written horizontally on leaves about a foot long by only 3 inches in depth from top to bottom.

Lama Temple in Peking, where the tourist for a small sum can see and hear things which would be zealously guarded from strange eyes in places less influenced by the gold of the European. My interpreter, Baljir, constantly protested that it would be impossible for him to obtain for me leave to see things in temples passed cursorily *en route*, although such things were shown every day at his temple in Peking.

No photograph, and, indeed, no painting could convey the impression given by a grand lama service. Its force lies in the extraordinarily deep full voices of the chanters, the uproarious blast of the long *burei* trumpets, the subdued light of the temple hall, the barbaric extravagance of the colouring of the silken banners and canopies, of the golden-formed buddhas and boddhisattvas, and the hideous malignity portrayed in the multi-limbed and bestial bodies of the Dokshit, or evil spirits, and lastly in the gorgeous yellow robes of the monkhood, their frequent changings of head-dress, and the mystic hand and finger play which accompanies their prayers.

Like every other Mongol, the lama always carries about with him, tucked away in the breast of his clothes, a little shallow wooden bowl. This is used for all eating and drinking purposes. Even on the rare occasions when it has been prepared in more than one receptacle, the Mongol eats all his food mixed together in this little bowl. The bowl is held, or rather supported on the finger-tips, and the liquid mess within is sipped in by gently tilting the bowl. Being of wood it allows the owner to hold very hot messes. When drained, the inside of the bowl is licked clean with the tongue. I mention this here, because during service it frequently happens that a large *domba* or jug is brought into the hall, filled with the usual mixture of tea, milk, and *buda* (generally *hsiao mi tzŭ*, a kind of millet). Each lama pulls out his own bowl and

holds it out while another lama fills them up in turn from the jug. The service is then temporarily suspended till the bowls are licked dry.

Passing out of the Gol Sumu by the little door behind the throne, one found oneself in a grass yard enclosed by a wooden paling. In the yard rose two small wooden temple buildings. That in the centre was round, more or less in the form of a large *yurt*, only built of wood painted red instead of felt; for this reason such round halls are known as *urgòin sumu*, *urgò* being the complimentary word for a person's *yurt* or residence. This hall in particular was dedicated to Mákhal, a hideous Dokshit, and was thus known also as Mákhalin Sumu. The entrance to it was through a tiny red wooden portico or antechamber, such as is now usually seen in front of the *yurts* of princes or other wealthy persons. This antechamber forms an excrescence outside the circle of the *yurt* and somewhat resembles a small bathing machine, without its wheels, placed close up against the *yurt* door. Sometimes in front of a *yurt* there are two such wooden antechambers, one of which is arranged as a tiny chapel containing an assortment of *borkhans*. In the case I saw the chapel was the southernmost, while between it and the *yurt* was an empty porch, which, however, contained a side door which allowed access to the *yurt* without having to pass through the chapel.

When I entered the Mákhalin Sumu I found it almost dark within. The little light that penetrated revealed a chamber crowded with Dokshit *borkhans* and containing several stands of Mongol arms, spears, flintlocks, and bows. A single lama was seated on the floor mumbling prayers and making mystic gestures. The place was evidently regarded as specially sacred, as another lama soon came in search of me and begged me to retire.

Behind the Mákhalin Sumu and close up against the north fence of the yard was a square red wooden building

preceded by a verandah, which was known as Gandjur Sumu, because it was here that was kept the temple's copy of the Gandjur, the great lamaistic canon which was translated into Mongol about 1310 A.D., having been translated earlier from Sanskrit into Tibetan in the eighth and ninth centuries. It consists of 100 or 108 volumes of 1,000 pages each. Together with the Danjur (Tanjur) it forms the bulk of the lamaistic scriptures. All temples make great efforts to possess a copy of the Gandjur. It is printed at Peking, Gumbum, and in Tibet.

Just before reaching Südjict Gung Hoshun we travelled for about a day together with a party of Bargin Buriats who were sent from Wu Shiretin temple (in the Huvot Ulan Hoshun (bordered red banner) of Shun (New) Barga on the River Kerulen) to Urga to take over and escort back a copy of the Gandjur which had been bought for the temple. The party consisted of four, a Gelun[1] lama as chief and three laymen. They had two carts each drawn by one camel, two other camels were being ridden, while a fifth followed as reserve in rear.

The temple of Gandjur Sumu in Barga, famous all over Eastern Asia for the great fair which every autumn attracts hither Russians, Mongols, and Chinese from a thousand miles around, owes its name and existence to a copy of this Gandjur canon. The Buriats of Barga, who migrated in 1735 from out of Khalkha to their present lands in Western Barga, petitioned the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, so the tradition goes, that in their new lands they suffered from the lack of facilities for practising their old religion of Lamaism. As a consequence Ch'ien Lung presented the eight banners of Shun Barga with a copy of the Gandjur. Owing to the fact that the Buriats had not yet built any temples, the canon was temporarily

[1] There are three grades or orders of consecration amongst lamas, irrespective of any question of office or rank—1, Gelun; 2, Getsul; 3, Bandi.

housed in a *baishin* near the Arshun River, while later, in 1785, the present temple of Gandjur was built and the volume deposited therein. In spite of the above version, which suits the present devotion to Lamaism of these nomads, it is probable that the initiative in the presentation of the Gandjur by Ch'ien Lung was taken, not by the Buriats, but by the Emperor and his Government. Ch'ien Lung, perhaps even more than his grandfather K'anghsi, worked hard at the propagation and fostering of Lamaism as a part of his deliberate policy of weakening and rendering peaceful and harmless the erstwhile formidable nomads who surrounded the Middle Kingdom in a great semicircle on the north and west. The fact that the Buriats waited fifty years on their new lands before completing their first temple proves that the religious devotion of to-day was far from existing in those times. Had it not been for Ch'ien Lung's care, it is possible that Lamaism would have died out amongst the Buriats and that they would have drifted back into their old religion of Shamanism, which was then, and is still, practised by their neighbours the Solons and Chepchins of Huchin or old Barga, and of which so many traces still survive in the Lamaism of Mongolia.

To the south-east of the Gol Sumu lay the Momboin Sumu, which, as I said before, had been built by my host the Momboin Lama. It was decidedly of a mixed style. Its white rectangular lower mass, plain and somewhat severe, was Tibetan, while a turret with typically Chinese roof projected from the centre, and a Chinese bricked courtyard was arranged on the south, where a porchway opened on to the surrounding grass. The main hall, too, had a verandah-porch. The interior resembled as a whole that of the Gol Sumu on a smaller scale, as indeed in various degrees do the interiors of all the temple halls. The chief difference lies in the varying size and the varying richness of decoration and wealth in *borkhans*.

But in the Momboin Sumu there was one feature of peculiar interest. Hung on the east and west walls were several almost life-size charts of the human body, its organs, blood-vessels, and bones. Being somewhat ignorant on the subject, I was unable to judge of the accuracy of these diagrams of Momboin science.

On the grass in front of the Gol Sumu and between the Momboin and Lamerin Sumu were erected three objects—the wooden scaffold platform, about 20 feet high, provided with a ladder, from which the call to service is usually made, and two inscriptions on small slabs of stones mounted on stakes. One of these slabs had inscribed upon it three sacred incantations, one of which was the ubiquitous *om mane padme hum.*

The Lamerin Sumu seemed to be that in which more services took place than in any other. It was densely decorated and furnished. In all the halls one found either hung or placed against the walls examples of the various lamaistic musical instruments, a list and description of which is given in Appendix IV (see also Photos).

Entering the Lamerin Sumu one day, I found a party of lamas preparing a strange piece of workmanship, the meaning and use of which I was unfortunately unable to have explained to me and of which I have not found any mention in other books. A flat wooden board, about 6 feet square, was set in the hall upon trestles, thus forming a low table. Upon this board there had been drawn an elaborate design consisting of circles, squares, triangles, and other geometrical figures which in turn enclosed many representations of the mystic symbols of Buddhism, such as some of the eight precious signs. Following the lines of the plane drawing some half a dozen lamas were engaged in executing a picture in coloured powders, which were poured on in varying degrees of relief. The powders, which were of at least half a dozen colours, were kept in little wooden boxes, and from these a small quantity

was poured into the broad end of a slender copper funnel, about 12 inches long. The small end of the funnel tapered so narrow as to allow only a very fine stream of powder to issue. Along one side of the funnel, on its exterior, was a saw-edged projection. By rubbing a metal stick up and down on the teeth of this file-like surface the whole funnel could be caused to vibrate, and by regulating the intensity of this vibration, the flow of powder from the funnel-point could also be finely controlled. The pattern was being executed with considerable skill, very minute details being distinctly brought out by the various colours. The general effect was very pretty. Great care had to be taken not to shake the board, as in places the powder was piled up to almost an inch in relief at the steepest possible slope. To diminish the jar of any accidental concussion, cushions were arranged round the edges of the board, on which the lamas leant while working. It would be interesting to learn the ultimate use and meaning of this piece of work.

The remaining five temple halls in the lamasery do not require much notice. Their positions, size, and construction material will be seen from the plan. They were all poorly furnished inside. Ikhe Darkhig Sumu means the large temple to Darkha and Baga Darkhig the small temple to Darkha. There are two Darkha deities, the Green Darkha and the White Darkha, the *borkhans* of which are usually female figures and perhaps form the only female figures amongst these *borkhans* which could be said to be attractive to European ideas of female beauty. They often remind one forcibly of modern Indian representatives of female deities. The White Darkha is the deity with whom the Mongol lamas of the eighteenth century identified the Empress Catherine II of Russia, whom they wish to deify as a compliment. The succeeding Tsars were supposed to be reincarnations

of their predecessor, and it is for this reason that it is sometimes said that the Tsar is reckoned a Hubilgan by the Mongols.

Gungorig Sumu is dedicated to the deity Gungor. In Niunai Sumu I noticed that the services were conducted usually by boy lamas. Its *borkhans* were chiefly Dokshit. The large prayer-wheel shed was an ordinary wooden ridge-roof supported by wooden pillars without any enclosing walls. Underneath were three or four large wooden prayer-barrels, which could be turned by the person pushing a handle as he walked around them. Outside the Gol and Momboin Sumu, on the west side of the porch, were some smaller prayer-barrels. Small prayer-wheels were ubiquitous in the lamasery. Every room contained one or two. Some were of interesting design such as those, which were housed in a tiny model *baishin* (hut), from the roof of which projected the metal spindle with which the barrel inside could be set spinning. Other forms were hung from the centre of the roof or *yurt* so as to be influenced by the heat rising from the fire which is always kindled in the centre of the floor. Thus whenever the fire was burning the rising heat kept the suspending prayer-wheel spinning. A Mongol hardly ever enters a room without walking over to the prayer-wheel and setting it spinning. Some travellers, such as the lama mentioned above who was going to fetch the Grandjur, have a little red barrel attached to their cart. Such barrels are provided with wings which catch the wind and keep them spinning. These windmill barrels are also found over the gateway into yards. The gateway leading into the yard occupied by Jantsang Hubilgan of this temple had at least four or five such barrels with various contrivances for catching the wind.

The *hubilgan* was not present at the temple while I was there. He had apparently gone to see his parents, being still a boy. His quarters were situated near the

southern extremity of the western block of huts and *yurts* that flanked the temple on each side. The extreme southern *yurts* of both eastern and western blocks were occupied by two *jassa*. A *jassa* is a form of office for the transaction of temple affairs. In each lamasery there are several *jassa*, sometimes one for each temple hall. At the present temple the one at the south-west corner was known as Lamerin Jassa, while that on the east was the Ikhe (Great) or Gandjur Jassa.

As already mentioned, the second highest dignitary of the temple and its real ruler, the Hanbo Lama, since the *hubilgan* was only a boy, lived in a large *yurt* north of the temples. Behind it and to one side was pitched another *yurt* for his attendants. The *yurts* of princes, *taiji* (nobles), and church dignitaries may be known from the fact that the outer upper covering of felt has a coloured border to it, usually in pale blue or pink. The rank of the owner can be distinguished from this border. North of the Hanbo Lama's *yurt* and just beside the main track which passes the lamasery on its way from Barga to Urga were erected a series of nine white *suburgan* which all sprang from a common long white base. *Suburgan* is simply the Mongol name for what is popularly known to Europeans as a "bottle pagoda" and more correctly as a *chorten* or *dagoba*.

As in the case of nearly all the temples which I passed *en route* from Hailar to Urga, all the above buildings were of comparatively recent date. The present brick building of the Gol Sumu was built some seventeen years ago with the help of Chinese. The Momboin Sumu is still more recent. Formerly, in the time of Damdung Gung, the present *jassak's* father, there was only a wooden structure in the place of the Gol Sumu, while still earlier under Doma Jassak, Damdung Gung's father, the only temple was in the form of a large felt structure. It is extraordinary to what an extent the Mongols are

now dependent upon the Chinese even in the matter of their religious paraphernalia. All the modern brick and stone temples have been built under Chinese direction, and the great bulk of the *borkhans* and other temple furniture seem to come from Dolonnor and Peking, both of which places are famous for their image factories.[1] As regards clothing and almost everything they use, and about half they eat, the Khalkhas are also wholly dependent on foreigners. Felt, meat, and milk are all they supply for themselves.

The lamas' living quarters were either *yurts* or wooden huts. Most of them were not surrounded by any enclosure, but were in east and west lines with broad alley-ways in front of each line. The floors of the wooden huts were often raised off the ground. The emplacements for *yurts* in lamaseries are also sometimes specially raised above the level of the surroundings in the form of a round platform either of beaten earth or else of a bed of stones covered with earth. When a *yurt* is not to be occupied, it is taken to pieces and packed up and stacked on its emplacement. The accompanying Photo will give a good idea of how this is done. The umbrella-like wooden skeleton of the roof is made to shut up, the telescopic trellis-like wooden walls are also shut up and stacked, while the whole of the felt is rolled up in an old covering.

Beyond the huts and *yurts* were to be found the stacks of *argol* provided by their families for the use of the lamas, each of whom had his private heap. (*Argol* is the sun-dried dung which forms the only fuel of the Mongols in the woodless areas of the steppes.) At times the stacks are enclosed in huge brushwood *gabions* in which a door is sometimes made to obviate the necessity of having to get at the *argol* from over the *gabion* walls, which are often 6 feet high.

[1] At Peking these are situated at Wai Kuan outside the An ting Men (Gate) and close to the Hwang Ssŭ or Yellow Temple.

Besides being the seat of the *hoshun* lamasery, this locality was also the official capital of the *hoshun* and the seat of its prince, who was at present, however, absent in Urga, where I was destined later to be his guest and where he occupied the post of one of the Vice-Ministers of War in the Government of Autonomous Mongolia. His local *urgo* (palace or residence) was situated about a quarter of a mile north-east of the lamasery higher up on the lower and gentle slopes of the enclosing downs. It consisted of two large *yurts* with a *two-chien* Chinese *fangtzu* between them and some back premises containing about seven *chien* of inferior huts and a *yurt*. When I visited it the place was all shut up, but a *khya* (*yamen* underling) soon emerged from the back *yurt* and obligingly opened for me the windows of the central *baishin*. The whole hut was of one room. The wooden walls were very thin, and there were many cracks wide enough to let in daylight, to say nothing of the wind. The floor rested on a base of stone, standing some 2 feet above the ground. In the centre of the room on the north side facing the door was one of the sofa-bed-thrones which I have described before as being in the Momboin Lama's room. A lower dais ran round the east and west wall, and upon it were placed large wooden chests. In the room were hung a number of photos and Chinese prints of personalities. There were also several clocks, a pair of weighing scales, and saddlery of all sorts, while a large enamel wash-basin was visible on one of the beams under the roof, which had no ceiling. The whole was very primitive and mean for the state apartment of a reigning prince. The *urgo* which he has had built for him at Urga, and where he now resides, is on a somewhat larger scale and much better finished, better furnished, and better kept. For the making of these *baishin* the Mongols probably pay exorbitant prices to the Chinese contractors, and in the end receive a structure which is too cold to inhabit in winter.

Half a mile to the west lay the *yamen* of the *hoshun*, which consisted of one large *yurt*, in rear of which were two small wooden huts. In the *yurt* I met two officials, whose acquaintance I had already made earlier in the day at the lamasery. These were the officiating *tzakhírakchi* and a retired *tzakhírakchi*.[1] On this occasion I showed them both my passports, the Mongol one given me by the Amban of Barga, and the Russian one given by the Russian consul at Hailar. Neither, however, of the worthy administrators had ever heard of England. The only comment they could offer to the statement contained in the passports that I was a British subject was to ask whether my country was part of or synonymous with Japan. However, both gentlemen were extremely well disposed towards me, so their ignorance was of no importance. The social relations existing between all classes of Mongols, not excluding even those between prince and subject, are of the very simplest order. The first time I met the *tzakhírakchi*, who in the absence of his prince and the *túsalakchi* was *de facto* ruler of the principality, he was seated on the floor of the tiny hut which was used by my driver as a kitchen, engaged in animated conversation with my driver and a crowd of common lamas and boys. It is the same also with the *taiji*. The Da Lama of the temple was the *jassak's* brother, but he mixed freely on an equal footing with the other lamas. One day I was seated writing in my room when the door was pushed open and there entered a "black man", attired in every way like any other herdsman. Accustomed to these inquisitive intrusions, which in no sense offend against

[1] The *tzakhírakchi* is the second most important of the officials in a *hoshun*. He is always drawn from amongst the non-noble rank and file. The first official is the *túsalakchi* (Chinese Hsieh li Taiji), who is always a *taiji*. The *túsalakchi* here I never saw. There are sometimes two or more in a *hoshun*. But in the case of all small *hoshuns* only one official in all attends at any one period to conduct the administration. The rest live at home.

Mongol etiquette, I took no notice and the man subsided to the floor, following with intense interest every movement of my fountain pen. A little later Baljir entered and proceeded to introduce the stranger as brother of the prince, a first-class *taiji*. There was nothing to distinguish him in dress, education, or conduct from the common herd. He was reputed a very wealthy man, and did indeed own vast herds, but he himself took a full share in the work of tending these. It was only when his wife was pointed out to me that I saw some signs of their wealth. This lady was engaged, with the help of a common girl, in hauling out of a store-hut quantities of new felt and in loading the same into a little bullock-cart, as a preparation for the pitching of warm *yurts* at their winter station to which they were just about to migrate. In spite of the rough work she was doing, she was attired in all her finery as a rich married woman, a turn-out which, with its silks and brocades and its silver and gold ornaments, must cost no mean sum (see Photos).

This *taiji* was a keen hunter, and he wore at his belt an example of one of the few kinds of work made by the Mongols themselves in the shape of a well-finished and serviceable hunting-knife, the handle of which was encased in the bark of some tree. In conversation with him I came across another proof of the rapid and marked decrease in the population of Khalkha. All *taiji* on attaining the age of 18 have allotted to them from amongst the common people of the *hoshun* a certain number of households as serfs. These serfs are styled *khamjilga* and are in no way badly treated; they work without pay for their lord, but in return they probably live on the products of his flocks and herds. The number of these *khamjilga* families allotted to each *taiji* is fixed and varies according to the rank of the *taiji*. (There are four classes of *taiji*.) My present visitor was a first-class *taiji*, who ought to have

sixteen *yurt*-holds. He told me he only had four, and explained that at the outset, whenever numbers allowed, a full complement was still allotted, but that as time progressed the number of *yurt*-holds diminished from such natural causes as death, and the number of persons in the *hoshun* seldom allowed of the filling-up of such casualties. It is almost certain that when the original establishment of *khamjilga* was fixed by usage the population of the *hoshun* easily allowed of its maintenance in full, whereas now here was a first-class *taiji* who had to be content with four *yurts* of serfs.

The Mongol monk is by no means cut off from the society of women, as his European counterpart is supposed to be. As a matter of fact, a great many lamas openly live with women while they are away from the temple, for by no means do all the lamas live continually at their temple. At felt-making time, especially, numbers go to the *yurts* of their families to assist in this activity, which somewhat corresponds to the harvest of an agricultural people. Moreover, women were constantly in and out of the temple habitations; these may, of course, have been the sisters or relatives of the men they came to see, but that considerable immorality with women exists was evident to me from the obscene suggestions and signs which were at times openly made to me in the presence of women themselves, who, moreover, seemed very little embarrassed by such behaviour. As to the universally reputed immorality of the lamas with their own sex, I noticed nothing. All Mongols are passionately fond of children, and the fact of their openly fondling a boy cannot be taken as proof of immorality.

There was one woman in this temple who was an object of great interest to me. She was afflicted with some form of intermittent madness. During her fits of madness she would destroy everything she could lay her hands on. She had two little sons, but had no husband, at any rate none

living. Being poor and without rich relations who could have looked after her safely during her mad fits by keeping her in a separate *yurt*, she became the object of notice from the *hoshun* officials. The latter decided that she should have a heavy chain which should be locked round her neck, either by herself or any other person, whenever she or they felt that a fit was approaching. The dimensions and weight of this chain were astounding. There were twelve links in it, each 11 inches long; the iron of which each link was formed was $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick and $\frac{7}{8}$ in. broad, while the link had an exterior width of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Besides these twelve links there were the iron collar round her neck and a short connecting figure of eight link between the collar and the twelve long links. The iron of the collar was $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. The other end of the chain was not attached to anything, its purpose being to weigh her down and impede her movements during her fits of fury. I saw the woman both with and without the chain. She said that although she found the chain an intolerable weight when in her calm mind, during her fits she was able to wield it about like a piece of rope. It struck me that the expedient of the civil power rendered the patient even more dangerous than before. A peculiar feature was that the woman even when wearing the chain was quite cheerful about it, and seemed to regard the decision of the authorities as a most reasonable and humane one. And in point of fact it was probably, from her point of view, the least irksome thing that could have been done. For, as the *tzakhírakchi* pointed out to me, there were no hospitals, no prisons, and no asylums in the *hoshun*, and in any case her present semi-liberty was preferable to being shut up. The woman in question seemed to live on the temple. She was always in and out picking up what she could obtain from others for herself and her two little boys. One morning I saw her gathering up in her apron the grain

which had been swept into a heap from the floor of the temple where it had been strewn during service. She lived in a wretchedly covered smoke-blackened *yurt* about half a mile from the lamasery, and it was here that one evening I witnessed the very interesting rite of *choijung* or *choidjung boan*. I afterwards learnt that what I saw on this occasion was a debased and probably Shamanistic form of the purely lamaistic rite of *choidjung*, which is a kind of divination, and, as practised in Tibet, is described by Colonel Waddell in that fund of detailed information *The Buddhism of Tibet*. The word *boan*, the sound of which might by some be transliterated *bōn*, may possibly be connected with the word *bon*, meaning the non-lamaistic priests in Tibet, who in many ways correspond to the Shamans of the northern borders of Mongolia. The performance of the *boan* certainly resembled in many ways the religious frenzy of the Shaman. What I saw was as follows :—

Inside and round the western wall of the *yurt* were seated three or four lamas, including a *gethgui*, with musical instruments and other ecclesiastical paraphernalia. In the centre of the *yurt*, slightly on the east side, was the *choidjung boan*, a lay Mongol, dressed up in a dirty multicoloured and barbarous costume somewhat resembling that of the conventional warrior in the Chinese theatre in that a number of banners were attached to his back. This individual was performing a weird and gruesome but somewhat monotonous dance in the *yurt*, the smallness of which naturally cramped his movements and prevented much display of élan. He made the most fearful grimaces and facial contortions, apparently trying to imitate some malignant and furious monster. In his hands he shook a sword and a spear, and at one stage cut his tongue with the sword and then exhibited the bleeding end of that member. Either from religious frenzy or from bodily exertion, he undoubtedly worked himself up into a nasty

state of perspiration; his face, encased in its barbaric headgear, was not pleasant to look upon. Later on he subsided upon a wooden backless stool and there went through a prolonged and most realistic fit of shivering and gnashing of teeth, uttering all the time ghastly and ferocious mutterings. There could be little doubt that, like the *shaman*, he was in a state of religious ecstasy, but his performance did not seem to evoke the same reverence towards himself as that of the *shaman*, who, unlike the *boan*, is a priest. During the whole proceeding a crowd of some twenty or thirty lamas and neighbours, including women and boys, were peering through openings in the felt coverings of the *yurt* and through the door, trying to see as much as possible. Everybody, both spectators and officiating lamas, seemed to regard the whole matter as an amusing sort of punch and judy show. Only the unfortunate poor woman, her two little boys, and an old woman who also belonged to the household took the rite seriously. The poor woman frequently prostrated herself and assumed postures of supplication and prayer. It was evident that she believed that the ceremony might bring some good to her household. The other old woman sat on the floor and with great reverence held down the stool on which the *boan* sat during his shivering fit. Finally the mad woman produced an offering in the shape of a *hadak* which she fearfully essayed to place in the *boan's* lap, but, being too afraid, handed it to a grinning lama, who placed it there and who then commenced a secret conversation with the *boan*. This I presumed was the consummation of the rite, namely, the eliciting of a prediction as to the future. Later, again, the *boan* recommenced his dancing and the woman subjected herself to being struck on the head and back with the flat of his sword. The difference between the hopeful devotion of the poor family, who probably had to pay dearly for the celebration of this rite

he parasite clergy, and the levity of the latter and of spectators was rather pathetic.

ıst before I left I noticed that the crowd round door shifted away, and, taking advantage of this ɔrtunity to see without having to elbow myself ngst the filthy clothes of the spectators, I squatted n some yards from the opening and looked through. as soon, however, to learn the reason why everybody avoided this position, for first the sword and then spear came hurtling through the *yurt* door and buried mselves in the ground at my feet. This seemed to rk a climax, and the *boan* sat down and was assisted the family to remove his hot head-dress and to take ıe refreshment. At this juncture I left, but from ıring a resumption of the lamas' music I believe that rite was not yet finished.

The old Momboin Lama expressed a certain disapproval this rite, but at the same time he insisted that *ɔidjung* was a pure lamaistic ceremony authorized the sacred books. He was conscious of and admitted e survival of Shamanistic elements in the present ımaism of his people, quoting as an example the ɔiquitous *obo*, which he said it was necessary to preserve being a propitiation to the spirits of localities, to whose ıfluence a pastoral and nomadic people were particularly ıbject and in whose hands lay the welfare of the flocks nd herds. Few questions are so interesting or so hard o unravel as that of the changes effected in the practice nd theory of a religion as the result of its introduction nto a new country where an older faith still holds ɔowerful sway over a simple people.

After several weeks without any meat food, I was delighted to devour again mutton hashes, which my lama-driver used to prepare from the young sheep which Baljir's father sent me as a present. At a temple sheep must be killed outside the temple area, as no life is

allowed to be taken within a temple. Nor will any lama ever kill any living thing. Except live sheep, nothing whatever was procurable at the temple. There never had been any trading establishment here, but this year even the itinerant Chinese hawkers did not come, owing to the repressive policy which the Urga Government was temporarily persuaded to adopt towards Chinese trade. As Russian traders were not in a position to fill the place hitherto occupied by Chinese and now denied to them, a veritable famine in all goods of foreign origin reigned in Khalkha during the summer and early autumn of 1913, until in October the anti-Russian reaction bore its fruits and the Chinese caravans were allowed to come through from Kalgan. The wretched tribesmen in many parts were reduced to living on what their flocks and herds could give them, namely meat and milk and its many products.

# PLAN OF SÜDJICT GUNG HOSHUN LAMASERY

*The central portion showing the Temple-Halls is strictly to a scale of 70 yards to 1 inch and was made on the ground The outer portions were filled in afterwards from memory and give, roughly at the same scale, only a general impression of the arrangement of habitations.*

⊙ = yurts
○ = Argol heaps
▨ = Buildings
⊣⊢ = Doors. Gates

Scale of Yards.

yards 20 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 yards

TRACK

9 Suburgan

⊙ HANBO LAMAS YURTS

Roughly North

BAGA DARKHIG SUMU (wooden)

⊙ Momboin Lama's yurt

Momboin Lamas yard — House and yard

GUNGORIG SUMU (wooden)

WOOD SHED for PRAYER BARRELS

NIUNAI SUMU (wooden)

GANDJUR SUMU (wooden)

MAKHALIN URGOIN SUMU (wooden)

Stone Steps — Grass

GOL SUMU (brick)

prayer barrels — porch

GURMIN SUMU (wooden)

IKHE DARKHIG SUMU (wood covered with plaster)

Argol Heaps

Posts for tying up Horses

Shallow watercourse

Inscription posts Scaffolding

LAMERIN SUMU wooden verandah

MOMBOIN SUMU (brick)

prayer barrels — brick — bricked yard — porch

HUBIL GANS yard — HUTS

Argol Heaps.

⊙ LAMERIN JASSA

∴ Ruins of a Suburgan

⊙ IKHE or GANDJUR JASSA

N.B. Appendices II to V are not intended to be in any way complete lists, but merely enumerate a few of the Khalkha names and Khalkha forms of objects already familiar in Tibet.

## APPENDIX II

### List of Articles of Lama Apparel

*Oa-woa-tai.* (See Photo.) A tall yellow hat with upturned black velvet brim. The yellow crown is of patterned silk. From the back hang down two broad red streamers, which are sometimes allowed to hang down and are sometimes draped over the yellow crown. Some lamas wear blue streamers, e.g. the *gethgui.* (Cf. Waddell's *Lamaism*, p. 196.)

*Shessàrr.* (See Photo.) The tall yellow hat with woollen mane, like that worn by Roman soldiers.

*Del.* The long robe usually worn at ordinary times. (See photos of lamas.)

*Tsou.* A long outer robe.

*Janchi.* A long cloak worn at service, furnished with pleats in the back, and a form of yoke with short ribbons attached.

*Yiutung.* A red hood for the head made of cloth.

*Orr-hwinch.* The long red cross-sash or scarf, worn wound over the left shoulder and round the waist.

*Tsabir.* (See Photo.) The red cloth satchel (Colonel Waddell calls it the water-bottle wallet; cf. *Lamaism*, p. 201) formed of two oblong pieces of red cloth lined, placed one on top of the other, the lining being on the inner side. From the top, where the two cloth flaps join, projects a brass handle about 2 inches long. To this are attached strings, which end in a bone or mother-of-pearl button, which is tucked into the sash-belt under the gown. In a Gelun's *tsabir* the red cloth flaps are about 9 inches long from top to bottom and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. The *tsabir* of a Getsul is somewhat smaller.

## APPENDIX III

### List of Ecclesiastical Utensils

*Dámur.* A small hand drum made to resound by being vibrated in one hand, which causes the balls attached by strings to the centre of the drum to strike upon the sounding surfaces. It is always used in the right hand during service and prayer.

*Bómba.* The holy water vase, a form of teapot in copper or silver, in the mouth (not the spout) of which is placed the peacock's feather (*góshi*). It is also one of the eight precious signs.

*Góshi.* The peacock's feather or feathers mounted in a metal setting, the lower end of which is placed in the *bómba.* Various mystic symbols are performed with the feathers, chiefly consisting in lifting them from out of the *bómba* with the right hand and describing a circle in the air with a flick towards the right to finish up with, after which the *góshi* is placed back again in the *bómba.*

*Honk.* The small silver or copper handbell which is rung frequently during prayer. It is always held by the handle in the full of the left hand, not with the fingers.

*Birei.* The staff of the *gethgui*, a stout stick about 4 inches long; the lower end is shod with metal, the upper end encased in cloth. From the centre is hung a bunch of *hadaks.*

*Dong.* The conch-shell, which, to make it emit sounds, is blown into with the mouth through a hole made in the naturally closed end of the shell. A shell with the twist in the opposite direction to the usual is specially prized. They often have ribbons attached to them.

*Dómba.* The tall brass milk- or tea-jug used by Mongols for domestic and for ecclesiastical purposes. When tea is served to the lamas during service it is poured out from these *dómba.* On the exterior are slightly raised bands of metal (copper or silver) running horizontally round the vessel. It has a large handle.

*Ochir.* The *dorji* or thunderbolt, a sort of small double-headed sceptre used during prayer to make symbols. It is held in the full of the right hand. When placed on the small table in front of the officiating lama it lies second from the left

(i.e. the lama's left), between the bowl of grain on the extreme left and the handbell (*honk*).

*Búda.* The general Mongol name for grain, by which also is known the grain used during service.

*Bátang.* A many-coloured cloth or silk ornamentation suspended from the ceilings of temples, consisting of four strips or streamers of material, each of a different colour, hanging down side by side from a bracket, which in turn is suspended from the ceiling (see Photo).

*Jantsang.* One of the eight precious signs. A sort of canopy somewhat in the shape of a bell. When placed on the outsides of temples it is usually of metal, generally gold-coloured. Those which hang from the ceilings of temple halls are made of ribbons of various colours (see Photos). The outdoor *jantsang* are sometimes placed at the four corners of the roof of a temple hall, and sometimes a large one is placed by itself on a wooden scaffolding which may be 20 feet high. These are filled with sacred objects, and are themselves regarded with veneration (see Photos).

## APPENDIX IV

### Musical Instruments

*Selning* and *Tsang.* Two forms of brass clashing cymbals.

*Hárrog.* A suspended gong.

*Bishgur.* Straight-stemmed, wide-mouthed trumpets about 2 feet long. (See Photo.)

*Burēi.* The large, long, collapsible trumpets, 7 feet long, in three telescopic sections, blown with the heavy end resting on a wooden stand; used in pairs. (See Photo.)

*Gándang.* Short dragon-mouthed, slightly curved trumpets or bugles. (See Photo.)

*Héngerig.* Drums of various sorts. Generally hung from a pole when in use. Some have a long wooden handle by which they can be carried on the move. (See Photo.)

*Doadárram.* A musical instrument consisting of nine small (2 or 3 inches in diameter) gongs set symmetrically in a wooden framework.

## APPENDIX V

### Names in Khalkha Dialect of various objects of Buddhist reverence

The eight precious signs (*naiman* (8) *thakil*) or glorious emblems.

*Dukh.* The victorious banner.
*Thákass.* The two fishes.
*Bómba.* The vase.
*Sthétsthak.* The flower.
*Dong.* The shell.
*Uldtzi.* The hexagonal pattern.
*Jántsang.* The bell-shaped canopy.
*Hórral.* The wheel.

The seven signs (*dolon* (7) *erten*). See Waddell's *Lamaism*, p. 389.

*Hórral.* The wheel.
*Nórr-wu.* The jewel or flaming pineapple.
*Tzumoa.* The *hung* (human figure) with clasped hands.
*Lómbu.* The *hung* with hands in lap.
*Lámboa.* The elephant.
*Dantchag.* The horse.
*Makbung.* The *hung* with beast's head under arm.

*Siretbēi Hórral.* The Wheel of Life. (See Waddell's *Lamaism.*)

*Hoir* (2) *gurus.* The two deer which flank and face on each side the *hórral* or wheel which is often placed over the entrance into temple halls.

*Deru* (4) *Ja(l)k-chinsi.* The four Great Lords of the Sky.

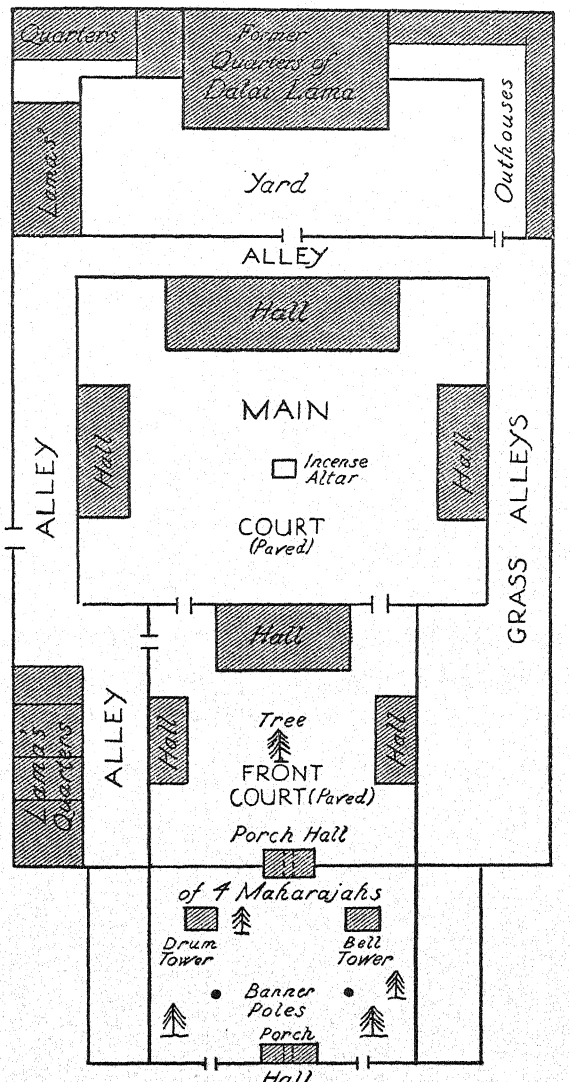
| Lord of the | Sanskrit. | Khalkha. |
|---|---|---|
| North | Vaishramana | Namsarai |
| East | Dritarashtra | Ul-horr-surung |
| South | Virudhaka | Pag-ji-wo |
| West | Virupaksha | Mig-mei-san |

*Dasth thāi jat.* An ornamental design often painted on woodwork over doors, consisting of a series of eight or nine dishes, each laden with various objects.

## APPENDIX VI

### PLAN OF P'U SHAN SSŬ AT JEHOL

Type of large Chinese-style Lama Temple. Plan made from detailed notes, not exactly to scale. The shaded parts denote covered buildings.



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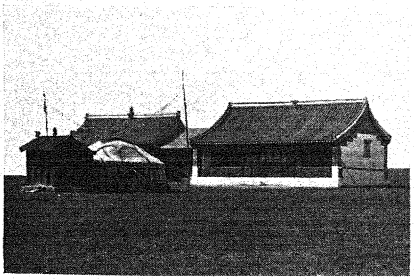

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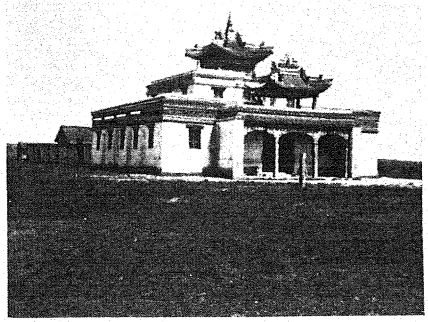

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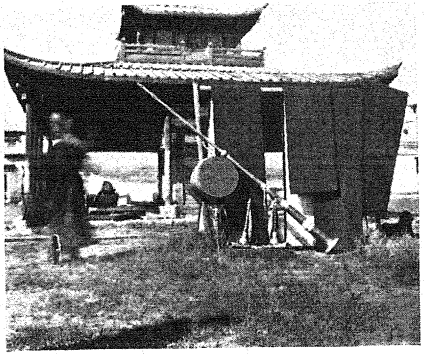

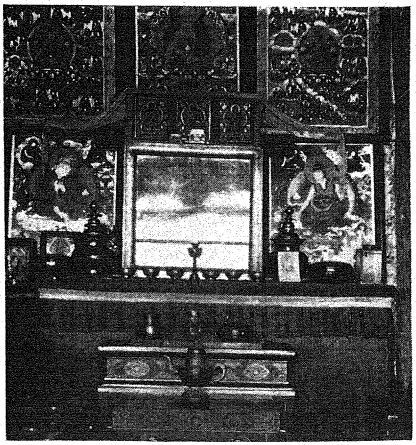

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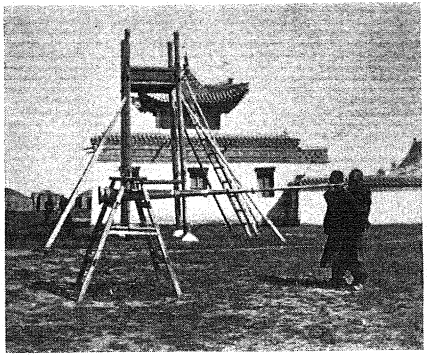

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## EXPLANATORY NOTES TO PHOTOS

### PLATE I

1. Type of Chinese house built as prince's palace. This one is the *urgo* of San Beisa. In front is an example of princely *yurt* with bordered coverings and wooden boards round the bottom to keep out the wind, and red wooden portico, while the two poles support a string of prayers written on rags.

2. The Gol Sumu.

3. Drums, the three kinds of trumpets, and the cushions on which the lamas sit during service, all exposed outside the Lamerin Sumu. (The long trumpet is a *burei*, the two shorter

straight trumpets standing up are *bishgur*, while at their feet are the curved *gándang* lying on a cushion.)

4. The private chapel or *duguni*, facing the altar.

5. Blowing *burei* trumpets. In background is the scaffolding from which the call to service is made, and also part of the Momboin Sumu.

6. *Bómba*, *shessàrr*, *oa-woa-tai*, and *tsabir* outside the verandah of the Momboin Lama's *baishin*.

PLATE II

1. The nine white *suburgan*.

2. *Yurts* folded and packed. In the centre is the collapsible woodwork of the roof, on left are the trellis-like collapsible side walls (stacked against the wooden hut), and on right are stacks of felt coverings.

3. Another type of Tibetan-style temple. The Cher Datsan at Tsetsen Khan Urgo.

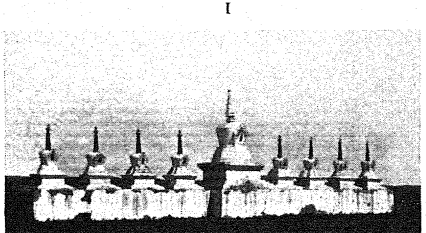
4. *Jántsang* and *batang* held up by a Gelun Lama on whom can be seen the *orr-hwinch* sash and *tsabir* wallet.

5. The wife and family of Sait Südjict Gung taken at Urga. The Gung is the big man with the peacock's feather in his hat. On his left is his brother, the Da Lama, on his right his wife, with their son in between them. Note the women's head-dress, coiffure and pearls, and long sleeves.

6. One of the golden wooden hats of the Momboin Lama.

PLATE II

1



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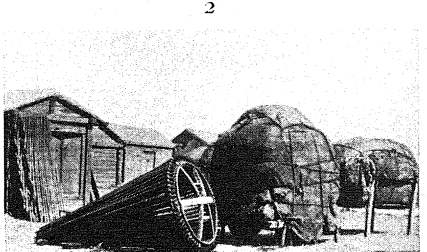

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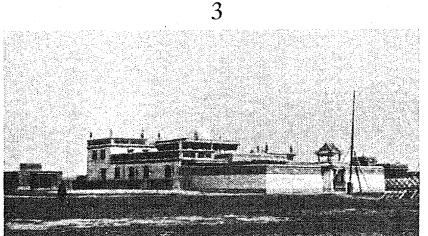

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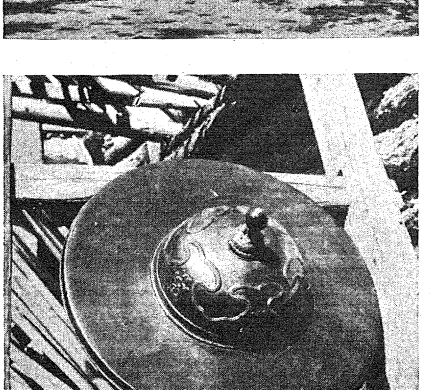

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## XXIV

# ON SOME GRAMMATICAL FORMS OCCURRING IN THE OLD BAISWARI OF TULASI DASA

By L. P. TESSITORI

THE object of the present note is to throw some light on certain grammatical forms which are met with in Tulasī Dāsa's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, and which either have not been paid sufficient attention hitherto or have remained unrecognized or have even been utterly misunderstood.

I shall begin by pointing out a dialectical peculiarity which I came across twice in the *Rāmacaritamānasa*, namely once in the first and another time in the second book. Here is the passage where I met it first :—

**कहँ धन कुलिस-ऊ चाहि कठोरा। कहँ स्यामल मृदु-गात किसोरा॥**
(*Bāl.* 258, 4).[1]

In Mr. Growse's rendering, which runs "Here is a bow as firm as adamant, and here a little dark-hued prince of tender frame" (vol. i, p. 159), we find no satisfactory solution of the difficulty involved by the phrase **कुलिस-ऊ चाहि**, nor are we better enlightened by Baija Nātha's commentary, where **चाहि** is explained as a mere form from **चाहन**, used in a pregnant sense: **कहाँ तौ ऐसा कठोर धनुष, जा-ते कुलिश वज्र-ह्न कठोरता लीन चाहत, कहाँ श्याम कुमार कोमल-गात, ता-ह्न-पर किशोर-अवस्था** (vol. i, p. 564).[2]

[1] The present and all the following quotations from the Old Baiswārī original are drawn from the edition of the **काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, प्रयाग १९०३**.

[2] The reference is to Navala Kiśora's edition, Lakhnau, 1890.

The other passage is the following:—

**अरि-बस दैव जियावत जाही । मरनु नीक तेहि जीवन चाही ॥**
(*Ayodh.* 21, 2).

which is rendered by Growse, satisfactorily enough, "Whomever God creates the dependant of an enemy, it is good for him to die rather than live" (vol. ii, p. 13), but is not quite perfectly understood by Baija Nātha, who, apparently unaware of the peculiar function in which **चाहि** is used in the passage, strives to explain it merely by the aid of the ordinary meaning of **चाहन**, viz.: **सवति शत्रु है, सो अरि-के बश ह्वै-कै दैव जा-को जिआवै, जीविका राखै, ता-को मरन-ही भला है, त्यहि-को जीवना न चाहिये** (vol. i, p. 732).

Now it is plain that, in both the Old Baiswārī passages above, **चाहि** is the conjunctive participial form of **चाहन** used in the particular function of a comparative post-position. The two phrases in which **चाहि** occurs ought therefore to be rendered as follows: "A bow even harder than adamant" and "For him death is better than life". Sir George Grierson informs me that **चाहि** is still used in the above sense in the rustic speech so far east as Bihār. Mr. Kellogg's statement that **चाँहि**, as a conjunctive participle from **चाहनु**, is employed, though rarely, to form comparatives in Naipālī (*Hindī Grammar*, § 210), is hardly correct, in the latter language, **चाँहि** being used almost in the function of a definite article and, according to Sir George Grierson, perhaps being of Tibeto-Burman origin.

More interesting, from the point of view of historical grammar, are two verbal forms, which appear as the remnants of the regular passive conjugation, and which—the passive conjugation having generally died out in the old vernaculars of the East at a much earlier period than in the vernaculars of the West—may be regarded

as very important documents concerning the subject. The former of the two forms ends in °द्यहि, and its use in the Old Baiswāṛī is mostly confined to the verb देखन, the verbal meaning implied being generally that of the imperative. Take the two examples following—

बरनत छबि जहँ तहँ सब लोगू। अवसि देखियहि देखन जोगू॥
(*Bāl.* 229, 6).

नाथ देखियहि बिटप बिसाला। पाकरि जम्बु रसाल तमाला॥
(*Ayodh.* 237, 2).

Mr. Growse's translation of the two runs as follows: "Everyone is talking of their loveliness; we really must see them; they are worth seeing" (vol. i, p. 143), and "See, my lord, those huge trees, *pākar*, *jāman*, mango, and *tamālā*" (vol. ii, p. 134).

Now, as far as the two examples above go, the simple imperative meaning is no doubt very satisfactory, but the case is no more so when we come to other passages like the following—

राखिअ अवध जो अवधि लगि रहत जानिअहि प्रान।
(*Ayodh.* 66, 9).

"Do you think, if you keep me at Avadh, that I can survive till the end of your exile?" (Growse, vol. ii, p. 40); and—

जहँ तहँ परत देखियहि बानर। (*La.* 50, 6).

"Everywhere you might see monkeys falling to the ground" (Growse, vol. iii, p. 98).

It is clear—as it might also be inferred from the nature of the termination—that with such forms in °द्यहि the imperative meaning cannot be the original one, and it is therefore to some different tense we must look for the historical explanation of them. The right solution has long been found by Sir Charles Lyall (*Sketch of the Hindustani Language*, p. 42), who suggested that °द्यहि is the 3rd person singular of the present passive, and is identical with modern °द्ये, the so-called respectful

imperative form.[1] We have, in fact, in देखियहि the Old (Eastern) Hindī form corresponding to Old Western Rājasthānī[2] देखीयइ and देखीजइ, which still survive in Modern Gujarātī દેખીએ and Mārwāṛī देखीजै. Its Western Hindī derivates देखिये and (by dropping of the original °हि) देखिय are still capable of being likewise used in the function of several different tenses. Passive presents in °इअइ, i.e. with short *i*, are already very common in the *Ādināthacaritra*, an Old Western Rājasthānī work, which represents for us the most eastern form of the Old Western Rājasthānī.[2] As for the passing of the present passive meaning into the imperative, as well as into the potential and conditional, evidence thereof is not wanting in the Old Western Rājasthānī and in its two offsprings, the Modern Gujarātī and Mārwāṛī. Let me quote only the three examples following :—

हवइ छाडीजइ गाँम (*Śālibhadracaüpaī*, 12).[3]

"Let us now leave [this] village."

जीपीइ सुखिँ करी सोँह नइँ हथीउ

(Bālāvabodha to the *Indriyaparājayaśataka*, 71).[4]

"A lion and an elephant can be easily subdued."

जिम समुद्र-नइ पूर्व-नइ पर्यन्तइ झूसिरो मूँकीयइ

(*Daśadṛṣṭānta*, 8).[5]

"As, if one threw a yoke into the eastern end of the Ocean . . . "

[1] Sir Charles Lyall was, however, wrong in explaining all forms in *-iyē* as 3rd singular present passives, a part of them having originated from the ancient precative and being, therefore, only accidentally identical with the former ones. Cf. Sir George Grierson's note on "The Modern Indo-Aryan Polite Imperative" in JRAS., 1910, pp. 162–3.

[2] Under this term I understand the common parent of Modern Gujarātī and Mārwāṛī (cf. JRAS., 1913, p. 554, n. 1). For any information on the subject the reader may refer to my "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī, with special reference to Apabhraṁśa and to Gujarātī and Mārwāṛī", which are just being published in the *Indian Antiquary*.

[3] A MS. of this work will be found amongst the Indian Collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence.

[4] A MS. thereof in the India Office Library (*S*, *1561*, *c*).

[5] A MS. thereof in the above-mentioned Biblioteca of Florence.

For the potential meaning which very frequently accompanies the present passive in Modern Mārwāṛī, cf. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ix, pt. ii, p. 29. The best illustration of the adaptability of the 3rd singular form of the present passive to assume practically the meaning of other tenses and persons is afforded by the Modern Gujarātī present forms in °ઈએ, which, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] are derived from Old Western Rājasthānī °ईयइ and have passed from the meaning of the present passive 3rd singular to that of the present active 1st plural.

The practical consequence is that in the two first examples above देखियहि is not an imperative proper, but simply a present passive used in the potential-imperative meaning, and therefore, to be literally translated, should not be rendered by "see!" but by "let it (or them) be seen"; whereas जानिअहि and देखियहि in the third and fourth example are passive presents used in their original meaning, and hence the passages in which they occur should be rendered as: "Let me be kept at Avadh, if [my] vital spirits are known [to you] to last till the end [of your exile]," and "Everywhere there are seen monkeys falling down [dead]" respectively. In the former of the two last examples, राखिअ is also very probably but an apocopation of the 1st person of the present passive, used in the potential-imperative meaning.[2]

The other passive form, which is not less important, ends in °ईयत and appears to remain unchanged for all persons, numbers, and genders. This form had already been noticed by Mr. Kellogg, § 566, *a* of his *Hindī*

[1] *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī*, § 137.

[2] It is strange that no mention of these forms in °ईयहि is made by Kellogg in his very complete *Hindi Grammar*, a fact which leads me to surmise that he possibly took the °हि to be some sort of pleonastic or emphatic appendage. It is unnecessary to remark that in ordinary editions of the *Rāmacaritamānasa* the ending °ईयहि is commonly changed to °ईये.

*Grammar*, where he improperly termed it as "Prakritic present passive", and by Sir Charles Lyall, p. 42 of his *Sketch of the Hindustani Language*, where he explained it as a present passive participle. It is, in fact, a survival of the imperfect participle of the passive conjugation, and it may be compared with the Old Western Rājasthānī cognate forms in °ईतउ (strong), °ईतु (weak), the only difference being in the °इय° being substituted for °ई° in the characteristic of the passive and terminal °उ being dropped. In the *Rāmacaritamānasa* this participle is commonly employed in the function of the present tense, much as it is the case with the imperfect participle in the Apabhraṃśa of the *Prākṛta-Piṅgala-Sūtras*—which I believe to be the parent of the Old Western Hindī—and in Modern Hindī in general, where we find the imperfect participle commonly employed, either in connexion with the substantive verb, or separately, to form the present definite. An example of the employment of the imperfect participle passive in °इयत in the Old Baiswāṛī of Tulasī Dāsa is the following:—

देखियत चक्रवाक खग नहीं (*Ki.* 16, 9),

which is rendered by Growse "The *chakwā* and other birds are nowhere to be seen" (vol. iii, p. 12).

Of the perfect participle in °ल, which appears to be quite foreign to the genius of the Old Baiswāṛī and which, from the standpoint of the latter language, may be regarded as an Eastern peculiarity, Mr. Kellogg quotes a single instance, § 561 of his *Hindī Grammar*, and that in such terms as would suggest that that one is the only instance of the usage of participles in °ल that is found in the *Rāmacaritamānasa*. Now in *La.* 97, 6 I have noticed two other instances of the same form of perfect participle. Here is the passage in question:—

सठङ सदा तुम्ह मोर मरायल । कहि अस कोपि गगन-पथ धायल ॥ (*La.* 97, 6).

Mr. Growse translates it as follows: "'Fools, you have ever been my prey'; so saying he [i.e. Rāvaṇa] made a savage spring into the air" (vol. iii, p. 132). Of the two participial forms occurring in the above passage, the latter hardly needs any explanation, it being quite plain that it is from **धान** "to run", but the former involves some difficulty. Baija Nātha's paraphrase is too free to throw any light on it: **हे शठज्ञ देवतज्ञ! तुम सदा मेरे मरायल, अर्थात् सिवाय पीठ देखावै-के युद्ध-मैं समुख कब-हूँ नहीं भयउ** (vol. ii, p. 1470), and so generally are the interpretations given by other commentators. Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa gives the following translation of the passage: **अरे मूर्खो! तुम सदा मुझ-से पिटते आये हो** (p. 813),[1] wherefrom it would seem that he understands **मरायल** as a perfect participle passive, which would be very satisfactory indeed, but for the **मोर**, which might at the most be taken as an apocopated locative of possession,[2] but never as an equivalent of **मुझ-से**. I am therefore inclined to explain **मरायल** as a substantively used perfect participle from that very potential passive in **°आ°**, which is quite common in both Maithilī and Bhojpurī (see Kellogg, § 589), and is likewise found even as westwardly as the Gujarātī, it being already met with in the Old Western Rājasthānī.

Another grammatical feature of the Old Baiswārī of Tulasī Dāsa, which had remained unnoticed up to now, is the use of the **भावी प्रयोग** or impersonal passive construction of the perfect participle with the object in the dative-accusative case. This construction being utterly unknown to Eastern Hindī, it may here be regarded as a Western peculiarity. Tulasī Dāsa uses it freely enough, as may be also gathered from the following examples, which are but a selection from many others I have noticed whilst reading the poem:—

[1] Nirṇaya Sāgara's edition, Bombay, 1904.

[2] Kellogg calls it "inflected genitive" (*Hindī Grammar*, § 697).

**अब लगि तुम्हहिँ न काहु साध** (*Bāl.* 137, 4).

"Nor has anyone up to the present ever succeeded in restraining you" (Growse, vol. i, p. 87).

**प्रिय सिय रामु कहा तुम्ह रानि** (*Ayodh.* 17, 5).

"You spoke, O queen, of Sītā and Rāma as your friends" (Growse, vol. ii, p. 11).

**जेहि बिधि राम-बिमुख मोहि कीन्हा** (*La.* 59, 5).

"God who made me Rāma's enemy."

**लीन्ह कपिहि उर लाइ पुलकित तन लोचन सजल** (*La.* 59, 9).

"With quivering limbs and eyes full of tears he [i.e. Bharata] took and clasped the monkey to his bosom" (Growse, vol. iii, p. 103).

There remains yet one subject, to which I wish to call the grammarian's attention before closing the present note, and this is the usage of the potential passive compounds. Much confusion about this point is made by Mr. Kellogg, who generally misrepresents the true nature of the potential passive by now taking it as a real passive and now as an intensive compound. In fact, both the examples quoted by him § 566 to illustrate the use of the passive with **जान** in the *Rāmacaritamānasa* are potential passives, and so is also the first example quoted § 568 (1) to illustrate intensive compounds.[1] Besides, Mr. Kellogg makes no mention of the potential passive with **परन**, which he probably understands as an intensive compound, and seems completely to ignore the potential passive with **बनन**.[2] After a careful study of the question I have come to the following conclusions, which I believe are now safe to stick by.

[1] The same inaccuracy is to be observed in most of the illustrations of the High Hindī passive conjugation given by Mr. Kellogg §§ 794–5.

[2] Mr. Greaves, p. 36 of his *Notes on the Grammar of the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās*, mentions the compounds with **बनन**, but takes them as mere passives.

Tulasī Dāsa, besides the regular active potential with **सकन**, freely uses three passive potentials, which are the following :—

1. A passive potential formed by combining with the conjunctive participle of the particular verb in question the conjugated forms of the verb **जान**, as in the three examples below—

**फिरत लाज कछु कहि नहिँ जाइ** (*Bāl.* 86, 5).

"Were I to retreat, [such would be my] shame [as] could not be told in the least."[1]

**जगदम्बा जहँ अवतरी सो पुर बरनि कि जाइ** (*Bāl.* 94, 13).

"Can that city be described, in which the Mother of the world took birth ?"

**हाट बाट नहिँ जाहिँ निहारी ।** (*Ayodh.* 159, 1).

"The markets and streets [are so dreary that] cannot be looked at."

This is by far the most common of the three passive potentials used in the *Rāmacaritamānasa*, and, were the above quotations not sufficient to illustrate it, it would be easy to find much additional evidence at almost every step in the poem. In regard to this verbal compound it is interesting to remark that it already existed in Sanskrit, where the verb √ **या**, the prototype of **जान**, is not unfrequently combined with the infinitive of verbs to give a potential passive meaning. For the sake of comparison, let me quote the instance **वक्तुं न यान्ति** "cannot be told", occurring in Siddhasenadivākara's *Kalyāṇamandirastotra*, stanza 4, which has been faithfully rendered into Braja by Banārasī Dāsa as **न बरणइ जाँहिँ**,[2] where **बरणइ** is a locative practically perfectly corresponding to the Sanskrit infinitive form.

[1] The passage had been completely misunderstood by Mr. Growse, whose rendering is "Then *returned* shame too strong for words" (vol. i, p. 58).

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xlii, p. 45, 1913.

2. A potential passive analogously formed with the conjunctive participle and the verb **परन**, as in the examples—

**समुझि परहिँ नहिँ पन्थ** (*Ki.* 15, 9).

"The roads cannot be distinguished."

**दण्ड एक रथ देखि न परा।** (*La.* 93, 4).

"For [the space of an] hour the chariot could not be seen."

3. A potential passive formed by conjugating the verb **बनन** with the imperfect participle of the particular verb. Examples—

**बरनत नहिँ बनै** (*Bāl.* 93, 12).

"Cannot be described."

**देखत बनइ बरनि नहिँ जाई।** (*Ar.* 43, 3).

"Can be seen [but] cannot be described."

Now, if my diligent reader has carefully considered all the examples given above, he cannot have failed to notice that, with the single exception of the last one, all are negative and impersonal in form. When in the *Rāmacaritamānasa* there occurs a potential passive without the negatives **न**, **नहिँ**, it generally appears to retain no more its potential meaning and to be practically equivalent with a simple passive. Take the two illustrations following:—

**जनु कुइ गयउ पाक बरतोरू।** (*Ayodh.* 27, 4).

"As if a ripe pustule had been touched."[1]

**लिखत सुधाकर गा लिखि राहू।** (*Ayodh.* 55, 2).

"Whilst [one was] drawing a picture of the moon, Rāhu came to be painted [in her stead]."

I believe it is from the evidence of such instances as the two above that Mr. Kellogg has been misled into

[1] Such is the interpretation given by Baija Nātha and Rāmeśvara Bhatta, which I believe to be much more satisfactory than Growse's "Like an over-ripe gourd that bursts at a touch" (vol. ii, p. 17).

classifying the potential passive with जाव as a mere passive compound. To him the potential meaning, which is so evident in negative sentences, seemed possibly but a modification of the passive meaning, which he took to be the original one. But a more thoughtful consideration of the question will show the case to be quite the reverse. In the first place, it is but natural that the potential meaning should commonly become lost in affirmative sentences, and survive only in negative ones,—it being never so much important to say that a certain thing *can be done* as that *it cannot be done*, and the former expression naturally tending to become equivalent with *it is done*. Indeed, it is very likely that potential compounds with जाव were in origin used only in the negative and impersonal form. In the second place, a very strong argument in favour of the potential meaning being the original one is afforded by the analogy of the Neo-Indian simple passive potential in -आ-, which likewise long ago lost its potential sense in affirmative sentences, as in the Old Western Rājasthānī examples following :—

तुम्हो अभख्य-माँहि कहिवाय (*Pañcākhyāna*, i, 493).[1]

"You are reckoned among [those animals whose flesh] is not to be eaten."

नरक-रूपीया वैश्वानर-माँहि पचाइसि

(*Indriyaparājayaśataka*, 76).[2]

"Thou wilt be roasted in the fire of hell."

In Modern Gujarātī, as is well known, this passive potential voice has become the regular substitute for the simple passive.

A third and most conclusive argument may be obtained through taking into consideration the case in which the agent of the potential passive is put in the Old Baiswārī

[1] A MS. whereof in the afore-mentioned Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence. See Theodor Aufrecht's *Florentine Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. 106.

[2] See n. 4, p. 902.

and in Hindī in general, as well as in other cognate vernaculars. It will be seen that in Hindī the agent of the compound potential passive is never put in the agentive, but only in the ablative governed by से.[1] Now this exactly corresponds to the construction adopted in the Old Western Rājasthānī with the simple potential passive in -आ-, which regularly requires the agent to be in the ablative with थी, whereas in the same language the agent of the real passive in -ईं- is commonly put in the instrumental case. The same may be said in regard to the Modern Gujarātī, which likewise uses the ablative case with both the simple potential passive in -અા- and the compound potential passive with જવું, and on the other hand employs the instrumental with past participles passive in the कर्मणि construction.[2] From the above I would therefore conclude that the substitution of the ablative for the agentive or instrumental is a sure testimony to the potential meaning of a passive verb,[3] and, consequently, the so-called compound passive of Hindī is by origin a potential passive, just as much as the simple potential passive of Old Western Rājasthānī and Modern Gujarātī.

I have spoken of the potential passive of Hindī, which is formed with the inflected form of the perfect participle, as identical with the potential passive of the Old Baiswāṛī, which has been shown to be formed with the conjunctive participle. In fact, I do not see between the two any greater difference than e.g. between an Old Western Rājasthānī ablative phrase with थी (loc. abs.) and another with थउ (nom. masc.), the conjunctive participle of Old

[1] Cf. Kellogg's *Hindī Grammar*, §§ 691, (6), 794–6.

[2] Cf. Taylor's ગુજરાતી ભાષાનું વ્યાકરણ, §§ ૧૭૭, ૪૩૭, ૪૬૪.

[3] So closely is the passive potential connected with the ablative case that in Modern Mārwāṛī even the real passive in -ईज- requires the agent to be in the ablative with सूँ whenever, as it is very frequently the case, it has a potential meaning (cf. LSI., vol. cit., p. 29).

Hindī being, according to my inquiries,[1] but the locative absolute form of the perfect participle. Potential passives with the perfect participle inflected already occur in the Old Baiswāṛī of the *Rāmacaritamānasa*, as in the two examples following, one with **जान** and the other with **परन** :—

**खग मृग हय गय जाहिँ न जोये** । (*Ayodh.* 158, 7).

"Birds, deer, horses, and elephants [are so downcast that] cannot be looked at."

**[आनन्द . . . ] मुख-कोटि-ह्न न परइ कह्यउ** (*Bāl.* 99, 11).

"[Such is the merriment as] cannot be described even through ten millions of mouths."

These passive potentials with the perfect participle inflected are, however, by far the less common in the *Rāmacaritamānasa*, and I have no doubt that they represent a Western peculiarity due to an influence of the Braja. In Modern Hindī they have completely superseded the old passive potentials formed with the conjunctive participle.

[1] *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī*, § 131.

## XXV

# AN EMBASSY FROM BAGHDAD TO THE EMPEROR BASIL II

By H. F. AMEDROZ

THE following pages contain a rather circumstantial account of certain negotiations between the Buwaihid, 'Aḍud al-Daula, and the Emperor Basil, the slayer of the Bulgarians, consequent on the presence of Basil's defeated rival, Bardas Scleros, in honourable captivity at Baghdad. His defeat at Pancalia in A.D. 979 very nearly coincided with 'Aḍud al-Daula's final conquest of 'Irāḳ, which was followed by the expulsion from Mosul of the Hamdanid Abu Taghlib. Between him and Scleros existed the tie of self-interest cemented by one of affinity: they had assisted each other against their respective adversaries, and had both been defeated. Abu Taghlib's defeat was final; driven from Diyār Bakr by the troops of 'Aḍud al-Daula, he fled to Syria and perished by a treacherous Arab hand. But no impassable barrier as yet interposed between Scleros and the object of his ambition. He had escaped to Mayyāfāriḳīn, which had lately submitted to 'Aḍud al-Daula, and had sent thence his brother Constantine as his envoy to Baghdad with an appeal for succour and an offer of allegiance. Contemporaneously arrived at Baghdad an envoy from Basil with instructions to procure, at whatever cost, the surrender of Scleros, who was obviously a valuable pawn in the monarchs' political game. 'Aḍud al-Daula thereupon caused him and his followers to be promptly conveyed to Baghdad, and the game proceeded.

The history of the Byzantine Empire for this period has been treated by M. Schlumberger in two works: *Un Empereur byzantin au X^e Siècle*, a single volume which covers the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, and *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du X^e Siècle*, in three volumes, the first

of which covers the reign of John Zimisces and that of Basil to a point later than these occurrences. For this period the author had the advantage of the annotated extracts from the history of Yaḥya b. Sa'īd of Antioch—written *circa* A.H. 406 (A.D. 1015: *Épopée*, i, 299, n. 3) in continuation of that of Eutychius, Sa'īd b. al-Baṭrīḳ, of Alexandria—which were published in 1883 by Von Rosen in *Zapiski Imp. Ak. Nauk*, vol. xliv, Appendix i, and the entire text of the work has now been published in *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient., Script. Arab.*, ser. III, t. vii, from p. 91. M. Schlumberger points out that Yaḥya's account of events is both fuller and more consistent with probability than that derived from Byzantine sources, and he makes it the foundation of his narrative. Yaḥya's account accords likewise with that of the recently recovered texts of the *Tajārib al-Umam* of Abu 'Ali Miskawaih (Gibb Memorial facsimile), vol. vi, and of its continuation, the *Dhail* of Abu Shujā',[1] whence the account of these negotiations has been derived.

There is some confusion in Moslem histories between the names of the two Bardas, Phocas and Scleros; by Yaḥya they are correctly distinguished. The latter is referred to in the *Tajārib* (p. 488) in connexion with Abu Taghlib, as "the Byzantine ruler known as Ward, whom the dissatisfied soldiery displaced by the two rulers", viz. Basil and Constantine, and again (p. 500) in connexion with the dispatch of his brother as envoy to Baghdad, as "Scleros known as Ward". In a passage of the *Dhail*, which is the basis of Ibn al-Athīr's narrative, vol. viii, 516–17, Phocas is called "Ward" and "Wardīs b. Lāūn" and Scleros, "Ward b. Munīr." This last designation is hard to understand, and it would be less unintelligible were it applied, not to Scleros, but to Phocas, as consequent on a misapprehension of his name for such

[1] d. A.H. 488 (Wust. Gesch., No. 227); the MS. has been recovered at Constantinople by His Excellency Aḥmad Zéki Pacha.

a name as Photius. For Mr. E. W. Brooks tells me that in a Syriac text edited by Nau from two MSS. in which the names of various saints appear in a translated form—Patr. Or., tome x, p. 52—the same saint is called, in the one "Phocas", and in the other "Nuhra", which is Syriac for "light".

Basil's envoy to Baghdad is identified by Yaḥya as Nicephorus Uranus, later "Magistros" and Governor of Antioch,[1] whereas the *Tajārib* (p. 500) says only that the envoy was a person of distinction, and emphasizes the fact that he and Scleros' brother were together in Baghdad courting 'Aḍud al-Daula's favour for the space of the entire year 369 as a circumstance tending greatly to the honour of that sovereign. And the above *Dhail* passage, reproduced by Ibn al-Athīr,[2] goes on to state Ward b. Munīr's defeat by Wardīs b. Lāūn after the two had met in single combat (see *Épopée*, i, 423–4).

[1] At p. 158, l. 15, and again p. 184, l. 4, where he is called "Magister and Ḳunṭus". On p. 167, l. 6, we are told that he escaped from Baghdad after the release of Scleros and rejoined Basil. In A.D. 996 he defeated the Bulgarians (*Épopée*, ii, 134–42), and in 1000 succeeded Damianus Dalassenus (who had been defeated and killed at Apamea; see *Ibn al-Ḳalānisi*, pp. 51–2) as governor of Antioch (*Épopée*, p. 158).

[2] Von Rosen detected from a study of the Bodleian fragment of the *Tajārib*, MS. Marsh 357, that it was the basis of Ibn al-Athīr's narrative (*Épopée*, i, 421, n. 4). Ibn al-Athīr likewise made use of the *Dhail*, and in vol. viii, p. 517, is the statement that Zimisces' death was due to poison administered by the eunuch brother of Theophano, "who had been vizier since the death of Romanus, and whose name was Barkamūs (Parakoimomenos), and who thus acquired power." The eunuch in question was Basil, natural son of Romanus Lecapenus, who aided Nicephorus to the throne and supplanted Bringas. But in another passage Ibn al-Athīr tells another story. In his survey of Byzantine history *sub* A.H. 433, from the birth of Basil and onwards (ix, 340–2), he attributes the poisoning to a priest instigated by Theophano from her place of exile, a distant cloister, whence she returned on the day Zimisces died, whereupon Basil succeeded, with herself as regent on the ground of his youth. Yaḥya (p. 147, l. 1) merely records his death (A.H. 365), and says that thereupon Basil and Constantine, sons of Romanus, became real rulers, but that the government was exercised by Basil their elder alone, he being then 18 years of age; that he relied on the Barkamūs, and recalled his mother Theophano from exile.

The next step in the political game was the dispatch to Byzantium in A.H. 371 of a Moslem envoy, the Ḳāḍi Abu Bakr al-Bāḳilāni (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 11–12; his life is given in *Ibn Khallikān*, trans., ii, 671). Yaḥya (159, l. 3) mentions the sending of an envoy concerning Scleros, whom he calls "Ibn Sahra" (in one MS. of the work the name appears correctly as Ibn Shahrām), and this Von Rosen considered to be a corruption of the Ḳāḍi's name, to the evident surprise of M. Schlumberger (p. 442, n. 2), unaware of the possibilities afforded by Oriental script, and his surprise is shown to be justified. The Ḳāḍi's mission, which, apart from the dramatic story of his escape from making obeisance to Basil,—told by Ibn al-Athīr, and also by Sam'āni in his notice of the Ḳāḍi (*Ansāb*, Gibb facsimile, 62[a], l. 4) and told moreover, so Von Rosen says, of the envoy from 'Abd al-Raḥmān of Cordova to a Norman king,—was not productive of much result. It was at some subsequent date in A.H. 371 that Ibn Shahrām went on his mission, and his instructions as given by Yaḥya accord entirely with the text of the *Dhail*, but Yaḥya's further statement that Nicephorus Uranus was imprisoned at Baghdad on suspicion of compassing the death of Scleros by poison (which is repeated by al-Makīn, *Épopée*, i, 443, n. 5), finds no confirmation either in the *Tajārib* or in the *Dhail*, and seems indeed to be quite inconsistent with the details of Ibn Shahrām's mission now to be told.

The following translation of the *Dhail* text (photographs 44–60) owes much to Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

### An Account of the Negotiations between 'Aḍud al-Daula and the Byzantine Ruler by Exchange of Verbal Communications

The occasion for these communications was the fact already stated, that Bardas had entered Islamic territory; this alarmed the Byzantine sovereign and he dispatched

an envoy thereon to ʿAḍud al-Daula. The reply was sent by Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ashʿari, known as Ibn al-Bāḳilāni,[1] and he came back with an envoy known as Ibn Ḳūnis, who, on his return, went accompanied by Abu Isḥaḳ b. Shahrām with a claim against the Byzantine sovereign for a number of strongholds. He now arrived accompanied by Nicephorus the Kanikleios,[2] who was bearer of a handsome gift.

SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE TRANSACTION EXTANT IN THE WORDS OF IBN SHAHRĀM, POINTING TO HIS SAGACITY, HIS CAUTION, AND HIS FIRMNESS

It runs thus: On reaching Kharshana I learnt that the Domesticus (i.e. Bardas Phocas) had left Constantinople [45] and had begun his preparations, and that with him was an envoy from Aleppo known as Ibn Māmak, and Kulaib, brother-in-law to Abu Ṣāliḥ al-Sadīd. Kulaib was one of Bardas' partisans and was among the rebels who had been amnestied and settled on Byzantine territory after being mulcted in a fine. The Byzantines bethought themselves of fining him after the example of others, and to forfeit the estates which had been granted him when he contrived the surrender to them of the fortress of Barzūya,[3] but he found the means of gaining over the Chamberlain[4] and the Domesticus, and managed

[1] See *Ibn Khallikān*, trans., ii, 671.

[2] i.e. holder of the inkstand. The official, as above stated, was Nicephorus Uranus.

[3] This was in the course of Zimisces' final campaign in Syria, A.H. 364. Yaḥya's account of the surrender, and of Kulaib's nomination as "Basilicus", i.e. Governor of Antioch (p. 146, l. 5), is quoted *Épopée*, i, 299. Kulaib had lately surrendered both Antioch and himself to Scleros, who had made him Governor of Malatya (p. 147, l. 18; p. 148, l. 6; *Épopée*, i, 376–7). Barzūya had been taken from the Byzantines by Saif al-Daula in A.H. 337 (*Un Empereur byzantin*, p. 132, n. 1).

[4] Barkamūs, i.e. Parakoimomenos, accubitor, or chamberlain. This was the eunuch Basil who had declared himself in favour of Nicephorus Phocas, and on his success had replaced Bringas as chief adviser, remaining so until his dismissal by Basil in A.H. 375 (A.D. 985) (*Yaḥya*, p. 165, l. 13, and *Épopée*, i, 573).

to procure for the Byzantine ruler undertakings as regards Aleppo and elsewhere which sufficed to ward off imminent danger, together with an offer to secure immediate payment of what was attributable to the land-tax on Aleppo and Emesa, since it was his relative (who had promised) and he would not oppose him: on this ground he was let off. With the envoy from Aleppo nothing was settled, but a claim was made for arrears of land-tax for past years.

On the Domesticus arriving at a place which was off the post route Ibn Kūnis and I proceeded to join him. He proved to be young and self-satisfied, and averse to completing the truce on various grounds; one being that he could dispense with its necessity for the moment and that it would prejudice his repute; [46] another that the Byzantine ruler was eager for it, "and we are in fear of mischief from him"; and thirdly his own personal hopes and wishes. But at the same time he showed us courtesy and did accept the proposed peace with an expression of thanks.

He then inquired the object of my coming, and I fully informed him. Ibn Kūnis drew his attention to the stipulated terms, on which he said: were the chiefs to succeed in getting us to cede to them amicably the districts and fortresses they ask, each one of them would set about scheming to avoid the necessity of keeping a force of men and of making money payments. I replied that where policy was backed by force and ability it was a proof of nobility of character, and should be met by compliance. "But what about Aleppo?" he asked: "it is no part of your (i.e. 'Aḍud al-Daula's) territory, and its ruler has no regard for you; his envoy here and Kulaib are tendering us its land-tax and asking for our protection. And as for the fortresses, they were taken in the time of my uncle Nicephorus[1] and of other sovereigns, and we are

[1] The speaker was son of Leo Phocas, brother of Nicephorus.

not at liberty to relinquish them, so if you can make any other proposal, do so, otherwise spare yourself the long journey." I replied: "If you have your Sovereign's order for my departure I will go, but if you say this from yourself only, then the Sovereign ought to hear my own words and I his reply, so as to return with authentic information." And he permitted my going on.

So I proceeded to Constantinople and made my entry after I had been met [47] and most courteously escorted by court officials. I was honourably lodged in the palace of the Kanikleios Nicephorus (the envoy come with me) who stood in favour with the Sovereign. Next I was summoned to the presence of the Chamberlain (i.e. the eunuch Basil), who said: "We are acquainted with the correspondence which bears on your message, but state your views." Thereupon I produced the actual agreement, which he inspected and then said: "Was not the question of relinquishing the land-tax on Abu Taghlib's[1] territory, both past and future, settled with al-Bāḳilāni in accordance with your wishes, and did he not assent to our terms as to restoring the fortresses we had taken, and as to the arrest of Bardas? Your master accepted this agreement and complied with our wishes, for you have his ratification of the truce under his own hand." I said that al-Bāḳilāni had not come to any arrangement at all; he replied that he had not left until he had settled the terms of agreement, of which the ratification under the hand of his sovereign was to be forwarded, and that he had previously produced his letter approving the whole of the stipulations. Accordingly I was driven to find some device in order to meet this position.

*The excellent idea which occurred to Ibn Shahrām for rebutting his adversary's case*

I said this: "Ibn al-Bāḳilāni came to no agreement with you; it was Ibn Kūnis who made this compact [48]

[1] Son and successor of Nāṣir al-Daula at Mosul.

and took a copy of it in the Greek language." At this the Chamberlain broke out, and asked Ibn Kūnis "Who has authorized this?" to which he answered that neither he nor Ibn al-Bāḳilānī had settled anything, and I withdrew.

A few days later the Chamberlain summoned me and resumed reading the agreement. He paused at a point where it spoke of "what might be settled with Ibn Shahrām on the basis of what was contained in the third copy", and said that this was the one copy, but where were the other two? On referring to this passage I saw the blunder that had been committed in letting this stand, and said: "The meaning of the passage is that the agreement was to be in triplicate, one part to remain with the Byzantine ruler, one to be in Aleppo, and the third in the capital (Baghdad)." This Ibn Kūnis traversed, saying that his instructions had been to note down the exact sense of the agreement, and the Chamberlain said that this copy was the ruling one; that the second copy referred to giving up the fortresses, whilst the third omitted all mention of Aleppo; that the agreement had been signed on the terms agreed upon with Ibn al-Bāḳilānī, and the sole object in sending this copy was to procure the sovereign's hand and seal thereto. To which I said: "This cannot be so; my instructions are merely what I have stated as regards Aleppo and the fortresses, in accordance with the agreement which you have seen." He replied: "Were Bardas (i.e. Scleros) here in force [49] and you had made us all prisoners you could not ask for more than you are asking; and Bardas is, in fact, a prisoner."

*Ibn Shahrām's well-directed rejoinder*

I replied: "Your supposed case of Bardas being here in force is of no weight, for you are well aware that when Abu Taghlib, who is not on a par with the lowest of ʿAḍud al-Daula's followers, assisted Bardas he foiled the

Byzantine sovereigns for seven years; how would it be, then, were 'Aḍud al-Daula to assist him with his army? Bardas, although a prisoner in our hands, is not exposed, as your captives are, to mutilation; his presence in the capital is the best thing for us, for we have not made a captive of him. It may be that he will fret at our putting him off, will despair of us, become estranged, and go away; but at present he is acting with us and is reassured by the pomp and security he witnesses at the capital. We hold, in truth, all the strings."

My words impressed and nonplussed him greatly, for he knew them to be true, and he said: "What you ask cannot be granted; we will ratify, if you will, what was agreed on with al-Bāḳilāni—else, depart." I replied: "If you wish me to depart without having had a hearing from the Sovereign I will do so." To this he said that he spoke for the Sovereign, but that he would ask an audience for me.

And in a few days time I was summoned [50] and attended. The Byzantine Sovereign (Basil) caused what had passed to be repeated to him in my presence, and said: "You have come on a reprehensible errand; your envoy came and procured our consent to certain terms, which included the restoring of the fortresses taken during the revolt; you are now asking to have ceded other fortresses which were taken by my predecessors. Either consent to what was originally stipulated or go in peace." I replied: "But al-Bāḳilāni agreed on nothing, for, as for the document he brought, you deprived us under its terms of half our territory; how can we admit such a thing against ourselves? Of these fortresses in Diyār Bakr none are held by you; now Diyār Bakr belongs to us: all you can do is to dispute it, and you do not know what will be the issue of the struggle." Here the Chamberlain interposed, saying: "This envoy is skilled in controversy and can make up a fine story: death is better

for us than submission to these terms: let him return to his master." The Sovereign then rose, and I withdrew.

When I had spent two months in Constantinople I was summoned by the Chamberlain. He had with him the Marshal,[1] father of the Domesticus, who had been blinded, and a number of patricians besides, and we discussed the question of the fortresses. They offered to cede the land-tax of Ḥuṣn Kaifā (held by Abu Taghlib's mother, who received the tax), to which I replied: "And I, in turn, will cede you [51] the land-tax of Samand"[2]; and on their asking what I meant I said: "It is only the extreme limits that are specified in the agreement so as to make it clear that all within the limits is comprised in the peace; Ḥuṣn Kaifā is five days' journey short of Amid: how come you to name it?"

The dispute as to Aleppo went on until the Marshal said: "If the ruler of Aleppo pays over the land-tax to us we shall know that your statements were not justified, and that he prefers us to you." I answered: "And what assurance have we that you have not induced his secretary and brother-in-law Kulaib to make you some payment to be adduced as proof? For, short of fraud, I know the thing to be out of the question." And thereupon I went away.

Next I was summoned by the Sovereign. By this time the Aleppo land-tax had arrived, and I found their earlier tone altered in vehemence and decision, for they said: "Here is the Aleppo land-tax come in, and its ruler has asked us to come to an agreement with him as regards

[1] Curopalate, "Maréchal du Palais Sacré, titre très considérable à fonctions mal connues" (Schlumberger, *Un Empereur byzantin*, p. 361). He was Leo Phocas, blinded for his connivance in the revolt of his son Bardas against John Zimisces, but the mutilation in this case was intentionally carried out in a merciful fashion: see *Épopée*, i, 66.

[2] Said by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, the place being near Samarkand. So Belisarius is said to have offered the Goths, in answer to their claim for Sicily which he had already conquered, the cession of Britain.

the towns of Ḥarrān and Sarūj, and to aid him in attacking you and other powers." And I said: "Your receipt of the land-tax I know to be a trick, for 'Aḍud al-Daula did not imagine that you would regard it as lawful to act as you have acted, or he would have sent an army to stop yours. And as for your story about Aleppo's ruler, I am better informed as to his views, and all you have been told about him is untrue; the overlordship of Aleppo is in 'Aḍud al-Daula."[1] They asked me whether I had anything to add, and on my replying "No", said that I might take leave of the Sovereign and depart with my escort [52]. I said I would forthwith do this, and I turned towards the Sovereign to take my leave of him.

*Ibn Shahrām's sound resolve in this predicament*

His account is as follows: I considered the position, perceiving that the Chamberlain, the Marshal, and the rest of them were averse to the proposed peace, (the military men being apprehensive that their swords would not be required, and that their stipends would be reduced, as was the way at Byzantium when peace was made), and the only way left to me was to gain over and conciliate the Sovereign, so I said to him: "Will your Majesty consider 'Aḍud al-Daula's conduct towards you in not assisting your enemy and in not attacking your territory during the time you were occupied with those in revolt against you; for you know that if you satisfy him by himself, he being the Monarch of Islam, well and good, but, failing this, you will have to satisfy thousands of your partisans, and their consent is uncertain; and if you fail to procure it you may have to satisfy 'Aḍud al-Daula later on. You know, too, that all those around him are averse to the proposed peace; he alone is in its favour,

[1] Sa'd al-Daula, the son of Saif al-Daula, had tendered his submission to 'Aḍud al-Daula on his arrival in Baghdad, and had included his name in the "Prayer" after that of the Caliph (*Yaḥya*, p. 157, l. 18).

and he is able to give effect to his pleasure, for no one ventures to dispute it. You I perceive to be in favour of peace with him, but it may be that your wish is not furthered by those around you." He was moved by my speech, and his expression showed [53] his concern at my being aware of the opposition of his advisers, and he rose and departed.

Now, the person most intimately placed towards the Sovereign and the one who imposed the purple signature on his behalf, and was privy to all his official acts, was Nicephorus, the Kanikleios, who had accompanied me as envoy, and I asked him to withdraw with me, and he did so.

*The arrangement come to by Ibn Shahrām with the Sovereign's confidential adviser, whereby he effected his purpose*

When we were alone together I spoke thus: "I wish you to convey a communication from me to the Sovereign. My stay here has been protracted, so inform me of his final resolve: if he meets my wishes, well and good; if not, there is no occasion for me to remain any longer." And I made the Kanikleios a complimentary present from what I had brought with me, with fair promises on behalf of 'Aḍud al-Daula. My communication was this: "Your Majesty's first care should be to guard your person, next your sovereignty, and next your partisans. You should not trust one whose interest it is to do you prejudice, for it is Abu Taghlib's aid which has brought about what has taken place in your dominions; what, then, will happen if 'Aḍud al-Daula joins forces against your Majesty? [54] The conclusion of peace between yourself and between the first of men and ruler of Islam is not, I see, to the taste of your advisers. Now a man fails to realize only that of which he has had no experience, and you have had seven years' experience of revolt against yourself and your rule.

Moreover, the continuance of the State does not imply your continued existence, for the Byzantines are indifferent as to who is Emperor over them [the text here is corrupt]. This is on the assumption that 'Aḍud al-Daula does not move in person. I gave you good advice, knowing as I do my master's leaning and regard towards you; consider therefore my words and act as you may deem best." Nicephorus on his return said: "The answer is that 'Things are as you say, but it is not in my power to resist the general body, who already regard me as their deceiver and undoer. Nevertheless I shall carry the matter through and act so far as I am able'."

By a fortunate coincidence the Chamberlain (the eunuch Basil) now fell seriously ill and was unable to go out. My correspondence with the Sovereign went on, and he gave me audience on successive days and conversed with me in person, the Kanikleios assisting me owing to his hatred and jealousy of the Chamberlain, until the peace was agreed to in accordance with all the stipulations in the agreement, any attempts to have Aleppo excluded not being assented to. On my pressing this point vigorously and saying, "Without Aleppo this cannot go through," he said, "Give up insisting, for we will not cede more than what we have ceded, nor will we evacuate territory whose revenue we receive, except under duress. But I will send a letter by you to my friend [55] your Sovereign, for I know his noble nature, and that once he knows the truth he will not deviate from it." He then told those near to remove, and said to me secretly from all: "Tell your Sovereign that I truly desire his good-will, but that I must have a proof of it. If you wish us to transfer to you the Aleppo land-tax, or that I should leave you to collect it on the terms of Ibn Ḥamdān being ousted from Aleppo, perform what you promised by the mouth of Ibn Ḳūnis" (alluding to the surrender of Bardas). And I said: "I have not heard of this and was not present

thereat, but I think the performance unlikely." This he resented, and said: "Give up this delaying, for there remains nothing more for you to argue with me." He then ordered the replies to be drawn up, and I wrote mine and attended to take my leave.

*A fortunate occurrence for Ibn Shahrām*

Afraid lest fate should, as happens in such cases, bring about the death of the man whose surrender they required [the text seems corrupt], and in order that the peace should include all our territory to beyond the Euphrates and the territory of Bād[1] to the exclusion of Aleppo, I said: "You know that I am a servant under orders and not a sovereign, and that I must not go beyond the instructions which I have faithfully reported to you. And as for your stipulations about Aleppo I have sworn to you that I heard nothing on this head [56] at Baghdad. But is your Majesty prepared to consider a plan which has occurred to me as being the right one for him to adopt?" "What is that?" he asked, and I said: "To draw up a treaty of peace between us to include all our territory from Emesa to Bād's district without any mention of the question of the surrender you ask—so much and no more. This you will swear to on your religion, sign it with your hand, and seal it with your seal in my presence. Your envoy will convey it to the capital with me, where either it will be ratified, or your envoy will bring it back." I was asked, "And you will give a similar written undertaking?" "Yes," I said, "on your handing in the terms you require." "But you," he replied "will mention in your document the man's surrender?" I replied: "I cannot mention what is outside my authority." "Then," said he, I will have two agreements prepared, one of them for what lies beyond the Euphrates and Bād's territory, the

[1] The ancestor of the Marwānid dynasty at Mayyāfārikīn. Bād made a resolute attempt on Mosul after the death of 'Aḍud al-Daula, but failed, and fell in battle.

other dealing with Emesa and Aleppo as stipulated; then, if your Sovereign chooses the one which extends beyond the Euphrates on the terms of his removing Bardas, he can take it, or if he prefer the other he can give effect to his preference." I suggested the agreement being drawn up without any mention of this question, to which he said: "You then put it into writing, for I will not give anything written without receiving the same." "Then let your interpreter," I said, "make a copy of my words, and should 'Aḍud al-Daula ratify them they can be copied out in his presence and be signed by him," and this he agreed to. On this footing the terms were put into writing and a peace was made for ten years. When this was finished I said [57]: "Do not put your envoy on the footing of a mere courier, but inform him of what you wish him to do in pursuance of this agreement we have come to, and in accordance with what he himself knows, and ratify whatever he may ratify." To this he assented, and it was so specified in the document.

The Chamberlain, on coming out after his recovery, was highly incensed at several matters: one being the intimacy of the Kanikleios with his master; another the conclusion of the business in his absence; and a third the question of Aleppo and Emesa and the promises made to him by Kulaib.

*Words by which the Byzantine Sovereign conciliated the Chamberlain's feelings*

According to the report of some of the courtiers he spoke thus: "There is no one about me, as you know, Chamberlain, who has your affection for me or holds your place in my esteem, for you are nearest me in lineage and in affinity;[1] the rest, as the envoy said, are indifferent as to whether it be I or someone else who is emperor. You

[1] Basil, the eunuch, was natural son of Romanus Lecapenus, whose daughter Helen was wife to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the grandfather of the Emperor Basil.

must safeguard both our lives and not heed what the Marshal (Leo Phocas) may say, nor trust to him or to his advice. For you know Ibrāhīm's story about him and his son (Bardas), how they harboured treachery to our rule and intended deceit towards us." I asked my informant who Ibrāhīm was, and he said, "An envoy from the Domesticus to yourselves; he it was who disclosed faithfully to the Sovereign that the Domesticus [58] (i.e. Bardas) had sent him to you (Moslems) to ask you to assist him in rebelling."

The Chamberlain accepted the Sovereign's statement, and on his sending for me I noticed in him a tone and familiarity with me quite other than before, whilst at the same time his looks gave evidence of his disapproval of the terms agreed on. This Kanikleios was named envoy with me after he had declined the office, but the Sovereign finding no one else of his capacity put pressure on him, and the Chamberlain aided him, saying: "You and I are the two most important personages at Court, and one of us must go." And so zealous was he in the matter that I attributed it to a desire that he should be at a distance, and to jealousy at the intimate footing he saw he was on with the Sovereign.

This, concisely, is the sense of the words used by Ibn Shahrām. At this moment 'Aḍud al-Daula was in ill-health, and access to him was forbidden, and he ordered a statement of what had happened to be laid before him. This illness was that which proved fatal to 'Aḍud al-Daula, and after his death the Byzantine envoy had an audience of Ṣamṣām al-Daula and was handed presents from him and settled the business he had come on. Two agreements were drawn up, the one being the agreement come to with Ibn Shahrām on the footing of its being a complete and permanent one, the other the earlier agreement made with Nicephorus.[1]

[1] i.e. when he was at Baghdad as envoy from Basil after the flight of Scleros to Moslem territory.

[59] *The agreement come to as regards Bardas, his brother, and his son*

The result of deliberations was that Nicephorus was to remain at Baghdad, and was to send an envoy of his own with one coming from the capital (Baġhdad) to take the Sovereign's signature and seal for Bardas' (i.e. Scleros') brother and son, with a safe-conduct and a guarantee assuring them his favour and restoration to their former offices and to a settled position. And that on this being sent they were then to be conducted to the Byzantine Sovereign by Nicephorus, whilst Bardas (Scleros) himself was to remain in Moslem territory, and was to be prevented from approaching Byzantine territory with a view to mischief. And that, when the fair treatment of the other two in accordance with the undertaking had become apparent, then Bardas too should be sent after them in the course of the third year following on the above undertaking, on terms no less satisfactory than in the case of his brother and son. And that the sum paid as tribute for Emesa and Aleppo by Ibn Ḥamdān to the Byzantine Sovereign should, as from the sending of Bardas to Byzantium, be paid into the treasury of Ṣamṣām al-Daula, and that if Ibn Ḥamdān delayed making the payment, the Byzantine Sovereign was to compel him and thus spare Ṣamṣām al-Daula the necessity [60] of sending a force against him. And that an equivalent should be assigned as against Bād's territory for the complimentary presents he used to make to the Byzantine Sovereign, on the understanding that the latter was not to assist Bād nor to protect him if he took refuge with the Byzantines. Both agreements were sent off together and both were ratified.

Later took place what shall be told with regard to the release of Bardas from his confinement.

The proposed amnesty in favour of Scleros and his relations did not take effect, and his release by the

successor of 'Aḍud al-Daula took place only some years later on Basil's reverse in his Bulgarian campaign and in view of Scleros' rising in revolt against him—a revolt in which he was joined by Phocas (*Épopée*, i, 675 ; *Yaḥya*, 166, l. 14). Scleros' son, Romanus, who then abandoned his father's cause, did eventually attain to high favour with Basil (*Épopée*, i, 694, 696, 772). The above narrative gives no countenance to the story of Uranus' imprisonment at Baghdad by reason of his having devised the killing of Scleros by poison, and it does give some indication that Basil was already chafing at the authority of his minister, the eunuch Basil, whose fall was to follow in A.H. 375 (A.D. 985), the date being fixed by Yaḥya's history (*Épopée*, i, 573).

It shows too that the value set by Basil on the surrender of Scleros was such that he was prepared to buy it at the cost of the entire land-tax, or tribute, payable to him by Aleppo under the terms of its surrender to Peter Phocas in A.H. 359 (*Yaḥya*, 134, l. 15; *Un Empereur byzantin*, 730). This part of the treaty fell through, and the payments by Aleppo continued, although at a reduced rate (*Yaḥya*, 165, l. 2, and 166, l. 2; *Épopée*, i, 550, 570–1), and in one case being remitted altogether (*Yaḥya*, 176, l. 12; *Épopée*, ii, 92). M. Schlumberger supposes the payments to have been made regularly (ib. 435), and it is certain that an instalment was on its way to Byzantium when intercepted by Scleros in the early days of his revolt (ib. i, 383). It would be interesting to know how far this tribute was regarded at Byzantium as an assured State asset—in other words, what would have been its purchase value in the market. There is a very precise statement in *Faraj ba'd Shidda*, ii, 132, l. 12, that, at a date some half-century earlier, the sale value of land situate in the *Sawād* of Baghdad was four years' purchase, after deducting land-tax and other State claims. It is apparent also that the State's anticipated receipts from the

taxation of land possessed a substantial sale value, for such was the basis of the financial proceedings of the viziers Ibn Muḳla (*Tajārib*, v, 327–8) and Muhallabi (ib. vi, 168–9; cf. JRAS. 1913, pp. 829, 836). But, again, the value of the Caliph's expectancy of tribute from a subordinate ruler should, judging by the scene enacted between the Caliph's envoy and 'Aḍud al-Daula's uncle and predecessor (ib. v, 465–6), have ranked exceedingly low in the Baghdad market, and it may be that the same assumption would be true as regards the Aleppo tribute in the market at Byzantium.

TEXT

ذكر ما جرى بين عضد الدولة وملك الروم فيما ترددت به الرسالة.

كان سبب هذه الرسالة ما تقدم ذكره من دخول ورد الى بلد الاسلام فخاف ملك الروم وانفذ رسولا الى عضد الدولة فى امره. فاخرج ابو بكر محمد بن الطيب الاشعرى المعروف بابن الباقلانى بجواب الرسالة فعاد ومعه رسول يعرف بابن قونس فاعيد وانفذ معه ابو اسحق بن شهرام فاستثنى على ملك الروم بعدّة حصون ووصل معه رسول يعرف بنقفور الكانكلى بهديّة جميلة.

نكت من جملة مشروح وُجد بخط [45] ابن شهرام دلّت منه على دهاء وحزم وقوّة راى

قال: لما حصلتُ بخرشنة عرفت ان الدمستق خرج من القسطنطينية اخذاً فى الاحقشاد والاستعداد ومعه رسول حلب المعروف بابن مامكّ وكُلَيب حمو ابى صالح السديد فاما كليب فانه كان مع ورد وحصل فى جملة العصاة الذين أُومنوا واقرّوا فى بلد الروم بعد ان صودروا وهمّ الروم بمصادرته اسوةً بغيره وارتجاع الضياع التى سُلّمت اليه حين سعى فى تسليم قلعة برزوية اليهم فتوصل كليب الى البركموس والدمستق بما ارضاهما به وضمن

لملك الروم فى امر حلب وغيرها ضمانات دفع بها الشرّ العاجل وبذل تعجيل ما يتعلّق بخراج حلب وحمص لما كان صهره وانه لا يخالفه فتخلص بهذه الحجة . واما رسول حلب فانه لم يفصل معه امرًا الا انه طولب بخراج ما مضى من السنين .

وحصل الدمستق بموضع عادل عن جادّة البريد فعدل ابن قونس بى اليه ووجدته حدث السنّ معجباً بنفسه لا يوثر تمام الهدنة لاحوال منها انه يستغنى عنه فى العاجل فتبطل سُوقه [46] ومنها ان يقع الطمع فيه من ملك الروم "ولا نأمن بوائقه" والثالثة ما يرجوه ويشتهيه لنفسه الا انه اظهر جميلاً وقبل الهدنة وشكر علمها .

ثم سألنى عما وردتُ فيه فذكرت جملته وواقفهُ ابن قونس على نسخة الشرط فلما وقف عليه قال : لو تمّ للروساء ان نخلّى لهم عما يريدونه من البلدان والحصون باللطف والرفق لكان كل رئيس يتلطف ويستغنى بذلك عن جميع الرجال وبذل الاموال . قلتُ : اذا كان اللطف والرفق من وراء قوّة وقدرة فهو دليل الفضل ويجب تلقيه بالقبول . قال : اما حلب فليست ببلدكم ولا يريدكم صاحبها وهذا رسولهُ وكليب يبذلان لنا خراجها ويسألان الذبّ عنها واما الحصون فانها أُخذت فى زمان عمّى نقفور وغيره من الملوك ولا فُسحة فى النزول عنها فان كان معك غير هذا والا فلا تتعب نفسك بطول الطريق . فقلت : ان كان امرك ملك الروم بانصرافى فعلتُ وان كنتَ قلتَهُ من تِلقاء نفسك فيجوز ان يسمع الملك كلامى واسمع جوابه واعود بحجّة . فاذن لى فى السير .

فسرتُ الى القسطنطينية ودخلتها بعد ان تلقانى من اصحاب [47] ملكها مَن احسن صحبتى اليها فاكرمتُ وانزلتُ فى دار نقفور الكانكلى (الذى وصل الان معى رسولاً) وهو خصيص بملك الروم ثم استدعيت فدخلت الى البركموس فقال : قد وقفنا على الكتب وقد أُحيل فيها على ما تقوله فاذكر ما عندك . فاخرجتُ الشرط الظاهر فلما وقف عليه قال : أليس قد تقرّر

الامر مع محمد بن الطيّب (يعنى ابا بكر بن الباقلانى) على ما طلبتموه من ترك خراج بلد ابى تغلب الماضى والمستأنف ورضى بما شرطناه عليه من رد الحصون التى أخذت منا والقبض على ورد؟ وقد رضى مولاك بما شرطنا وفعل ما اردنا وطلبنا ان خطّك معك بتمام الهدنة. فقلتُ: ما عقد محمد بن الطيّب معكم شيئاً. فقال: ما خرج من عندنا الّا على تقرير ما شرطناه عليه وان ينفذ خطّ مولاكم بإتمامه فقد كان احضر كتابه بالرضاء بجميع ما يمضيه هو. فاحتجتُ الى ان اتطلّب محالاً أقاوم به محالهم.

## ذكر بديهة جيّدة انقدحت لابن شهرام فى دفع حجة الخصم

فقلتُ: ما عقد محمد بن الطيب معكم شيئاً ولكن ابن قونس قرر هذا الشرط [48] واخذ نسخته بالرومية. فاشتطّ البراكيموس (كذا) وقال لابن قونس: من امرك بهذا؟ فقال: ما قررّت شيئاً ولا محمد بن الطيب قرر شيئاً. وانصرفتُ فاستعادنى بعد ايام وعاود قرأة الشرط ووقف عند فصلٍ كان قيل فيه:

" ما تقرر مع شهرام على ما فى النسخ الثالث "

فقال: هذه واحدة واين الاخرتان؟ فرجعتُ الى الموضع فوجدت السهوَ قد وقع فى ترك ذلك فقلتُ: معنى هذا اللفظ ان تكون الشرط على ثلاث نسخ احداها تكون عند ملكِ واخرى بحلب والثالثة تكون بالحضرة. قال ابن قونس: ليس كذا قيل لى " أُملِ على تفسير الشرط " قال البركموس: لا ولكن هذه النسخة هى الظاهرة والاخرى بترك الحصون والثالثة بترك ذكر حلب وامضاء الشرط على ما قرّره محمد بن الطيب وانما أُنفذ هذا لياخذ خط الملك وخاتمه بذلك. فقلتُ: هذا محالٌ وما عندى الّا ما ذكرته من حال حلب والحصون على ما تضمّنه الشرط الذى وقفتَ عليه. فقال: لو كان ورد فى عسكره وقد [49] اخذتمونا كلنا اسرى ما زاد على هذا فكيف ذاك اسيرٌ؟

جواب سديد لابن شهرام

فقلتُ : اما قولك " لو كان ورد فى عسكره " فهو غلط لانك تعلم ان ابا تغلب (واقلّ تابع لعضد الدولة اكبر منه) عاون ورقا فاهلك ملك الروم سبع سنين فكيف لو امدّه عضد الدولة بعساكره ! وهو اليوم وان كان اسيرًا فى ايدينا فانّه لم نفعل به ما تفعلون انتم باسرائكم من المثلة وكونه بالحضرة احوط لنا لاننا لم نستأسره لربّما كان يضيق صدره بمدافعتنا اياه او ييأس[1] منا فيستوحش ويمضى والآن فهو مُتصرّف على امرنا وساكن الى ما شاهده بالحضرة من العزّ—والأمن والحبل فى ايدينا باطرافه.

فاشتدّ علية خطابى ووجم منه وعرف صحّته وقال : الذى تطلبه لا طريق اليه فان اردتَ امضاء ما تقرر مع محمد بن الطيب والا فانصرفْ . فقلتُ : ان اردتَ ان انصرف من غير ان اسمع كلام ملك الروم فعلتُ . فقال : ما اقوله انا عنه ولكن استأذنه فى ذلك

ثم استُدعيتُ [50] بعد ايام فحضرت فاستعاد ملك الروم ما جرى فأُعيد عليه بمحضرى فقال : يا هذا قد جئتَ بامرٍ منكر لانه جاءنا رسول لكم فشرط علينا ما اجبناهُ اليه وشرطنا عليه ردّ الحصون التى أُحدثت ايام العصيان وتريد حصونًا أُخر وبلادًا اخذها الملوك من قبلى فان رضيتم بما تقرر اوّلاً والاّ فامضِ بسلام . فقلتُ : اما محمد بن الطيب فما قرر شيئًا واما الشرط الذى قد ورد معه فقد قطعتم فيه نصف بلدنا فكيف يجوز ان نُقرر علينا امرًا فان الحصون التى فى ديار بكرٍ منها شئ فى قبضك وانما هو فى ايدينا وليس لك فيها غير المنازعة ولا تدرى ما يحصل منها . فقال البركموس : هذا رجل ذف جدلٍ وتمويه لِلاقوال والموت خير من الدخول تحت هذا الحكم فدَعْه ينصرف الى صاحبه . وقام فانصرفتُ

[1] MS. يانس .

فاستدعانى البركموس بعد ان تكاملت مدّة مقامى شهرين فى القسطنطينية واحضر القربلاط والد الدمستق وهو مكحول وعددًا من البطارقة وتناظرنا فى امر الحصون وبذلوا خراج حصن كيفا الذى فى يد والدة ابى تغلب وهو يؤدّى الخراج اليها فقلت : انا ادعُ لكم [51] خراج سَمَئد [1] فقالوا ما معنى هذا . فقلتُ : انما نذكر الاطراف فى الشرط لتعلموا ان ما وراءها داخل فى الهدنة معها وحصن كيفا داخل من دون آمد بخمسة ايام فكيف تذكروه ؟ وجرى جدل فى امر حلب حتى قال القربلاط : ان حمل صاحب حلب الخراج الينا علمنا حينئذٍ انك مُبطل فى قولك وانه يريدنا دونكم . قلتُ : وما يؤمنني ان تحتالوا على كاتبه كليب حميه حتى يعطيكم شيئًا تجعلونه حجّةً ؟ فاما بغير حيلة فانا اعلم انه لا يكون . وانصرفتُ

ثم احضرنى ملك الروم بعد ذلك وقد وصل خراج حلب فوجدت كلامهم غير الاول قوّةً وتحكّماً فقالوا : هذا خراج حلب قد حضر وصاحبها قد سألنا ان نشارطه على حرّان وسَرُوج ومعاونته عليكم وعلى غيركم . فقلتُ : اما الخراج واخذكم اياه فانا اعلم انه بحيلة لان عضد الدولة ظنّ انكم لا تستجيزون ما قد فعلتموه فلم ينفذ عسكرًا يمنع عسكركم واما ما تحكونه عن صاحب حلب فانا اعرف بما عنده وكل ما يقال لكم عنه غير صحيح والدعوة فيها فهى قائمة لعضد الدولة . قالوا : هل معك شىء غير هذا . قلت : لا . قالوا : فيودع ملك وتنصرف مُصاحبًا [52] قلتُ : الساعة . واقبلت بوجهى نحوه لتوديعه .

## راى سديد رأه ابن شهرام فى تلك الحال

قال : ثم تأملتُ الحال فوجدت البركموس والقربلاط وجماعة معهما ليس يؤثرون الهدنة واصحاب السيوف يخافون لئلا تبطل سيوفهم وتنقص ارزاقهم على رسم الروم اذا هادنوا ولم يبق لى طريق

[1] Also written "Asmand", a village near Samarkand (Yâḳût, *Buldân*, i, 265).

سوى مداراة ملك الروم والرفق به فقلتُ : ايها الملك تحبّ ان تتأمّل ما فعله عضد الدولة معك ولم يعاون عليك عدوّك ولم يتعرّض لبلادك ايام اشتغالك بمن عصى عليك وتعلم انك ان ارضيتَهُ وحده وهو ملك الاسلام والّا احتجتَ ان ترضي ألوفاً من اصحابك ثم لا تدرى هل يرضون أم لا ثم انْ لم يرضوا ربّما احتجتَ الى رضائه من بعد . وتعلم ان كلّ من حول عضد الدولة لم يرغبوا فى هُدنتك وانما هو وحده اراد ففعل ما اراد ولم يُقدِم احد مراجعته واراك تريد هدنته ولعلّ منَ حولك لا يساعدونك على مرادك · فاهتزّ خطابى وبانَ فى [53] وجهه الامتعاض من علمه بالاعتراض عليه من اصحابه وقام وانصرفتُ

وكان المشرف على الخصيصر بملك الروم وهو الذى يوقّع عنه بالحمرة ولا يمضى امرًا دونه نقفور الكانكلى الذى وصل معى رسولًا فسألته ان ينصرف معى ففعل

## ذكر ما رتّبه ابن شهرام مع خصيص ملك الروم حتى بلغ به غرضَهُ

فلما خلوتُ به قلت : اريد ان تتحمّل عنى رسالة الى ملك الروم فقد طال مقامى وتعرّفنى اخر ما عنده فان فعل ما اريده والّا فلا وجه لمقامى . ولاطفتُ هذا الكانكلى بشئ حملته اليه ووعدتُهُ عن عضد الدولة بجميل وكان مضمون رسالتى : انه يجب عليك اولًا ان تحفظ ايها الملك نفسك ثم ملكك ثم اصحابك ولا تثق بمن صلاحه فى فسادك فان بمعاونة ابى تغلب عليك تمّ فى بلد الروم ما جرى وكيف تكون الحال مع عضد الدولة ان عاون عليك ايها الملك ؟ وانى [54] ارى اصحابك لا يريدون تمام الهدنة بينك وبين اوحد الدنيا وملك الاسلام . والانسان لا يخفى عليه الا ما لم يجرّبه وانت فقد جرّبتَ سبع سنين عند عصيان من [1] عصى عليك لملكك وملكك لا يُبقى نفسك الروم فما يبالون (كذا) هذا ان لم يتحرّك هو بنفسه وقد نصحتُ

[1] MS. مع.

لما رايتُ من ميل صاحبى اليكَ وإيشاره لكَ فتأمّل خطابى واعمل بعد ذلك برايكَ . فعاد نقفور وقال : يقول لكَ "الامر محما ذكرتَ ولكن ليس يمكن مخالفة الجماعة ويرونى بصورة من قد خانهم وأهلكهم ولكن سَأُتمّم الامر وافعل ما يمكن فعله"

ومن الاتّفاق الحميد ان البركموس مرض مرضاً شديداً فتأخّر عن الركوب وتردّدت الرسالة بينى وبين ملكَ الروم ثم استدعانى ايامًا متوالية وتولّى خطابى بنفسه وساعدنى الكانكلى بغضاً للبركموس ومنافسةً له الى ان اجاب الى الهدنة على جميع ما تضمّنه الشرط بعد مراجعات جرت لإخراج حلب فانه ما اجاب اليه فلما ضايقتُهُ فيه وقلتُ : هذا كله بغير حلب لا يتمّ . فقال : دعْ هذا فلا نسلّم غير ما سلّمنا ولا نخلى عن بلدٍ ناخذ خراجه الّا بالسيف ولكنى احملكَ رسالة الى صديقى [55] ومولاكَ فانى اعلم انه فاضِل واذا عرف الحقّ لم يعدل عنه . ثم قال لمن حوله : تباعدوا . وقال لى سرًّا من كل احدٍ : قُل له "والله انى اشتهى رضاكَ ولكنى اريد حجة فيه فان اردتم ان نحمِل اليكم الخراجَ عن حلب او اتركه لكم تأخذونه على ان تصرفوا ابن حمدان عنها فافعلوا ما بزلتموه على لسان ابن قونس" (إشاوة الى تسليم ورد) فقلتُ : ما سمعتُ هذا ولا حضرتُهُ وانى استبعد فعلَهُ . فتنكّر علىّ وقال : دع التطويل فما بقى شىءٌ تُراجعنى فيه . وامر ان تُكتَب جوابات فكُتبت واحضرتُ لتوديعه

## واقع جيّد وقع لابن شهرام

واشفقتُ ان يعرض من المقاديرفى موت من قد طلبوا تسليمه ما يعرض مثله فيخرج من الجميع بغير ميتةٍ (كذا) وتحصل الهدنة عن بلدنا الى دون الفرات وبلد باد بغير حلب فقلتُ : انتم تعلمون انى عندَ مملوكٌ ولستُ ملكا وما اقدران ازيد على ما أُمِرتُ به وقد صدقتُكَ عنه والذى شرطتُهُ الآن فى امر حلب فقد حلفتُ لكَ اننى ما [56] سمعتُهُ بالحضرة فهل لكَ ايها الملكَ فى امرٍ قد وقع لى انه صوابٌ ؟ قال : ما هو . قلت :

تكتب كتاباً بالهدنة بيننا وبينك عن جميع ما (فى) ايدينا من حمص الى بلد باد ولا نذكر فيه حديثَ منَ قد التمستَ تسليمه ولا غيرة وتحلف بدينك وتُوقع فيه خطك وتختمه بخاتمك بحضرتى ويخرج به صاحبك معى الى الحضرة فان رضى به والّا عاد صاحبك . قال : فأكتب انت شرطًا مثله . قلتُ : ان سلّمتَ انت شرطك بما طلبتَ . قال : ان ذكرتَ فى خطّك تسليم الرجل . قلت : لا اقدم على ذكر ما لم يُرسم لى . قال : فاننى اكتب شرطين احدهما عما قطع الفرات وبلد باد والاخر بذكر حمص وحلب على الشرط فان اختار مولاك ما قطع الفرات على إبعاد ورد كان اليه وان اختار الاخر فعل ما يختاره . قلتُ[1] : فيُكتَب الشرط ولا يذكر فيه شئ من هذا . قال : فتكتب انت ايضًا ما اعطى خطًّا بغير خطٍّ آخذُهُ . قلت : ولكن يكتب ترجمانك نسخة ما اقوله فاذا رضى عضد الدولة بما تقوله كتبتُهُ بحضرته ووقّع فيه بخطّهِ . فرضى بهذا وكتبتُ الشروط والكتب عليه وتقررت الهدنة على عشر سنين . ولما فرغتُ من ذلك قلت له : [57] لا تجعل رسولك مثل فَيْج ووافِقهُ على ما تحبّ ان يفعله بعد ما تقرر معى بحسب ما يشاهده وامضِ كلما يمضيه . فقال : قد فعلتُ . وكُتب ذكر ذلك فى الكُتُب

وركب البركموس من داره لما برئ وقامت قيامته لاحوالٍ منها انفراد الكانِكُلى بصاحبه ومنها إتمام الامر بغير حضوره ومنها امر حلب وحمص وما ضمنه له كليبُ

كلام لِملك الروم استمال به قلب البركموس

قال له على ما حدّثنى به بعض خواصّهم : يا بركموس ما معى احد يشفق علىَّ مثلك ولا من يحلّ منى محلّك لانك منى بأدنى نسبٍ وسببٍ وهاولاء فكما قال الرسول لا يبالون منَ كان ملكًا كنتُ انا او غيرى ويجب ان تحفظ نفسى ونفسك ولا تسمع كلام القربلاط ولا تشق به ولا برايه لنا فقد علمتَ ما حدّثنا به ابرهيم

[1] MS. قال.

عنه وعن ابنه [1] من إضمار الغشّ لِمَلْكنا وخبث نياتهما فى امرنا . (قلتُ لمن حدّثنى : ومِنَ ابرهيم ؟ قال : رسول كان للدمستق اليكم جاء الى الملك ناصحًا وعرّفه انه [58] انفذه اليكم يطلب منكم إعانته على العصيان)

فقبل البركموس هذا القول من ملك الروم واستدعاني ورايت من خطابه وانبساطه معي غير الاول الّا انه لم تكن تخفى على وجهه كراهيةٌ لهذا الامر ورَتَّب معى هذا الكانكلى رسولاً بعد امتناعه لكن ملك الروم لم يجد احدًا يجرى مجراه فى ثقته فالزمه وساعده البركموس عليه وقال له : ليس بحضرة الملك اكبر منى ومنك فاما ان تسير او اسير . وجدّ فى الامر حتى ظننتُ انه فعل ذلك إيثاراً لإبعادهِ وحسداً لما راى من اختصاصه

فهذه نُكَت معانى من الفاظ ابن شهرام وعضد الدولة عليل والناس عنه محجوبون فامر بشرّح ما جرى عليه امره ليعرض فان علّة عضد الدولة التى توفى فيها كانت فى هذا الوقت وحضر رسول ملك الروم المذكور مجلس صمصام الدولة بعد وفاة عضد الدولة وتسلّمت الهدايا منه وتمّم معه ما ورد فيه وكُتِب شرطان احدهما الهدنة التى قررها ابن شهرام على إتمام مَبانيها وإلقاء مراسيها والشرط الاخر بما تقرّر انفاً مع نقفور [59]

## ذكر ما تقرر فى امر ورد واخيه وولده

جرت مخاطبات تقرر اخرها على ان يقسم نقفور وينفذ صاحبًا له مع رسول من الحضرة لياخذ خطّ ملك الروم وخاتمه لاخى ورد وابنه والأمان والتوثقة لهما بضمان الإحسان وإعادتهما الى مراتبهما القديمة واحوالهما المستقيمة فاذا وصل ذلك أقدما حينئذٍ على ملك الروم مع نقفور ويكون ورد مقيماً فى هذه البلاد

[1] MS. ابيه, but the reference must be to Leo Phocas and his son Bardas.

ممنوعًا من طروق بلد الروم بإفساد فاذا عرف ما يعاملان به من الجميل فى الوفاء بالعهد المبذول لهما اتبعا حينئذٍ وردًا فى السنة الثالثة نعد اخذ التوثقة لهما بما يرضيهم حسب ما فعل مع ابنه واخيه وان يكون ما يحمله الآن ابن حمدان من حمص وحلب الى ملك الروم من مال المفارقة عنهما محمولاً على استقبال إطلاق ورد الى بلد الروم الى خزانة صمام الدولة فان دافع ابن حمدان حينئذٍ عن حملٍ ألزمه ملك الروم ذلك لئلا يتكلّف صمصام الدوله [60] تجهيز عسكر اليه وان يجرى امر بلد باد على ما كان عليه من الملاطفة التى كان يحملها الى ملك الروم على ان لا يُعاون بادًا ولا يُجيره ان أَلتجأ الى الروم . وانفذ الشرطان جميعًا وعاد الجواب عنهما بامضاء ما تقرّر

ثم تجدّد فى امر ورد وإطلاقه من الاعتقال ما سيأتى ذكره من بعد

From the *Dhail* to the *Tajārib al-Umam*, by Abu Shujā', Constantinople MS., *sub* A.H. 571.

## XXVI

# THE DATE OF ASOKA

By E. HULTZSCH

THE fixing of the exact time of the earliest Indian king whose inscriptions have survived to our days depends very much on the dates of two contemporaries whom he mentions: Magā or Makā, and Alikasudara or Alikyashudala. The former has been identified long ago with Magas of Cyrene, and the second was either Alexander of Epirus, or, as Professor Beloch thinks, Alexander of Corinth. The fresh dates to which these three rulers are assigned in Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte* induce me to reconsider the much-discussed question of the period of Aśōka's reign.

It is a well-known fact that Aśōka's name does not occur in his inscriptions, but that these purport to emanate from a king who gives his formal title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Dēvānāṁpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*.[1] The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed Aśōka's edicts to Devānaṁpiya-Tissa of Ceylon.[2] The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha Devānaṁpiya, whom he at once identified with Daśaratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśōka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found Piyadassi or Piyadassana used as as surname of Aśōka in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin with Aśōka himself (id., p. 790 ff.).

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the

[1] See Dr. Fleet in this Journal for 1908, p. 482 f.

[2] JASB., 6 (1837). 472 f., 566 f.

Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Aṁtiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Aṁtiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria.[1] In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict xiii (l. 8), the names of Turamāya, Aṁtikona,[2] and Magā, whom he most ingeniously identified with Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and Magas of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name Antiyoka to Antiochus I or II of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king who was mentioned after Magā is lost. The Shāhbāzgaṛhī version calls him Alikasudara. Mr. E. Norris recognized that this name corresponds to the Greek Ἀλέξανδρος, and suggested hesitatingly that Alexander of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.[3] This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,[4] Lassen,[5] and Senart.[6] But Professor Beloch thinks that Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.[7]

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta, whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria, reigned B.C. 280–261, his son Antiochus II

[1] JASB., 7 (1838). 156 ff.

[2] In reality Girnār and Kālsī read *Aṁtekina*, and Shāhbāzgaṛhī *Aṁtikini*. Bühler (ZDMG., 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, though it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in B.C. 316, being then satrap of Susiana.

[3] JRAS., first series, 8 (1846). 305.

[4] *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

[5] *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 253 ff.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, 20. 242.

[7] *Griech. Gesch.*, 3. 2, 105.

Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene *c.* 300 – *c.* 250, Alexander of Epirus 272 – *c.* 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252 – *c.* 244.[1] The rock-edict xiii cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, when he commenced publishing "rescripts on morality."[2] If we assume that the fourteen rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhishēka*, when Aśōka appointed "superintendents of morality" as he tells us in edict v. If the Alikasudara of edict xiii is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the Maurya dynasty Chandragupta, and as his two immediate successors Bindusāra and Aśōka:—

The pseudo-prophetic account of the Purāṇas runs thus: "Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśōka thirty-six years."[3]

According to the *Dīpavaṁsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (5. 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka thirty-seven years (5. 101).[4]

[1] The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Gesch.*, vol. iii.

[2] See the pillar-edict vi, and cf. the rock-edict iv.

[3] See Mr. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

[4] [The *Dīpavaṁsa* does not state the length of the reign of Bindusāra; but it is deducible as twenty-eight years from 11. 5, 12, 13: see this Journal, 1909. 25. — J. F. F.]

The *Mahāvaṁsa* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (5. 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (5. 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka (5. 19) thirty-seven years (20. 6).

Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvaṁsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.[1]

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.[2]

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign as twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the *Mahāvaṁsa* and *Samantapāsādikā* allot twenty-eight years,[3] Bigandet (Burma) twenty-seven years, and the Purāṇas twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśōka succeeded his father Bindusāra 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,[4] and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or 218 years after the Nirvāṇa.[5] The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.[6]

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A.B. 186–214, and the latter A.B. 162–186.[7] If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, B.C. 544, the result is B.C. 382. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from

[1] *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 321.

[2] Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

[3] [Compare the *Dīpavaṁsa*: see note 4, p. 945 above. — J. F. F.]

[4] *Dīpavaṁsa*, 6. 20 f.

[5] *Dīpavaṁsa*, 6. 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvaṁsa*, 5. 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

[6] Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128 f.

[7] According to Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A.B. 163–187, and Bindusāra 187–214. If, as the Purāṇas assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A.B. 189.

Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,[1] who identified him with *Σανδράκοττος* of *Παλίβοθρα*, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Dr. Fleet showed that the Buddhavarsha of B.C. 544 is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.[2]

While, thus, the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and, consequently, that of the accession of Chandragupta in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśōka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.[3] Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention. Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.[4]

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justinus, *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, 15. 4:[5]—

"[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam

[1] In his Anniversary Discourse, delivered 28 February, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pt. ii, p. 85 f.

[2] JRAS., 1909. 333, 335. — [But say, now, the "eleventh century": see this Journal, 1912. 1113. — J. F. F.]

[3] *Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (12); *Dīpavaṁsa*, 4. 47, and 5. 15 f.; *Mahāvaṁsa*, 4. 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

[4] Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified.

[5] Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119 f.

cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis inpulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. . . . Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus conpositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit."

Mr. McCrindle translated this as follows:[1]—

"[Seleucus] carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successors of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing the Bactrians, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed his prefects, thinking that the yoke of slavery had been shaken off from its neck. The author of its freedom had been Sandrocottus; but, when victory was gained, he had changed the name of freedom to that of bondage. For, after he had ascended the throne, he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. Though of humble birth, he was impelled by innate majesty to assume royal power. When king Nandrus,[2] whom he had offended by his boldness, ordered

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 6. 114. I have made a few changes and additions.

[2] Nobody seems to have noticed the obvious fact that this "Nandrus" must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, preceded Chandragupta. Instead of the accusative "Nandrum" the older editions read "Alexandrum"; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2. 207, n. 3.

him to be killed, he had resorted to speedy flight. . . . Sandrocottus, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonus."

The same transactions are referred to by Appianus, *Ῥωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chapter 55 :[1]—

[*Σέλευκος*] *τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.*

"[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him."[2]

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Chandragupta a tract of land to the west of the Indus and received in exchange five hundred elephants.[3]

Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312–280), "arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsos]. The march from India to there must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter."[4] We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.[5]

It follows from these statements that Chandragupta ascended the throne between Alexander's death (B.C. 323) and the treaty with Seleucus (B.C. 304). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes

[1] Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1. 426.

[2] McCrindle's translation, *Ind. Ant.*, 6. 114.

[3] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 150 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44. 154 ff.

[4] Beloch's *Griech. Gesch.*, 3. 1, 146, n. 3.

[5] Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1876), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii (Paris, 1848), p. 398; McCrindle, *Ind. Ant.*, 6. 115.

in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Paṭnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Dr. Fleet has proposed.[1] With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* is accepted, Chandragupta would have ruled 320–296, and Bindusāra 296–268. Aśōka would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśōka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above, cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhishēka*. 264 − 12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśōka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the Antiyoga (Kālsī) or Antiyoka (Shāhbāzgaṛhī) of edict xiii (and probably also of rock-edict ii) was not Antiochus I, but Antiochus II (261–246), and that the Alikasudara of edict xiii was not Alexander of Epirus, but Alexander of Corinth (252–244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the Purāṇas assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

[1] JRAS., 1906. 985. The date adopted by Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Asoka*, 2nd ed., p. 72, viz. B.C. 322 (against B.C. 321 in his original edition), is, of course, also possible, but not so probable.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśōka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. Eight years after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kaliṅgas; rock-edict xiii.

2. Ten years after the coronation (B.C. 254). The king went (on a visit) to Saṁbōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gaẏā);[1] rock-edict viii.

3. Twelve years after the coronation (B.C. 252):—

(1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict iii.

(2) He promoted the practice of morality; rock-edict iv.

(3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict vi.

(4) He gave two caves to the Ājīvikas; two of the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

4. Thirteen years after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict v.

5. Fourteen years after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged for the second time the Stūpa of Kōnākamana; Nigālī Sāgar pillar.

6. Nineteen years after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājīvikas); one of the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

7. Twenty years after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited Buddha's birthplace at Luṁmini and the Stūpa of Kōnākamana; Rummindēī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.

8. Twenty-six years after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts i, iv, v, vi.

9. Twenty-seven years after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict vii.

[1] See Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 42 (1913). 160.

## XXVII

## CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

By SYLVAIN LÉVI

*Extract from a paper read June 16, 1914.*

CENTRAL ASIA has come as a boon to all of us; it is a land of universal brotherhood. For centuries it has been the meeting-point of all races: Hindus, Persians, Turks, Tibetans, Buddhists, Jews, Christians, Manichæans used to live there side by side in a happy spirit of harmony; and the same spirit of harmony now seems to inspire our Central Asian studies. Western and Eastern explorers — English, French, German, Russian, Japanese—entered into rivalry only in the most chivalrous mood. England can be proud of having led the way; the glory of the first and the most brilliant discoveries will for ever remain attached to the name of Sir Aurel Stein, a man of exceptional abilities, who has given proof of the highest gifts in the most different directions—as a philologist, as an archæologist, as an explorer. I would compare him with his patron saint, *abhīṣṭa-devatā*, the Chinese pilgrim Hwan-tsang. Both traversed the same countries in their peregrinations; both had to endure the same hardships, had to prove the same energy; both brought home a treasure of notes, observations, and documents; both were cheered by the same hope of benefiting mankind, the Chinese monk with the word of Buddha, Stein with scientific and historical truth. Both proved equally right; catholicity belongs to science as well as to religion. No national pride interfered to raise difficulties in the working up of the mass of documents collected by Stein. Some of them have been entrusted to Thomsen, a Dane, the wonderful decipherer

of the Orkhon Turkish runes; some to Von Le Coq, a German, himself another explorer of Central Asia; some to La Vallée Poussin, a Belgian, one of the authorities on Mahāyāna Buddhism. Pelliot, the French *émule* of Stein, who shared with him the treasures hoarded in the celebrated cave at Twan-hwang, was called upon for a catalogue of the Chinese MSS. Chavannes, the leading Sinologist of our day, had for his own part the task of publishing Chinese wooden tablets dating from the early centuries A.D. M. Senart and Father Boyer, both of high renown as decipherers of Kharoṣṭrī characters, were asked to accept a share as co-editors of the tablets traced in that sort of writing. Professor Gauthiot obtained the Sogdian fragments. I myself received the leaves written in the Tokharian language.

Thus there has grown up an extensive family of fellow-workers, bound together by the bonds of intimacy and, let me say, by the need of mutual help. Here is another advantage attached to Central Asian studies: nobody can do anything of value quite alone. A Sanskrit scholar can do very good work, confining himself to Indian lore; a Sinologist, to Chinese lore. But, in this most extraordinary confluence of thoughts and religions, to drift on quietly down one's own stream is to come to wreck. It is a striking feature of that special philology that many of the works bear two signatures. Chavannes and Pelliot jointly gave a translation of the Chinese Manichæan book which sheds an unexpected light on the darkness of Manichæan theology; La Vallée Poussin and Gauthiot jointly published a study on the Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī, Sanskrit and Sogdian, and I appended a note on kindred Chinese texts. The Kharoṣṭrī tablets are to be published under the joint editorship of Professor Rapson, M. Senart, and Father Boyer. You find the names of Sieg and Siegling on the first notice of the Tokharian language; of Radloff and Staël-Holstein on

the Turkish Tiṣasvastik, published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*; and my name with Professor Meillet's on some essays concerning the Tokharian grammar. Even in cases where only one name appears I can testify that many have been called in to help, and but for that unrecorded help no work could possibly have been done. In our days of exacerbated nationality, a calm and refreshing breeze of wide humanity blows in the happy corner of Central Asian studies. As far as I remember, never was such an extensive exchange of visits between savants of all nations before the discoveries in Turkestan. There had been many, dreamers or scholars, who sought the cradle of man in the region of the Pamir; if Stein and his followers failed to find it, they brought back, as you see, at least for a few, a revival of the golden age.

As a member of the Parisian team, my first object here is to give details of the work being done in Paris. Of course, I shall not record the books or papers already published; I will suppose them known, as far as such papers are known. Notoriety in our little world begins with five or six people and has to stop before reaching one hundred. We may console ourselves with the promise of glory to come after centuries, or, more modestly, with the satisfaction of building up the materials of a splendid monument that we shall not see. We need faith, but we have faith. Truth may deceive us: we shall be true to the search of truth. What would have been our life but for some handfuls of obstinate seekers who, amidst laughter, contempt, or indifference, dreamed of a better future and took the vow to prepare it?

Professor Pelliot is now printing a collection of plates, reproducing the old Chinese pictures in the caves at Twan-hwang; he has also in the press a paper on the Chinese transcriptions of Indian names in the two versions of Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra, *alias* the Questions of the [Greek] king Milinda [Menander]. He has been

the whole year collecting materials for the history of Christianity in Central Asia. Moreover, a full study of the "Sūtra on Causes and Effects", by Pelliot and Gauthiot, will appear presently. This is a quite topical case. Gauthiot, when he was deciphering the Sogdian documents, found a large Sogdian roll in a remarkable state of preservation. At the end of this roll were drawn some Chinese characters, the meaning of which looked very clear: "Sūtra on Causes and Effects told by Śākya Buddha." A large number of texts of this purport are known in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, but none of the titles appeared identical with this, no text supplied an exact counterpart to it. By a happy chance, the first volumes of a supplement to the Chinese Tripiṭaka, which is now being published in Japan, had just come in, and there Pelliot found the very title of Sūtra given in the roll; he hastened to the text, and all doubts were removed. Here was either the original or the similar version of the Sogdian work, as far as the meaning of the Sogdian could be guessed or settled. The Chinese text, being considered spurious, had not been admitted into any official catalogue or edition of the Tripiṭaka. On the other hand, the compilers of the Tibetan Kanjur have admitted, in the last volume of the Mdo section, some additional texts foreign to strict orthodoxy, borrowed from Pali or other external sources; there, again, the same Sūtra was found, translated (according to the rubric) from the Chinese. Now they had one text, written in Chinese, Tibetan, Sogdian, an evidence of its having been very popular over a large part of Asia; the explanation of the Sogdian version became an easy task in the hands of such an Iranian scholar as Professor Gauthiot. You will be glad to hear that Gauthiot has just left Paris for Russian Turkestan, having been appointed by the Petrograd Academy as the head of a Russian expedition to explore some Pamir valleys where dialects akin to Old Sogdian

still keep in use. Professor Gauthiot's Sogdian grammar, the first part of which was published last year, is now complete. Ready is also Professor Foucher's second volume on Gandhāra art, that masterpiece of erudition, taste, and *finesse*. And, as Gandhāra takes us to the borderland of India, let me mention that Jules Bloch has just published his book on the formation of the Marathi language, which marks a starting-point in the critical history of Aryan vernaculars, and that Professor Lacôte has lately sent to the press a large part of the Bṛhatkathā ślokasaṁgraha, an old and important collection of tales, now for the first time edited and translated into French. Dr. Tuneld is putting the last touch to an essay on some critical weeks in the life of Buddha; he has compared a large number of Sanskrit, Pali, and Chinese texts, especially from the Vinayas of different schools; the results he has obtained cannot be overrated. The method which produced such fruitful results in the criticism of the Gospels has been handled with uncommon thoroughness and acumen by Dr. Tuneld. I shall not pass unnoticed, in this short review of our band, my dear, very dear pupil Edouard Huber, who died in the first days of this year, carried off by a sudden attack of fever in a small place in Cochin-China; he was only 35 years old, but, young as he was, he was the man we used to look to for help in any case of need. You will hardly believe me when I tell you that he had a full command of Sanskrit, Hindustani, Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, Cambodian, Javanese, Arabic, and Hebrew; as a mere polyglot he would have been a wonder, but he was much more. He could read everything, and had read everything, and had original ideas on everything; he brought to every subject a rapid, profound, and powerful mind. I have just received from Hanoï his last paper, a posthumous one, reporting his last discovery. Professor Lüders had published a careful essay on some Sanskrit verses

illustrating the former career of Buddha as a Bodhisattva, written on those large Central Asian frescoes you may see exhibited at Berlin in the Ethnographical Museum; but he was at a loss to find out their source. Huber went once more to his familiar Chinese Tripiṭaka and had no difficulty in solving the riddle.

As I told you, among the materials brought home by Stein, I had received the Tokharian leaves. I found also many Tokharian fragments in the materials collected by Pelliot. Dr. Hoernle, who had been the first to publish a text written in Tokharian when that language was still unnamed and unexplained, handed over to me a large set of leaves and fragments he had received from the Political Agent at Kashgar. My friend and former pupil, Professor Sakaki, who teaches Sanskrit at Kyoto, sent me good photographs of some Tokharian fragments brought home by Count Otani and Mr. Tachibana. Moreover, in the last vacation, I was allowed by the Petrograd Academy, owing to the kindness of my friend Oldenburg, to inspect and transcribe all Tokharian documents brought back by Berezovski. The only Tokharian collection I had no access to is the Berlin collection. I visited Berlin, but failed to meet Professor Sieg and Dr. Siegling, who are in charge of it. Rumours reach me that it is a very large one: the only specimen committed to print has been published in Sieg and Siegling's first essay, "Tokharisch, die Sprache der Indo-Skythen." I shall try to give you a short review of the Tokharian literature as far as I am acquainted with it.

I have been speaking of "Tokharian"; I should rather have said "so-called Tokharian". Dr. F. W. K. Müller, a brilliant discoverer in the field of Central Asian philology, is the responsible author of that designation. Objections were immediately raised to it, specially by Staël-Holstein. I shall not go into a controversy which involves us in so many difficulties, much less shall I speak

of the connexion with Indo-Scythians, as asserted by Sieg and Siegling. The whole question of Indo-Scythians is quite obscure enough without our making it more elusive by lighting fires which may prove merely a "will-o'-the-wisp". We know now that the so-called "B" dialect of the so-called Tokharian language was commonly used in the small kingdom of Kucha in the seventh century A.D. We are sure to be right if we call it Kuchean or Kucharian. I prefer "Kuchean" because the old name of the city, as expressed in Chinese transcriptions, has no final *r*; "Kuchar" seems to be a late Turkish alteration, therefore the word "Kucharian" would be better reserved for things connected with the city in Turkish times. Kucha, though its glory has faded away, was in olden times a flourishing and celebrated place, lying on the way from Kashgar to China; directly connected with Khotan, it had a big market, splendid buildings, and large Buddhist monasteries. Kumārajīva, one of the best and the most prolific translators of Sanskrit works into Chinese, was born at Kucha, and lived and taught there many years. The political history of Kucha is perfectly clear to us from the Chinese annals since the first century B.C. But who could have suspected that Kucha, in the heart of Chinese Turkestan, on the very border of Chinese and Turkish dominions, was an Aryan city as far as race is indicated by language? There the word for "father" was *pāṭar*, for "mother" *māṭar*, for a "horse" *yakwe* (cf. Latin *equus*), for "eight" *okt* (Latin and Greek *octo*), for "he is" *ste* (Latin *est*), etc. One would expect the Kuchean to be intimately connected with the Aryan languages of Iran and India. Not at all. Special features show its near relationship to the Western languages of Europe, particularly to Italo-Celtic; there, and there only, outside Italo-Celtic, you will find medio-passive forms with a final *r*: *cmetar*, "he is born," as Latin *nascitur*. At an early time, not yet precisely

ascertained, Kucha had received Buddhism from India, and according to the evidence of the literature the whole of the local civilization was Buddhist.

Sanskrit was the sacred language, taught and studied in the monasteries; students began with learning the alphabet, a very intricate thing, full of amazing combinations of consonants. Many alphabets have been dug out, traced by more or less skilled hands. Sanskrit grammar was read in the Kātantra, a system more fitted than Pāṇini for people naturally foreign to Sanskrit. Then they passed to verbatim translations from Sanskrit into Kuchean; they used to copy the Udānavarga, that most holy collection of Buddha's sayings, the Sanskrit part being rendered word for word into Kuchean; some other texts happened also to be employed for the same purpose. They have at Petrograd a fragment of the "Sūtra on a Comparison with an Old City", Nagaropama sūtra, which teaches the essentials of the creed, translated verbatim; Dr. Hoernle has a fragment, Sanskrit and Kuchean, of the celebrated poem in praise of Buddha, the Varṇanārhavarṇanā, the work which has been partly translated into English from the Tibetan version by Dr. Thomas; at Kyoto Count Otani has one half-leaf of an astronomical work, Sanskrit and Kuchean; fragments of a medical treatise closely connected with Caraka's Saṁhitā have already been published in the *Journal Asiatique*. Religion, astronomy (better, astrology), medicine, you have here the three constituents of Hindu civilization in its spread throughout the Eastern world, not to speak of art, which is a dependency of religion.

Works written in Kuchean are, we may say, in all instances drawn from Sanskrit originals. The greater number of the fragments refer to the Vinaya, the Institutes of the Clergy, telling of the number and the prosperity of the monasteries. They belong to the school of the Sarvāstivādin, "the school which believes in the

reality of everything." Most of these fragments give the fundamental rules, or prohibitions, known as Prātimokṣa. Some relate tales on the origin of these rules, taken from the narrative part of the traditional commentary. Abhidharma, or metaphysics, is represented by fragments on essential topics, *pratītyasamutpāda*, *smṛtyupasthāna*, etc., also by cosmological fragments on the world of Māra, etc. Poetical imitations of what I would call literary sūtras are met with: parts of Śakrapraśna, of Mahāparinirvāṇa, from the Long Collection (Dīrgha Āgama); *débris* of a long work on the beginnings of the world and on King Mahāsaṁmata might come from the same source. Strange to say, no copy of a Kuchean Udānavarga has turned up; but we have parts of a poetical—or better, versified—commentary termed Udānālaṅkār, "ornament of Udāna," giving the origin, the meaning, and the purport of every udāna. This is different from all commentaries known either in Pali, Chinese, or Tibetan. There are numerous copies of a short metrical work, "Blessings on the Udāna," in which every chapter of the Udānavarga is called upon to confer proper blessings. Sanskrit *avadānas*, or edifying tales, have found imitators. In some fragments we are reminded of names well known to students of Avadānas: Dharmaruci, Candraprabha, king of Bhadraśilā, King Mahāprabhāsa and his elephant-driver, and the city of Rauruka. Avadānas refer to the retribution of acts. The same subject is developed, on its theoretical side, in a poem closely akin to the Tibetan Karmavibhāga, translated into French by Feer, and to a Sanskrit work of the celebrated poet Ārya Śūra preserved in a Chinese translation.

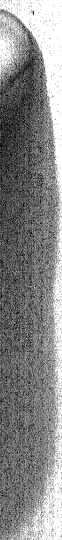
Hīnayāna Buddhism was prevalent in Kucha, but Mahāyāna had also its followers. Kumārajīva himself came to adhere to it. We have fragments of a work kindred to Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka, "The Lotus of Compassion,"

a classical work of the Great Vehicle. We are confronted even with the worst side of Buddhism, the Tantric or magic one. The Brahmakalpa, a part of which is called Brahmadaṇḍa, presents a singular mixture: incorrect Sanskrit verses in praise of all kinds of divinities; homage is paid to the Mātaṅgas (*Cāṇḍālas*), their wives, sons, daughters, teachers, and saints (*gurus, ācāryas, siddhas*), nay, to the deer (*ruru*) and the camel (*uṣṭra*); then comes a Kuchean text teaching how to perform magical rites against an enemy, a burglar, a king, a minister, etc., under every lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*). As well as magic, medicine had its textbooks in Kuchean; you may see in the Stein Gallery of the British Museum two leaves written in Kuchean, one of which, in a perfect state of preservation, treats of *virodha*, "mutual incompatibility of foods."

But the product most properly characteristic of Kuchean literature is a peculiar kind of work, being in some measure both narrative and drama. We know that *yātrās*, as they say in India, processions with some dramatic performances, were popular in Central Asia; Kucha must have been particularly fond of them, as we have so many fragments of such dramas. We have some scenes of a dramatic life of Buddha, the visit of Asita to King Śuddhodana after the birth of the holy child, the escape from the palace, attended by the god Vaiśravaṇa, and his, otherwise unknown, servant Gardabhaga "going on an ass"; a discussion between the Bodhisattva and the philosopher Udraka; a conversation between Rāhula, Buddha's son, King Śuddhodana, and his chamberlain. Another drama whose hero was Supriya, a hitherto unknown *cakravarti* king, was no doubt highly appreciated, as we find many fragments of it in manifold copies, as a rule very carefully written. Ekaśṛṅga, the one-horned saint, and his wife Śāntā, Dvīpāyana ṛṣi and Gautama, Vibhīṣaṇa and Princess

Muktikā, King Mahendrasena, Agnikeśa Yakṣa appear in other fragments of dramas. In all of them the hero, whoever he be, Buddha, Supriya, etc., is only called Nāyaka, the Sanskrit term for the leading part in the play. The same feature is met with in Harṣa's Nāgānanda, a Sanskrit Buddhist drama, and in Aśvaghoṣa's Śāriputraprakaraṇa, the oldest known Sanskrit drama, and a Buddhist one too. The hero is always accompanied, as in India, by the Vidūṣaka, a comic part. The names of the metres used in every case are carefully given, and most of them are Sanskrit, as Madanabhārat, Strīvilāp, etc., but names not to be found in Sanskrit metrics.

I need not speak here of the official or private documents, passes for caravans, money and revenue accounts of monasteries, etc.; it would take us too long. I promised only to speak of literature, and I hope I have succeeded in showing you that Kuchean, newcomer as it is, has an old and extensive literature. Of its value from a literary point of view I shall refrain from saying anything. I must confess to you, after this apparently abundant review of Kuchean works, that I have not seen in all *ten* complete leaves in Kuchean. The fragments, a word I had so often to repeat, are in most cases very small bits, discouraging except for a born decipherer. Those poor rags of paper, which spoke in their time of art, faith, science, and beauty, now tell of awful disasters, and, it seems, irreparable loss. Kuchean literature was swept away in a thunderstorm, about the dreadful date of 1000 A.D. But science, like love, is stronger than death. The voice of old Kucha, silent for centuries, has had to betray its forgotten secrets to Western explorers and Western philologists.



## XXVIII

# HITTITE VOCABULARIES FROM BOGHAZ KEUI

By A. H. SAYCE

A PAPER of prime importance for Hittite studies has been read by Professor Fr. Delitzsch before the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences at Berlin. The Oriental Museum at Berlin has obtained a collection of cuneiform tablets from Boghaz Keui, among which are twenty-six fragments of vocabularies, copies of which will appear in the first part of the volume of Boghaz Keui inscriptions which Dr. Weidner is engaged in publishing. The vocabularies contain lists of Sumerian words with their pronunciation as well as their equivalents in Assyrian (or, as Professor Delitzsch calls it, Accadian) and Hittite. The Sumerologist will be grateful for the authoritative information they at last give as to the pronunciation of the Sumerian ideographs; the "Hittitologist" will be still more grateful for the first insight they afford into the character of the Hittite language spoken at Boghaz Keui. In Professor Delitzsch's paper the words are given in transcription. The paper will doubtless be the subject of much philological commentary. Meanwhile I offer a few notes upon it.

From time to time two forms of the same word are given, generally in the Sumerian column. Where this is the case, ⟝ is added to the Hittite word when repeated a second time. It is clear, therefore, that in Hittite *be* (or *bad*) signified "ditto". This is confirmed by a passage in one of my texts where we read: AN-*lum ki-i* ⟝ *i-ya-at*, "that the god does a second time." On p. 9, l. 2, of Professor Delitzsch's paper, after *ânza kuis* we must read ⟝ instead of ⟨. *Ânza kuis* would signify "one who is (*kuis*) first".

*U-ul* turns out to be the borrowed Assyrian *ul*, "not," though there was also another *u-ul* which is translated by *lu*, "verily" (p. 19, l. 13). Hence in the second Arzawan letter we must translate: [*nu-mu*] *Labbayan úl khâmi . . yat memis-ta ana abbiwattan úl kittat*, "[to me] Labbaya do not write (that) 'thy servant to thy father was not faithful'."

*Kariwar-iwar* is "in the morning". This must be identical with *karuwar-iwar*, the meaning of which I left in doubt in JRAS. 1913, p. 1043.

*Kussani-ti* is "for thy wage"; hence in the first Arzawan letter it is probable that *kusa-ta* TUR-SAL-*ti* is "thy dowry for thy daughter".

*Kutti biran* is given as the equivalent of [*a-sud-*]*sud*, Ass. *sakhâtum*, "the circumference of a dish" or "table".

*Khalanta* is "head". Hence in YUZGHAT, *Rev.* 6, *khalas-mis* may be "my head".

*Khatriessar* is given as the equivalent of *tertum*, "a message." More strictly it would be "reply", being a compound of *khatri*, "another," and *essar*, which is found in other words (*tarubbessar*, "totality," etc.). *Essai* occurs in UD-KAM-*as aniyan kuis éssai*, "a day's wage (?) . . . ," which is given as the equivalent of the Ass. *isgagar* (perhaps for *iskaru*, "contract for wages"). On *aniyan* see JRAS. 1913, p. 1046.

*Kuedani* is found in IM-TE-ZUN-*us* (to be read *baltanus*) *kuedani dannara*, which is rendered by the Ass. *idân rakâtum* and Sum. *a-sudsud*, meaning apparently "length of side", as well as in *baltanus kuedani* with variant *awankata suyantari*, the translation of which is *akhu natû* in Assyrian and *gu-subba*, "bending the neck," in Sumerian.[1] Since *baltanus* is a plural, it must mean either "sides" (*idân* ?) or "limbs". The singular *baltanas* is translated *akhu*, "side." Possibly

[1] For *gu-subba* in the sense of *tsabâtu*, "to seize," *appatar* is given as the Hittite equivalent.

*kuedani* is "at full length", "wholly"; if so, *kuedas* in the first Arzawan letter (JRAS. 1913, p. 1046) will signify "lengthy" rather than "numerous".

*Khandâuwar* is explained by the Ass. *kunnû*, Sum. *gina*, "firmly fixed," "established." This clears up a passage in the second Arzawan letter where the translation I suggested seven years ago must be corrected. The passage reads: *nu-[sa]-an kha-an-da-an am-me-el* QAR-TAB-*ya sa-an-khi-is tu-si*, "to him establishing a support like a footstool I . . ." This throws light on the mutilated passage in the YUZGHAT tablet: AN UD-*un sa-an-khi-es* BIT-*zi na-an u-ul u-e-mi-ya*, "setting the Sun-god in the temple I have not . . . him."

*Tarubbessar* is rendered *napkharu*, "totality," while *pukhkhuru*, "assembly," is the equivalent of *anda taruppuar*. That the labial is *p* is shown by one of my texts, where we read:

ABNU UD ABNU SIG-A ABNU SIG-SIG an-da
*White stone* . . . *stone* *(and) green stone* *bring*
tar-na-akh-khi
*together:*
na-at SU an-da ta-ru-up-pa-iz-zi nu SU EST-EN
*these then* *in their totality* *at one time*
ABNU NUNUZ kam-kam-ma-tum sa ABNU GUG
*as the chaton (?)* *of a ring* *of malachite*
an-da ne-ikh-khi
*set together.*

*Anda* seems to have much the same signification as the Egyptian Arabic *ba'd*. Thus while *arakhânta* (for *arakhanda*)[1] *wakhnuwar* is to be "completely surrounded" (Ass. *limitum*), *anda wakhnuwar* is "to enclose" (Ass. *lamû*); *andagan impauwar* is "to mourn with

[1] This shows that my original translation of *arakhanda* was correct; it has nothing to do with *arkha*, "month." The interchange of *d* and *t* is frequent; thus we have *damedani*, "fat," and *tamedani*, *dagan* and *tagan*.

one another" (Ass. *asasum*). *Anda tarnuwar* apparently means "to bring together", "collect".

*Kharsallanza* is stated to be the equivalent of the Sum. *gu-bu*, "to extend the neck," as well as of the Sum. *gu-ki-sula*, *gu-sub*, and *gu-sub-dâri*, to which the Assyrian equivalents *sapzu* and *sapâsu* ("angry"?) are assigned. That the word, however, did not signify "angry" in Hittite is shown by one of my texts, where we have:

| LU-ARAD | o-ni-ya-an-zi | nu | ABNU za-gin |
|---|---|---|---|
| *A lamb* | *sacrifice*[1]*:* | *with* | *lapis lazuli* |
| ABNU SIG-A | ABNU SIG-SIG | | |
| *. . . stone,* | *green stone,* | | |
| ABNU MI | ABNU UD-ya | an-da | ta-ar-na-an-zi |
| *black stone,* | *and white stone* | *combine together.* | |
| na-at ABNU | ki-i QAR(?) | | |
| *These stones* | *like an amulet (?)* | | |
| i-ya-an-zi | nu LU-ARAD | khar-sa-na la-an-zi | nu |
| *make* | *for the lamb;* | *the neck incline* | *to* |
| LU-ARAD | | | |
| *the lamb;* | | | |
| a-na | KHARRAN | AMIL AKH | khat-ra-a |
| *for* | *a foreign* | *journey* | *to another land* |
| bi-en-ni-ya-an-zi[2] | | | |
| *look* | | | |
| nu-us-si-gha | an-da | ki-is-sa-an | me-ma-an-zi |
| *to it then* | *when* | *a journey* | *you undertake.* |

In the vocabularies *uddanid anda-tarnuwar* is given as an equivalent of the Assyrian legal term *surrû*, and may therefore mean "to collect witnesses"; while GUD-*i makh-khat tarnuwar* is explained by *bedû*, Sum. *nu-kûkû*, "uneaten." Professor Delitzsch makes *bedû* the

[1] Or, less probably, "fetch."

[2] *Bienniwar* seems to signify "look", "watch", "observe", rather than "plough" as I conjectured in JRAS. 1909, p. 974.

Ass. *pidû*, "ransom," but the Hittite would signify "to put behind an ox".

*Nakâru*, "to be hostile," is the Assyrian representative of *kururî* . . . , *kurur appatar* being represented by *zâru*. This is literally "to take up hostility", *appatar* being the Ass. *tsabâtu*, "to seize." In JRAS. 1913, p. 1044, consequently, *kururani* must signify "war".[1]

*Iskisa* is the Ass. *kutallu*, Sum. *gu-tal*, "the facing" of a wall; hence the use of the verb in the sense of "plastering" or "anointing" (JRAS. 1913, p. 1043).

My translation of *turiya-wa turiya-wa*, "row by row," is verified by the equivalence of *ul turiyanza* and the Ass. [*lâ*] *tsamdu*, Sum. *a-nu-*[*galla*], "unyoked." The word signifies "a pair". Thus in one of my texts we read:

nu makh-an-da a-na D.P. KUR-RA-MES AN-lim
*Afterwards to the horses of the god*
LIB-GAL-ZUN GU-ZAL-LU
*spirit (and) sleek condition*[2]

u-da-an-zi nu-us-sa-an an-da ki-is-sa-an
*give; for them when a journey*
me-ma-an-zi
*you undertake*

D.P. KUR-RA-MES-wa tu-o-ri-ya-an khar-ti nu-wa
*of the horses a pair harness (?)*
ki-i LIB-GAL-ZUN
*that spirit*

[1] A fragment from Boghaz Keui, published by Boissier (*Babyloniaca*, iv, 4), reads: *um-ma ta-bar-na* ⅂ *Tu-ut-kha-li-*[*yas*] . . . *ma-a-an* ALU *a-as-su-wa khar-ni-in* . . . *a-ap-pa-ma* (?) ALU *Kha-at-tu-si* . . . *nu* GAN AN-MES-*as-sa ni-nu-un* (?) . . . *khu-o-ma-an za-a-ru-u e-es-ki* . . . "Thus is the announcement of Dudkhalias: . . . now the enemy of the city [I have conquered?]; the captured spoil belonging to the Hittite city [I have assigned] to the garden of the gods . . . abundance of plantation let there be (?) . . . " *A-ap-pa* may be another mode of writing *appa*.

[2] Literally "fat flesh".

e-ku-za-an-du nu-wa-ra-at is-bi-ya-an-te-es
*they may acquire,* . . . . . *ing.*

a-sa-an-du GIS-DA . . . -gha is-tu ZAL-LU
*They . . . a collar . . . of oil*

is-ki-ya-an e-es-du nu za-gan AN-lum
*a coating let them have, until the god,*

AN-IM-wa MAT-KA
*who is the Hadad of thy country,*

an-da-an na-is-khu-ut i-na MAT ALU Kha-at-ti
*them receives (?); in the land of the Hittites*

ku-wa-gha
*again*

an-da as-su-li na-is-khu-ut
*when I send he receives (them).*

The character which I have transcribed *gha* is *gan*, which interchanges with the ideograph 𒄑, "time," as for instance in *khi-in*-SU-*zi* and *khi-in-gan(gha)-zi*.

Thus a paragraph in one of the ritual texts begins:

nam-ma-SU A . . LU-DUGUD-ZUN AN-MES
*at that time . . . of the ewes (?) of the gods,*

KI-LIB-BE (= GARAS)
*the omens,*

qa-ti su-nu-te (?) ti-ya-an-zi
*I have written; the interpretation (?) heed (?)*

nu-SU an-da ki-is-sa-an
*at the time when a journey*

me-ma-an-zi ku-is-wa AN-lim ki-i
*you undertake, whatever it be of the god[1] that*

𒄑 i-ya-at
*a second time he does;*

[1] Or "whatever god it be when he gives the same omen a second time"; but in this case we should have expected AN-*lum* instead of AN-*lim*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ki-nu-nu-wa | pa-a-sa | LU-DUGUD-ZUN |
| *but now* | . . . | *of the ewes* (?) |
| a-ra-an-ta-ri | | |
| *is a good omen.*[1] | | |
| nu-wa-ra-at | is-tu | GU A-GIG GU ZAL (?) |
| . . . | *of* | . . . *flesh* (*and*) *fat* (?) |
| LAM (?) | is-tu | GU KHIR |
| *growth* (?) | *of* | . . . *flesh* |
| me-ik-[ki-]wa | ag-gan-te-es | nu-us-si -SU |
| *much* | . . *ing* | *to it* *then* |
| sa-a-as (?) | lu-ut-ti | GU bu-ug-ga-ta-ru |
| . . . | *bowl* (?) | *of flesh* *is an evil omen.* |

The vocabularies seem in great measure to have been drawn up for the sake of the ritual and omen texts. In the passage I have just quoted, for example, it is remarkable how many of the words are to be found in them: *iya(t)*, *kinun* (= *inanna*), *âra*, *buggan-za* (= *zêru*).

The Hittite language of Boghaz Keui is distinguished by its use of composition in words and of various particles, a characteristic which it shares with Mitannian. But it has little resemblance to the language of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts, as I have now discovered from my decipherment of them. The hieroglyphic inscriptions belong to the Muskâ or Moschians, who descended from their northern homes at the close of the thirteenth century B.C., and occupied Cilicia as well as the Assyrian provinces on the Upper Euphrates and Northern Syria as far south as Carchemish. They founded the second Hittite empire, which is the Cilician empire of Solinus, and had their centre at Tyana. It is probable that it was they who overthrew or helped to overthrow the earlier Hittite empire of Boghaz Keui; at all events, they seem to have rebuilt that city, and the sculptures of Yasili Kaia owed to them their origin.

[1] *Ul a-a-ra*, "not good," is rendered by the Sum. *in-gig*, "evil."

The Moschian language of the hieroglyphic texts resembles Vannic rather than Arzawan (Boghaz Keui) Hittite or Mitannian. There are, nevertheless, points of likeness between Moschian and Arzawan, apart from the names of deities which may have been borrowed. Thus, the declension of the noun — nom. *-s*, acc. *-n* — the possessive pronoun of the 1st person, and the 3rd person of the verb (*-t*) are the same, as well as a few roots. The hieroglyphic characters themselves, however, had been used by the Arzawan Hittites along with the cuneiform characters (the forms of which are derived from those of the script employed by the Assyro-Babylonian colonists in the neighbourhood of Kaisariyeh in the third millennium B.C.). Whether the phonetic values assigned to the characters by the Moschians and the Arzawans were the same we do not know; I should think they were not. The hieroglyphs must go back to a period preceding the introduction of the cuneiform syllabary into Asia Minor. I have published (in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, November, 1913) a tablet of the age of the dynasty of Ur (B.C. 2400), now in the Royal Scottish Museum, on which four of them are inscribed.

## XXIX

# THE DATE OF KANISHKA

By J. H. MARSHALL, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.

IN the discussion on the date of Kanishka which took place last year much prominence was given to the so-called Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and arguments were put forward by those who favoured an early date for Kanishka to prove, not only that this era was founded by him, but that all the recorded dates of the Śaka, Pahlava, and Kushan rulers of Northern India are referable to it. Some discoveries which I have recently made at Taxila throw, I think, fresh light on this question, and, though they do not settle precisely the date of Kanishka, appear to prove that he was not at any rate the founder of the era of 58 B.C. and could not have come to the throne until the close of the first century A.D. or later.

One of these discoveries I made in a small chapel immediately west of the so-called "Chir" *stūpa*. The chapel in question is built in a small diaper type of masonry, which came into vogue at Taxila about the middle of the first century A.D. and lasted for about a hundred years. Its entrance faces the main *stūpa*, and near the back wall opposite this entrance, and about a foot below the floor, I found a deposit consisting of a steatite vessel with a silver vase inside, and in the vase an inscribed scroll and a small gold casket containing some minute bone relics. A heavy stone placed over the deposit had, unfortunately, been crushed down by the fall of the roof and had broken both the steatite vessel and the silver vase, but had left the gold casket uninjured and chipped only a few fragments from the edge of the scroll, nearly all of which I was, happily, able to recover

Taxila inscription of the year 136

by carefully sifting and washing the earth in the vicinity. The cleaning and transcription of the record was a matter of exceptional difficulty, as the scroll, which is only $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide and of very thin metal, had been rolled up tightly, face inwards, in order that it might be enclosed in the silver vase; moreover, the metal of which it is composed is silver alloyed with a small percentage of copper, which had formed an efflorescence on the surface of the extremely brittle band, with the result that I could neither unroll it without breaking it nor subject it to the usual chemical treatment. By the use of strong acid, however, applied with a zinc pencil, I was able to remove the copper efflorescence and expose, one by one, the punctured dots of the lettering on the back of the scroll, and then, having transcribed these with the aid of a mirror, to break off a section of the scroll and so continue the process of cleaning and transcription. In this way I succeeded in making a complete copy of the record from the back of the scroll, while the letters were yet intact. Afterwards I cleaned in like manner and copied the face of each of the broken sections, and was gratified to find that my second transcript was in accurate agreement with the first. I mention these details in order to explain why it is impracticable to present a purely mechanical reproduction of the record, and why the transcript given below, which was made section by section and necessarily without any reference to the meaning of the record, may be regarded as trustworthy.

My reading of this inscription is as follows:—

**Text**

Line 1. Sa 100.20.10.4.1.1 Ayasa Ashaḍasa masasa divase 10.4.1 iśa divase pradistavita Bhagavato dhatuo Dhurasa(?)-

l. 2. kena Dhitaphria-putrana Bahaliena Noachae nagare vastavena tena ime pradistavita Bhagavato dhatuo dhamara-

l. 3. ie Tachhaśie Tanuae Bodhisatvagahami maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushanasa arogadachhinae

l. 4. sarva-budhana puyae prachaga-budhana puyae arahana puyae sarvasa(tva)na puyae mata-pitu puyae mitra-macha-ñati-sa-

l. 5. dhihona puyae atmano arogadachhinae nianae hotu a . de sa ma parichago

**Translation**

In the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of the month of Āshāḍha – on this day relics of the Holy One (Buddha) were enshrined by Dhurasakes (?), son of Dhitaphria, a Bactrian, resident at the town of Noacha. By him these relics of the Holy One were enshrined in the Bodhisattva chapel at Tanua (?) in Takhaśila of the religious realm, for the bestowal of perfect health upon the great king, king of kings, the divine Khushana; for the veneration of all Buddhas; for the veneration of individual Buddhas; for the veneration of the Saints; for the veneration of all sentient beings; for the veneration of (his) parents; for the veneration of (his) friends, advisers, kinsmen, and associates; for the bestowal of perfect health upon himself. May this gift be . . .

For *Dhitaphria-putrana* Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests the reading *dhitastria-putrana*, which, in combination with *bahaliena*, he would translate "accompanied by his daughters, wife and sons". For the meaning of *Bahaliena* (= "a man from Balkh") I am indebted to Professor Rapson and Professor Konow. To Mr. Bhandarkar I am also indebted for the suggestion that *dhamaraia* = Skt. *dharmarajya*.

The absence of any royal titles attached to the name of Azes is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been

supplanted by that of the Kushans. When did this era of Azes commence? That it is one and the same as the era in which the Gondophernes and Panjtār records are dated will, I think, be admitted by everyone, and I shall not therefore pause to discuss the point. If, then, Dr. Fleet is correct in referring the dates of the latter records to the era of 58 B.C., it follows that it was Azes I and not Kanishka who founded that era. That Azes I came to the throne about that date is now, indeed, attested by the evidence of coins and other antiquities at Taxila, which indicate that he was reigning in the third quarter of the first century B.C., while the probability that he may have founded an era is also suggested by the abundance of his coins, which denote his pre-eminence among the Śaka–Pahlava sovereigns. Notwithstanding, however, the very strong reasons which Dr. Fleet has adduced for referring the dates in the Gondophernes and Panjtār records to the era of 58 B.C., the identity of the era of Azes and the Vikrama era can hardly be regarded as fully established, and, to my mind, it is quite possible that the era of Azes will be found to have commenced a few years earlier or later than 58 B.C.

Assuming that it started actually in that year, the date given in the new inscription will fall in the year A.D. 79; and the next important point is to determine which of the Kushan kings is referred to as reigning in that year. That he is identical with the nameless Kushan ruler mentioned in the Panjtār record of fourteen years earlier is probable; and here, again, I think Dr. Fleet may be correct in identifying the latter with Vima-Kadphises. On the other hand, it is also possible that Kujula-Kadphises may be meant. The monogram on the scroll is characteristic of coins of Vima-Kadphises, but it is also found on coins of his predecessor.[1]

[1] Cf. Vincent Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 67, Nos. 17, 22, 24.

Again, the title *maharajasa rajatirajasa* also suggests Vima-Kadphises; indeed, it was stated by several speakers during the discussion on the date of Kanishka that Kujula-Kadphises was only a petty local chief (*yavuga* = *jabgou*), never "a king of kings", like his successor. But this assertion is erroneous. On some of his coins Kujula-Kadphises styles himself *maharaja rajadirajasa*,[1] and, according to Cunningham, *devaputrasa* also.[2] That he ruled, moreover, at Taxila, and consequently over the north-west of the Punjab and Frontier generally, is abundantly clear from his coins, which are found there in larger numbers than those of any other kings except Azes I and Azes II.[3] Other considerations, too, favour the identification with Kujula- rather than Vima-Kadphises. For, in the first place, it would be natural for the first emperor of the dynasty to be styled "the Kushan Emperor" without any further appellation, while it would be equally natural for his successors to be distinguished from him by the addition of their individual names. Secondly, the stratification of coins at Taxila show that Kujula-Kadphises succeeded the Pahlava kings there, and consequently he can hardly have conquered the country before *circa* A.D. 50; and inasmuch as his coins betoken a fairly long reign there, and he is known from other sources to have lived to a great age, he may well have been ruling in the 122nd and 136th years of the era of Azes, i.e., approximately, in A.D. 65 and 79. For these reasons it would, in my opinion, be unsafe at present to regard as certain the identity of the emperor referred to in this record with Vima-Kadphises, notwithstanding other evidence which

[1] Cf. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. i, p. 180, Nos. 20, 22.

[2] Cf. *Num. Chron.*, vol. xii, p. 66, 1892.

[3] Thus, within the walls of Sir-kap alone I estimate from my finds up to date that there are not less than 18,000 of his coins hidden within the soil.

undoubtedly exists for assigning an earlier date to Kujula-Kadphises.

From the new discoveries at Taxila, coupled with already known facts, the succession of the Śaka, Pahlava, and Kushan rulers in this part of India appears to have been as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Maues. | Kujula-Kadphises and |
| Azes I. | Hermæus. |
| Azilises. | Vima-Kadphises |
| Azes II ) Aśpavarma | (*Sōtēr megas*). |
| Gondophernes ) *Stratēgos.* | Kanishka. |
| *Abdagases, Sasan, Sapedanes,* | Huvishka. |
| etc. | Vāsudeva. |

The coins of Maues are relatively few, and this bears out the theory that Maues rose to power in Arachosia and did not extend his sway over Taxila until relatively late in his reign. Rare, too, are the coins of Azilises, who seems to have had a short reign and may have been represented at Taxila by local governors.

The existence of Azes II, which was first postulated by Mr. Vincent Smith, is not generally admitted by other numismatists ; but the following facts appear to me strongly to support Mr. Smith's view: (1) The coins which he assigns to Azes II are found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I. (2) Aśpavarma appears to have been *stratēgos* in the reign of Gondophernes[1] as well as in that of Azes, and it is impossible that this Azes can be Azes I, who came to the throne seventy-eight years before Gondophernes. (3) Coins of Azes II (with Aśpavarma) are found in company with coins of Gondophernes.[2]

After the death of Gondophernes his empire was split up into smaller principalities, and it was then that Hermæus and Kadphises I appear to have made their successful invasion

[1] Cf. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. i, p. 150, Nos. 35–8.

[2] e.g. twenty-three coins of Gondophernes (with Sasan) in company with four of Azes II (with Aśpavarma).

of Gandhāra and Taxila. One of these principalities was ruled by Abdagases, another by Orthagnes, and others by princes whose coins I have now recovered for the first time at Taxila. Among them were Sasan, Sapedanes, and Satavastra (?). Coins of Gondophernes with the legend *Sasasa* have long been familiar to numismatists, and it has been a matter of dispute whether this word contained the name of a ruler or was merely an unexplained epithet of Gondophernes. But a new type of silver coin from Taxila, bearing on the obverse the legend *Maharajasa Aspabhataputrasa*[1] *tratarasa Sasasa*, seems to indicate that General Cunningham was right in interpreting it as the name of a ruler. I suggest that Sasan may have been a Viceroy of Gondophernes during the lifetime of the latter, and have made himself *maharaja* of his province on Gondophernes' death. The legends on the other coins referred to read respectively: *maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Sapedanasa*,[2] and *maharajasa . . . Satavastrasa*.[3] The corrupt legends on the obverse are not clear,[4] but the symbol ☿ appears on all of them, and in other respects the coins are closely allied to those of Gondophernes. The titles of these potentates imply that they were independent at the time when these coins were struck; but there is nothing to prove that any of them was ruling in Taxila. Probably they were ruling in other parts of the country when Kujula-Kadphises and Hermæus had already taken possession of Taxila. This supposition is supported by the fact that no copper coins of these later Pahlava princes have yet been found there,

[1] *Aspabhataputrasa* may perhaps be read as *Aśpabhrataputrasa*, in which case Sasan may have been a nephew of Aśpavarman.

[2] The lower half of the second *akṣara* of this name is somewhat doubtful. Perhaps it may be *Sarpedanasa*.

[3] The reading *Satavastrasa* is clear, but it is difficult to believe that this is the name of a king.

[4] On one of the coins of Sapedanes or Sarpedanes the Greek letters . . . CAPHNΔ . . . are visible.

and that the silver pieces alluded to above were all found together in one jar[1] in a stratum which has yielded many copper coins of Hermæus and Kujula-Kadphises. In the absence of any silver mintage of Hermæus or Kadphises it is not, of course, surprising that silver coins should have found their way to Taxila from neighbouring Pahlava principalities. If any of these princes succeeded Gondophernes at Taxila and reigned for any length of time there, then the conquest of Kujula-Kadphises and Hermæus can hardly have taken place before about A.D. 60, in which case there will be still more reason for identifying the former with the Kushan monarch referred to in the Panjtār record.

Among the coins of Hermæus and Kujula-Kadphises are a certain number struck in the name of Hermæus alone,[2] but the vast majority are those of Hermæus and Kadphises or of Kadphises alone, nor does there seem to be sufficient reason for supposing that Taxila was ever included within the kingdom of Hermæus, prior to the conquest of the latter by Gondophernes. On the contrary, there are good grounds for believing that Azes II was succeeded directly by Gondophernes, who afterwards proceeded to annex the Kabul kingdom of Hermæus. Hermæus, we may assume, formed an alliance with Kujula-Kadphises, recovered his own lost dominions, and after the death of Gondophernes took advantage of the break-up of the great Pahlava kingdom to invade Gandhāra and Taxila.[3]

[1] With them were a figure of a winged Aphrodite of gold repoussé, a number of intaglio gems engraved with figures of Eros, Artemis, etc., and other pieces of gold jewellery.

[2] Of two types, viz. B.M. Cat., pls. xv, 6, and xxxii, 8.

[3] The prevalent view taken by historians and numismatists is that Kadphises I conquered Hermæus *circa* A.D. 20 or even earlier (cf. Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India*, 3rd ed., 1914, p. 236; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 16, par. 65). In that case Kadphises I must have been driven back from Taxila and Kabul by Gondophernes. I find nothing to support this supposition.

Of the nameless king, Soter Megas, all that can be said at present is that his coins are not found in Sir-kap; and, as they are common enough on the sites round about, it may be inferred that he was certainly later than Kujula-Kadphises, but how much later yet remains to be seen.

To revert, however, to Kanishka. We have seen that he was not the founder of the era commencing in 58 B.C., or thereabouts, and that there is no place for him and his immediate successors among the Śaka and Pahlava kings, who were ruling at Taxila in the first centuries before and after Christ. I turn now to more positive evidence regarding his date. That he followed and did not precede the two Kadphises is abundantly clear from my excavations both in the city of Sir-kap and at the Chir *stūpa*.

Sir-kap was built during the Greek domination and, apparently, remained in occupation as a city until the reign of Vima-Kadphises. In it I have now cleared a reasonably representative area, measuring some $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres, and including part of a main street, several side streets, and a number of large edifices. I have unearthed buildings of the Greek, Śaka, Pahlava, and Kushan epochs, and I have discovered, buried in small hoards beneath their floors or dropped singly in the chambers, alleys, and roads, coins of the following kings:—

*Greek*

1. Agathocles.
2. Lysias.
3. Eucratides.
4. Antialcidas.
5. Apollodotus.
6. Heliocles.
7. Hippostratus.
8. Philoxenus.
9. Telephus.
10. Hermæus.

*Śaka and Pahlava*

11. Maues.
12. Vonones (with Spalahora).
13. Azes I.
14. Azilises.
15. Azes II.
16. Gondophernes.
17. Abdagases.
18. Sasan.
19. Sapedanes.
20. Satavastra (?).

*Kushan*

21. Kujula-Kadphises.
22. Vima-Kadphises.

Yet I have not come across a single coin of Kanishka, Huvishka, or Vāsudeva. How can this entire absence of their coins be explained, except on the hypothesis that these three emperors came later than Vima-Kadphises, during whose reign the city appears to have been deserted —particularly when it is remembered that their coins remained in circulation long after their deaths?

At the Chir *stūpa*, on the other hand, I have brought to light a series of buildings covering a much longer period— namely, from the middle of the first century B.C. to the fourth or fifth century A.D. These buildings are characterized by four clear and distinct types of masonry. Those in the lowest stratum are of rubble, often faced with finely cut *kanjur* stone; built over them are structures of small "diaper" masonry; above these, again, are buildings of a larger and more massive type of "diaper"; and uppermost of all come *stūpas* and chapels of semi-ashlar, semi-diaper masonry. Now, coins of the Śaka and Pahlava kings are found associated with the first of these four classes, and coins of the two Kadphises are found in buildings of the second class; but not a single coin of Kanishka, Huvishka, or Vāsudeva has been found in any building earlier than those of the third class. Nor is this evidence derived only from coins found in the debris of these buildings. In one case the relics in a small *stūpa* associated with a building of the third class, and certainly not older than the second century A.D., were accompanied by coins of Huvishka and Vāsudeva only.

Thus in Sir-kap we have, represented by their coins, a succession of rulers from the second century B.C. until the latter part of the first century A.D., but not a trace among them of Kanishka, Huvishka, or Vāsudeva; and at the Chir *stūpa* we have a succession of Śaka and Pahlava kings followed by the two Kadphises, with Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva coming later.

And if we look at other monuments associated with

Kanishka and Huvishka, we are forced to the same conclusion regarding their date. Thus the original masonry of the Kanishka *stūpa* at Peshawar is of a type which at Taxila, at any rate, was unknown in the Śaka–Pahlava period, but is paralleled there in buildings of the second century A.D. True, Peshawar is at some distance from Taxila, and it is possible, though not likely, that a local style may have been independently evolved there. But at Māṇikyāla, which is within 40 miles of Taxila, no such explanation will avail. There the great *stūpa* erected during Huvishka's reign is similar in all its details—in its dwarfed pilasters, degenerate Corinthian capitals, bevelled torus mouldings, notched Indian brackets, and the like[1]—to monuments of the second and third centuries A.D. at Taxila, but markedly different from those of the first century B.C.

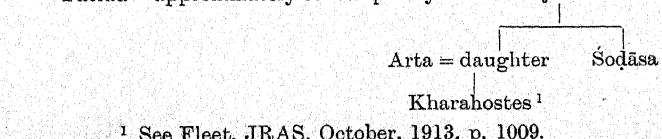
In concluding this brief note let me add that the new information which I have gleaned about the Śaka–Pahlava rulers, coupled with the opening words of the inscription given above, have suggested to me a more satisfactory solution of the difficulties connected with the Patika copper-plate, King Moga, and the chronology of the local Satraps of Mathurā.

The most orthodox view, at present, is to identify the King Moga referred to in the Patika copper-plate with King Moa (= Maues) of the coins (*circa* 120 B.C., according to the generally accepted chronology), to regard Patika as a contemporary of Moga, and to place Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa slightly later. On the other hand, Dr. Fleet

[1] Cf. Cunningham, ASR., vol. v, pl. xxiv, which, however, is not entirely accurate. Fergusson's woodcut (ed. 1910, p. 98, fig. 27) is a mere travesty of the original. The attribution of this monument, as it now stands, to the eighth century A.D. or thereabouts is one of the most amazing blunders ever made by Fergusson, as amazing as his attribution of the Dhamekh *stūpa* at Sārnāth to the eleventh century. The style of the architectural decorations around the plinth and base of the superstructure is precisely that which prevailed at Taxila in the second century A.D., but was completely transformed during the three succeeding centuries.

differentiates between King Moa of the coins and Moga of the copper-plate, as well as between Patika of the Taxila plate and Patika of the Mathurā lion-capital; he refers the year 78 of the Taxila inscription, as well as the year 72 of the Āmohinī record of Śoḍāsa's reign, to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.; and he places Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa, together with King Moga and Patika, in the early part of the first century A.D. Neither of these solutions can be considered satisfactory: the first, because it ignores the fact that the style of the sculptures of Śoḍāsa's reign at Mathurā entirely precludes their being ascribed to so early a date as the second quarter of the first century B.C.; the second, because there is no reason for supposing that there was another Patika, and because it is prima facie improbable that King Moga was ruling in the first century A.D., in the same year as Gondophernes.

Now, let us consider what these three records—the Patika copper-plate, the Mathurā lion-capital, and the Āmohinī *āyāgapaṭa* slab—have to tell us regarding the succession of these Satraps. From the first we learn that Patika was not yet invested with satrapal powers in the year 78, when his father, the Satrap Liaka-Kusulaka, was still alive. From the Mathurā lion-capital we learn that, at the time it was inscribed, Patika had become "Great Satrap", that Rājūvula was also a "Great Satrap", and his son Śoḍāsa only "Satrap". And from the Āmohinī slab we learn that in the year 72, in which it is dated, Śoḍāsa had become "Great Satrap" in succession to his father Rājūvula. Thus we have the following order of succession indicated in these records:—




[1] See Fleet, JRAS, October, 1913, p. 1009.

From this it follows that if Liaka-Kusulaka was Satrap in the year 78 of the era of 58 B.C., Śoḍāsa could not have been Great Satrap in the year 72 of the same era. In order to get over this difficulty Dr. Fleet, as stated above, assumes the existence of two Patikas. But is it necessary to refer these dates to one and the same era, or to refer the year 78 of the Patika plate to an unspecified era? I hold that it is not. The new Taxila inscription proves that the year 136 of that record is dated, not in an unspecified era and during the reign of Azes, but in the era founded by Azes himself; and, if we compare this inscription with the Patika plate, we find that the words *mahārayasa mahaṁtasa Moga̅sa* occupy the same position as the word *Ayasa* in the new record. Let us see, therefore, what the result will be if we refer the year 78 of the Patika plate to the reign of Maues and the year 72 of the Āmohinī slab to the era of Azes.

According to the numismatic and other evidence from Taxila, Maues or Moa immediately preceded Azes, and, as he must have enjoyed a fairly long reign, I place his accession about 95 B.C. The year 78 of his reign, therefore, when Liaka-Kusulaka was Satrap, will fall about 17 B.C. The reigns of Patika and Rājūvula we shall place roughly between 10 B.C. and A.D. 10, that of Śoḍāsa after A.D. 10 (the year 72 of the Āmohinī record falling in A.D. 15), and that of Kharahostes, say, A.D. 30–45. This chronology seems to me to accord satisfactorily with the numismatic evidence and all else that we know about the lineage of these Satraps.

# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## The Date of Kanishka

Mr. Marshall's valuable paper will be welcomed by all scholars interested in the question of Kaniṣka. Archæological research is perhaps the only means whereby we may hope to obtain further evidence of the kind which renders argument superfluous. The facts now set forth by Mr. Marshall as outcome of his careful excavations at Taxilā are of this order. The archæological stratification and the evidence of the coin-finds convey a lesson which renders comment superfluous.

In the inscription which Mr. Marshall has discovered, and which he now publishes with a complete decipherment and interpretation, there are naturally some points which seem open to discussion. Like all Kharoṣṭhī records, the inscription presents considerable difficulties as to reading; and these difficulties are increased by the fact that the letters are inscribed on the plate not in continuous lines, but in dots, some of which might very easily be overlooked, especially in cases like the present, where the surface had been much affected by chemical action. If we are able in almost all cases to recognize the correctness of the reading, this is due to the careful and ingenious methods employed in the decipherment.

The following are some minor points where I should venture to suggest an alteration in the reading:—

Line 1. *Pratiṭhavita* for *pradistavita*. Since *di* and *ti* are of similar form, and in this inscription original *t* is not usually softened medially, the *ti* seems to have the preference; but certainly the *akṣara* as reproduced rather resembles *di*. As regards *sta* (𐨯) and *ṭha* (𐨿), one can hardly doubt that the extension of the cross stroke, if it

is actually unmistakable, is due to error on the part of the engraver. *Pratiṭhavita* is, of course, the word invariably used in this connexion.

*Dhurasakena:* Here I should prefer to read *Urasakena* or *Vurasakena* on the ground that *dh* should not appear in an Iranian name—the form also departs from that of the regular *dh* in this inscription. But, if this is so, the word will naturally mean "of Uraśa", and will give the nationality (which, in fact, usually comes first), and not the name, of the donor. In that case the personal name will be *Bahalia*, for which, on the other hand, the supposition of a national name (= *Bahlīkena*, "of Balkh") is certainly most plausible.

l. 2. *Dhitaphriaputrena:* I would read *Viṃtaphria°* or *Iṃtaphria°*, regarding the name as a variant of *Vindapharna, Undopherres, Gondophernes*, etc.

*Pradistavita:* Read *pratiṭhavita*, as in l. 1.

ll. 4–5. *Sadhihona:* This word must be some equivalent of *saṃstutānām*, "friends," or *sahāyānām*, "comrades"; as the second *akṣara* seems to me to be *vi*, and the third *akṣara* may be read as *haṃ* instead of *ho*, I can only suggest *savihaṃna* = *savidhāna*, "neighbours."

l. 5. *Nianae:* The analogy of other similar donatory inscriptions suggests a reading *ni*[*v*]*vānae* for *nirvāṇae*.

The most important point in the paper is, of course, connected with the word *ayasa* in l. 1. Mr. Marshall has taken this as the genitive of *Aya*, which on the coins of Azes is the Prakrit equivalent of his name, and he interprets the genitive as meaning "of the era of Azes". The form presents no difficulty: the nature of the equivalence of the *y* and the *z* has been discussed in this Journal for 1906 (pp. 205, n. 3, and 463). The use of the genitive is, however, contrary to the usual acceptation (see Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, iv, p. 56), which regards such constructions as meaning "in the reign" of the king in question. This objection is so serious that

it alone will deter many scholars from accepting Mr. Marshall's view. There are also two others, of which one, namely, the absence of any accompanying titles—in the Taxilā plate the name *Mogasa* is accompanied by *maharayasa mahaṃtasa*—has been already noticed by Mr. Marshall himself (p. 976). The second is the co-existence of two eras in the same place, an unavoidable consequence, since the recorded 78 of the era of Moga will certainly have been subsequent to the year 1 of that attributed to Azes.

Accordingly, we are strongly induced to look about for another possibility, or even—in spite of Mr. Marshall's care—another reading. To take *ayasa* as the equivalent of *āryasya*, a course which has been proposed, no one surely will consent. Can it, then, be a genitive of *ayam* in the sense of *etasya*, "of this year" = "of the said year"? This will hardly commend itself, although a locative *āammi* from the same stem is cited by Pischel (*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 429). If we could suppose the initial *a* to be an imperfect reading for *i*, we might conceive the word *iyasa* as a genitive of *iyat* in the sense in which it is frequently used with words denoting time. I cannot, however, give a vote for this interpretation, and I accordingly leave the matter where it is, only assenting to Mr. Marshall's view that, in case *ayasa* is really here the genitive of the name of Azes, *Mogasa* in the Taxilā plate must be analogously interpreted.

The number 136 invites to certain reflections. That the reign of Gondophernes, whose twenty-sixth year corresponded to the year 103 of the era, ended before the year 122 is in itself probable; but it is also proved by the fact that in 122 another king, a Kushan, was ruling in the same region. The present inscription, therefore, combines with that from Panjtār to prove that the era employed by Gondophernes (a Śaka era, as I have

suggested in this Journal, 1913, p. 637) was continued by the first Kushans at least as late as the years 122 and 136. If Gondophernes died about A.D. 50 after forty years of rule, the year 136 would correspond to A.D. 50 + 33 − 14 = *circa* A.D. 70, which approximates to A.D. 78, the beginning of the so-called Śaka era. And A.D. 78—twenty-eight years after Gondophernes—will be a very suitable date for the death of Vima-Kadphises, who succeeded an octogenarian probably soon after the death of Gondophernes. This would fix the commencement of Kaniṣka's reign, as has been argued above (1913, pp. 649–50), in A.D. 78. We may urge further (1) that the era of the Śakas, having been actually employed by the early Kushans, can have been overthrown only by the definite institution of a new era, which will naturally be the known era of Kaniṣka; (2) that the so-called Śaka era must have owed its institution to the intentional abolition of a real Śaka era, that is, to the new epoch of Kaniṣka.

On the other hand, if 136 + = A.D. 78, the commencement of the era is not B.C. 58, but a few years earlier. If, however, the + = 0, we arrive actually at B.C. 58. Although the era, which we know as the Mālava or Vikrama era, is dated, as I have endeavoured to show above (pp 413–14), from the institution of non-kingly (oligarchical) rule in Ujjain, it is quite conceivable that it was a consequence of the foundation of the real Śaka era and followed after only a short interval; for the Śakas in question may have overturned a ruling dynasty in Ujjain.

A second important matter arising from this inscription is connected with the genitive *Khuṣanasa*. Here we have an undeniable form from the stem *Khuṣăna*; and to this extent the contentions of Baron von Staël-Holstein (*supra*, pp. 79 seq., 754 seq.), denying this form of the name, must be regarded as overthrown. Not the whole case, however: the arguments adduced by Baron von

Staël-Holstein to prove that KOPANO = *kuṣāṇu* was properly a genitive retain their force; and it is possible to persist in the view which I have myself consistently upheld, and which is very similar to that published by Professor Sten Konow (ZDMG. lxviii, 96), namely, that *kuṣāṇa* was originally a genitive plural, meaning "of the Kuṣas", but acquired an adjectival employment and a consequent declension. Cases of such metaplasm are not unknown in language.

Perhaps I may mention a few points in which Mr. Marshall agrees with conclusions to which I have myself given expression. Such are (1) the view that Kadphises was not a mere petty local ruler (p. 978); (2) that Gondophernes was the conqueror against whom Hermæus sought the protection of Kadphises (pp. 979–81); (3) the abundance of the coins of Kujula-Kadphises within the confines of India (p. 978 and n. 3); (4) that the era employed in the inscriptions of Gondophernes, Patika, and the Mathura satraps was a Śaka era (pp. 976–7, 984–6.)[1]

We look forward eagerly to the publication of facsimiles of the new coins mentioned by Mr. Marshall. The name *Satavastra* may perhaps be found to contain the same second element which appears in *Kharaosta*, unless it is rather *vāstra*, "field." The Greek letters CAPHNΔ, which correspond to the name of *Sapedana*, include a form of Π, which is not Roman, but a cursive variant (existing already in a number of old Greek alphabets) of the (also ancient) Γ, found on the coins of Zeionises and elsewhere.

Is it superfluous to mention that in this inscription we have the earliest example of Indian writing on silver, or precious metals generally? Our museums preserve specimens to prove that the practice has endured down to modern times. Such scrolls were an expensive substitute

[1] On the other hand, I do not agree with the view (p. 985) that Kharaosta was a grandson (instead of a son) of Rañjuvula.

for those "whisps of tuz-leaves", as Masson terms them (*Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 60, 84, 94, 116), meaning of birch-bark, the scanty fragments of which are our earliest remains of Indian manuscripts.

F. W. THOMAS.

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## THE TAXILA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 136

By the courtesy of Dr. Marshall I have received in advance a proof of his paper on "The Date of Kanishka" (p. 973 above) and an invitation to write a note on it. It will be a great relief when this matter can be settled, in any direction. But I can only say for the present that Dr. Marshall's case is not at all as plain to me as it is to him. His argument based on his discoveries at the Chir Stūpa site depends on views about art; and that is a difficult subject, there being so great a divergence of opinion among the authorities in that line. His argument based on his discoveries at the Sir-kap site is the *argumentum ex silentio*, which, however suggestive it may be, cannot be taken safely as conclusive. A pointed illustration of that is on record in connection with this same topic: in 1904 and again in 1908 it was asserted confidently that there could not be a Kushān king Vāsishka, either between Kanishka and Huvishka or after the latter, because no coins of him had been found. But, though the fact still remains that no coins of Vāsishka have been found or at any rate recognized, in 1910 there was brought to light an inscription which proves undeniably that there was such a king between Kanishka and Huvishka.

The real interest of Dr. Marshall's paper lies, for me, in the new inscription of the year 136 which he has discovered near the Chir Stūpa. This is another record in the north-west dialect and the Kharōshṭhī characters. One point of interest in it is (see p. 1009 below) that it endorses so clearly the other evidence that the name of

the race to which Kanishka and his connections belonged was *Kushāṇa*, Kushān, and presents the variant of that name, *Khushāṇa*, Khushān (with *kh* instead of *k*), which we know otherwise only from coins of Kadphisēs I. Another is that, like the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, = A.D. 65 (see pp. 372 above and 1002 below), it mentions a Kushān king without stating his name.[1] But the chief point in it is the way in which it is dated.

According to Dr. Marshall's figuring of the record it is dated thus :—

sa 136 ayasa ashaḍasa masasa divase 15.[2]

He takes *ayasa* as the genitive singular of a name Aya, for which he substitutes Azes because there are well-known coins of two kings whose name is presented as Aya in the Kharōshṭhī legends on them, and as Azēs in the Greek legends. And he gives the following translation :—

"in the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of the month of Āshāḍha."

He takes this record as being dated in the year 136 of an era founded by Aya-Azēs I (p. 976). He puts the beginning of the reign of Azēs I and of his era close enough to B.C. 58 to allow us, without necessarily identifying this era with the Vikrama era, to take that year itself for practical purposes.[3] And he thus places the record in A.D. 79 (p. 977).

[1] Dr. Marshall has quoted me (p. 977) as identifying the king of the Panjtār record with Wēmo-Kadphisēs. I said that he may be either Wēmo-Kadphisēs or Sōtēr Megas, "the Nameless King" (this Journal, 1913, p. 1011). Dr. Marshall seems to prefer to identify him with Kozoulo-Kadphisēs, who was reigning, according to him, in A.D. 65 and 79. It is only a question of how the date may be found to fit in best.

[2] For the sake of simplicity I substitute 136 for the 100 20 10 4 1 1 of the original, and 15 for 10 4 1.

[3] This idea, that there were two eras, beginning in and about B.C. 58, is not new : it is part and parcel of an almost unintelligible desire to try to interpret the early Indian records by means of any reckonings rather than the well-established Indian ones.

Now, the immediate predecessor of Azēs I (p. 979) was a king whose name was Moa according to the Kharōshṭhī legends on his coins and Mauēs according to the Greek legends on them. Dr. Marshall follows "the most orthodox view" (p. 984), which identifies with Moa-Mauēs a king whose name is presented as Moga in the record on the "Patika copper-plate", that is, the Taxila plate which is dated in "the year 78" of some reckoning which it does not specify.[1] He puts the initial date of Moa-Mauēs in or about B.C. 95 (p. 986). He takes the year 78 of the Taxila plate as the year 78 of the reign [? of an era] of Moa-Mauēs, beginning in B.C. 95.[2] And he thus places this last-mentioned record in B.C. 17.

The position in which this combination lands us is as follows:—In B.C. 95 there began an era of Mauēs, which was still in use in B.C. 17: nevertheless, Azēs I, the successor of Mauēs, started in B.C. 58 a new era, which was still in use in A.D. 79: and so the two eras, in use by the same dynasty, ran on alongside of each other for at any rate forty-one years, down to B.C. 17. Comment on this seems unnecessary.

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[1] I do not share in this "most orthodox view": see my remarks in this Journal, 1907, p. 1023; 1913, p. 1000; and p. 797 above. The grounds put forward for the identification of the two persons are two:—(1) That, if it is not made, then Moa-Mauēs has no inscriptions and Moga has no coins. A weaker reason than this could hardly be thought of. (2) That the word Moga is merely a dialectical variant of Moa. This is based on the point that a medial single *g* between two vowels was liable, like other single consonants so standing, to disappear. But not by any means has every such *g* disappeared. And in any circumstances, identity of name does not establish identity of person. Further, if Moa-Mauēs was also known as Moga, then how is it that the variant Moga has not been found on any of his coins, which are of at least sixteen different types? Also, it is to be borne in mind, as I have said on a previous occasion, that the form Moga presented in the record on the Taxila plate may quite possibly stand for Mogga (with the double *gg*), which could not possibly be even the same name with Moa.

[2] His actual expression is the "reign" of Mauēs (p. 986). But, as he only assigns thirty-seven years (B.C. 95–58) for Mauēs before Azēs I, I infer that he must mean an "era" of Mauēs.

Now, the record on the Taxila copper-plate is dated thus:—

saṁvachharaye aṭhasatatimae 78 maharayasa mahaṁtasa Mogasa Panemasa masasa divase paṁchame 5.[1]

Dr. Marshall has said quite rightly that the words *mogasa* and *ayasa* have the same relative position in the two records. But his interpretation of the passages, taking one as meaning "in the year 78 of [the era of] Moga," and the other as meaning "in the year 136 of [the era of] Aya," is wrong.

As I pointed out long ago in respect of the Taxila plate,[2] the word *mogasa* is dependent, not on what stands before it but on what follows it, and the record says:—

"In the seventy-eighth year, 78: on the fifth day, 5, of the month Panēma of the great king, the great one, Moga."

In just the same way, in this new inscription the word *ayasa* (if, for the present, we accept the word itself and the meaning given to it by Dr. Marshall) is dependent on what comes after it, not on what is before it; and what the record says is:—

"(*In*) the year 136: on the day 15 of the month Āshāḍha of Aya."

Even if the words *mogasa* and *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translations would actually be "in the year 78 of Moga" and "(*in*) the year 136 of Aya," these records would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Moga in the year 78 and Aya in the year 136 of some era or eras not founded by them. Compare on this point the words of Professor Bühler, who edited the Taxila plate: he said:[3]—

[1] Here, again, for the sake of simplicity I substitute 78 for the 20 20 20 10 4 4 of the original, and 5 for 4 1.

[2] This Journal, 1907, p. 1014.

[3] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 56.

"The year 78 is, of course, not that of the reign of Môga, but of the era which he used." Compare also records in which the name of the king actually does stand before the year: we have such instances as:—(1) "In the year 51 of the great king, the son of the gods, Huveshka;"[1]—(2) "(*In*) the year 80 of the great king Vāsudēva;"[2]—(3) "In the seventy-second year, 72, of the king, the Mahākshatrapa, Rudravarman;"[3]—(4) "In the ninety-sixth augmenting-victory-and-reign-year of the great king of kings, the glorious Kumāragupta".[4] No one has ever suggested either that any of these kings, Huvishka, Vāsudēva, Rudravarman, and Kumāragupta, founded an era, or even that they reigned for 51, 80, 72, and 96 years: the statements simply place the records containing them in their reigns, and in respectively the years 51, 80, 72, and 96 of the eras used by them; and only the same interpretation would be justifiable in respect of the two Taxila records, even if the words in them stood in that same order. It may be added that the Hindūs never connected an individual name with any of their reckonings until a quite late time (the tenth century, as far as we can trace this detail), when they invented first king Vikramāditya and then king Śālivāhana as the founders of the eras of B.C. 58 and A.D. 78.

The idea that the Taxila plate of the year 78 indicates an era of Moga was first propounded (as far as I can find) in 1886 by Gardner,[5] an expert in coins but not an epigraphist. It was taken over in 1890 by Cunningham,[6] who can hardly be classed as a skilled epigraphist. And in circumstances which are beyond my comprehension

[1] Lüders, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix, No. 52.

[2] Ibid., No. 66.

[3] Ibid., No. 965.

[4] Kielhorn, List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, appendix, No. 439.

[5] *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, introd., p. 49.

[6] *Coins of the Sakas*, p. 22.

it was accepted by Bhagwanlal Indraji, as edited in 1894.[1] But, with the exception of the last-mentioned scholar, I do not know of anyone, ranking as an authority on inscriptions, who has endorsed it: and Bühler's words, written in 1895 or 1896 and quoted by me above, were of course a protest against it. It is most unfortunate that it should have been revived now, in propounding a similar idea in connection with Azēs I on an equally illusory basis.

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My preceding remarks are made on the understanding that the word next after the year in this new record of the year 136 really is *ayasa* and means "of Aya". Even if that is the case, the record does not speak of an era of Aya, but distinctly places this Aya in the year 136 of an unspecified era founded by someone else, and tends, in fact, to mark him as the Kushān king to whom it refers in line 3.

But is that the proper treatment of the word at all? I doubt it. And Dr. Marshall himself has pointed out (p. 976) a very sound objection, namely, "the absence of any royal titles attached to the name of Azes." From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king,[2] whether living or dead at the time of the record, —or even of any official,— is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name.

What would stand most naturally here is a genitive singular in apposition to the immediately following word *ashaḍasa*. But even such a word is not found in *ayasa*: and we must consider now what may be the original word

[1] This Journal, 1894, p. 553.

[2] I mean, of course, excluding the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana.

which could be presented to us wrongly under this guise in the figuring.[1]

By the very simple alteration of Dr. Marshall's 7, *a*, to 2, *e*, —(done by merely finding one more punctured dot and making a connecting line to it from the bottom of the *a*),— we could get the word *eyasa*, = *ētasya*, "of this".[2] But the resulting sense, "of this month Āshāḍha", hardly seems appropriate, even if the form is admissible (which seems doubtful) for the dialect of this record.

Now, at the time of this record, —in A.D. 79–80 according to Dr. Marshall's opinion and my own; and some three centuries before the introduction of the Greek astronomy,— the Indian calendar was regulated by mean or uniform instead of true time. The intercalation of months was governed by a hard and fast rule. According to the Jyōtisha-Vēdāṅga the fixed intercalated months (one half-way through the five-years cycle, and the other at the end of it) came next after Āshāḍha and Pausha, and so would be a second Āshāḍha and a second Pausha. And this, in my opinion, very possibly explains the record.

Without stating any reasons for the question, I asked Sir George Grierson to tell me what would be, in his opinion, the north-west form of the Sanskṛit *dvitīya*,

[1] I am not to be taken as depreciating in any way Dr. Marshall's figuring of the record: it is an admirable piece of work. But we have to bear in mind (1) that, the dimensions of the scroll being 6¼″ by 1⅜″, we have before us a full-size figuring, showing a quite small original lettering: (2) that, as Dr. Marshall has told us, the figuring is not a mechanical facsimile, but is the result of drawing by hand: (3) that on the original scroll the lettering was done, not by continuous strokes as in the figuring of it, but in punctured dots: and (4) that the lettering was covered by a metallic efflorescence which had to be removed by cleaning as far as possible before it could be deciphered at all. In such circumstances it is hardly possible that the reading and figuring can be absolutely correct all through: and there are, in fact, places in which the figuring is certainly wrong, unless the original itself has mistakes.

[2] Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 426.

'second', for a Kharōshṭhī record of the first century A.D.; inviting his attention, at the same time, to the Prākṛit forms *bia*, *bīa*, *bīya*,[1] and asking whether *bĭya*, *vĭya*, would be admissible. His answer is:—"Judging from the modern North-West languages, the North-West Prakrit for *dvitīya* must have been *vviya* or *vvīya*, or something of that sort. Cf. Sindhī *bbiyō* or *bbījō*, 'second', Lahndā *bbēyā*, 'another'; Kāshmīrī *biya*, 'another'. . . . Sindhī often preserves words in forms older than those found in other North-Western languages." Since a double *vv* would of course be written in Kharōshṭhī by the single *v*, this gives exactly the word that is wanted, *viyasa*: and it is got by simply altering Dr. Marshall's 𐨯, *a*, into 𐨯𐨿, *vi* (by finding two more dots and making the connecting lines); which is quite justifiable in view of the nature of the original lettering and the figuring of it. And this may quite well be the solution of the matter; namely, the text should be taken as:—

sa 136 viyasa ashaḍasa masasa divase 15:
"(*in*) the year 136: on the day 15 of the month the second (i.e. intercalated) Āshāḍha."

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It is to be hoped that Dr. Marshall may see his way to giving us, by some means or another, an exact facsimile of at any rate that piece of the scroll which contains this particular word. But in any case, whatever may be the ultimate settlement of this detail, the fact stands that this record does not set up an era of Aya (Azēs I). So far as this record and that on the Taxila copper-plate go, there is no evidence, and no sound reason for thinking, that there ever was either an era of Azēs I or an era of Mauēs. The chronological structure built up on the basis of that idea falls at once.

J. F. FLEET.

[1] Pischel, op. cit., §§ 165, 449.

## The name Kushan

Baron A. von Staël-Holstein has given at p. 754 above another paper in support of his contention that the long-standing use of the name Kushan, Kushān, for the race to which Kanishka and his connections belonged, should be laid aside in favour of a new appellation, Kusha or Kuśa, set up by him. As regards one basis of his theory, it does not seem necessary to devote any more space to the Chinese translation of the Sūtrālaṁkāra and the Tibetan version of the Mahārājakanikalēkha. The point that these two works contain a mistake in the passages which are relied on by the Baron, and the suggestions which have been made to account for the mistake, have not originated with me: and, whatever may be the explanation of that detail, these literary compositions (even if we have before us faithful representations of the original texts, without any errors introduced by copyists) have no practical value against the distinct inscriptional and numismatic evidence that the name is Kushāṇa, Kushān. I pass on to the inscriptions and coins, about which, in view of the nature of the Baron's new arguments, it is necessary to make some more remarks.

### The Māt inscription

My remarks about this record (p. 369 above) do not hinge in any way on what is implied in accusing me of "assuming damage to the stone in the most important place" (p. 755): as a reference to the facsimile at p. 378 will show, the stone is actually very much damaged, both there and in many other places.

This record, of a king whose name is illegible as one of the results of that damage, gives to that king four titles:—Mahārājo, "great king"; Rājātirājo, "over-king of kings"; Dēvaputro, "son of the gods"; and Kushāṇaputro.

In order to find here the use of a name Kusha, the Baron wished at first (p. 87, note 1) to read the last title as *Kushāṇuputro*; setting up a hybrid compound, the first member of which would be *Kushāṇu* for the foreign genitive plural *Kushānu*, and the second the ordinary Indian word meaning 'son'. Finding that that cannot be done, he now seeks to get at the same base in another way, by reading (p. 755) *Kushāṇaṁ putro*; setting up thus a purely Indian expression, in which he would recognize the separate Prākṛit genitive plural of *Kusha*, and justifying that by claiming that there is a distinct dot (meaning an *anusvāra*) above the syllable *ṇa*.[1]

Much may be done with the help of the imagination in dealing with records which are as much damaged as this one is. But, in the first place, I say again that the back of the squeeze, which is still before me, shows that we cannot read *ṇaṁ*, any more than *nu* as was originally proposed by the Baron. The marks over and around the *ṇa*, which are matched by similar marks in many other places in the record, are due, here as there, either to damage to the stone or to natural dents in it, and do not include anything that was intended to be an *anusvāra*. The syllable is *ṇa*, and nothing else.

And take the matter on simple lines of common sense. The construction with a separate genitive would be altogether out of place in such a list of titles. And the composer of the record was quite aware of that. In the preceding title, "son of the gods", he has very naturally and properly given, not *dēvānaṁ putro*, but *dēva-putro*. If he had been using a base *Kusha*, he would have given the fourth title as *Kusha-putro*. But he has actually given *Kushāṇa-putro*; in which he has used distinctly

[1] The "*ipsissima verba*" of an authority (Dr. Vogel) to which the Baron refers in note 2 on p. 754 as supporting his proposal are simply: —"It is true that there is a depression which might be taken for an *anusvāra*, but this part of the stone is damaged to such an extent that it may just as well be casual."

the base *Kushāṇa*, exactly analogous to his use of the base *dēva* in *dēva-putro*.

The title is—

Kushāṇa-putro:

"son *or* descendant of the Kushāṇas."

### The Panjtār inscription

The Baron has certainly not been fair to this record. I suggested (p. 372) that that was a result of his not knowing the original figuring of it, which I then reproduced in the plate at p. 378. But it seems that my charitable supposition was wrong. The Baron did know that figuring; but he "ignored" it (p. 758)!

As regards his next remarks, I am not responsible for the fact that Sir A. Cunningham —(who, it must be remembered, dealt with this record in 1854, 1863, and 1875,[1] when not so very much was known about the Kharōshṭhī characters and the Indian dialect for which they were used)— failed to decipher the word at the end of the first line.

That word is one of three syllables.[2] As I have said (p. 372), the first two syllables are unmistakably *raja*,[3] and the original figuring —(the later one agrees substantially, but is not so complete here)— makes it a moral certainty that the third, which is damaged, was *mi*. And so we have the quite natural and appropriate expression—

[1] The references are, for 1854, JASB, 23. 705, and plate, No. 4; for 1863, JASB, 32. 145, 150; and for 1875, ASI, 5. 61, and plate 16, No. 4.

[2] The Baron says "(C. does not even mention the third letter)". This is in a way correct; at any rate for Cunningham's remarks in 1875, when he only speculated as to the values of the first two syllables, where he was then trying to find a king's name. But in the figuring given therewith, as also in the earlier one, he distinctly showed three syllables. It is impossible to say why he did not try to decipher the third one.

[3] They were actually read by Cunningham as *rāja*, without any hesitation, when he dealt with this record first, in 1854, in his treatment of it which the Baron has "ignored".

maharayasa Gushaṇasa rajami:
"in the reign of the great king the Gushāṇa."

There is one more remark to be made about this record. As I have already said (p. 372), the original stone is not forthcoming now, and we are dependent on the two figurings of it given by Sir A. Cunningham. Those figurings are hand-drawn, like so many others of that time. It did not need the remark made by the Baron, and the two samples given by him from the Māṇikiāla inscription (p. 759 and note 1), to impress upon us that hand-drawn figurings are not as reliable as mechanical facsimiles. This is well known to all epigraphists. But when, as in this case, nothing else is forthcoming, we must do our best with the hand-drawn figurings. And in favour of these two there is this to be said: they are so good that every syllable (except the last one), of at any rate the first line, can be read without the slightest doubt; and they were made at a time when there was no preconceived view as to the possible bearing of the record, and so nothing to lead to the figurings being in any way even unconsciously influenced.

**The Māṇikiāla inscription**

The reading given by me from this record (p. 373), viz.—
Gushaṇa-vaśa-saṁvardhaka:
"an increaser of the Gushāṇa race,"
is not a reading invented by me, though that might well be thought from the Baron's words on p. 757. Except that, for reasons given, I substitute *ṇa* for *na*, I have simply followed the reading laid down by M. Senart and Professor Lüders.

The Baron originally sought (p. 84) to read the first term of this expression as *Gushanu*, = *Gushānu*; thus finding here, again, the foreign genitive plural of a base *Gusha*, = *Kusha*. Now, as judged by his reference to what he would like us to accept as the reading in the Māt inscription, he seems to seek (p. 758) to find the same

base *Gusha* by substituting here, also, the Prākṛit genitive plural *Gushanaṁ*, = *Gushāṇaṁ*.

But, in addition to the fact that the actual syllable is no more *naṁ* or *ṇaṁ* than it is *nu* or *ṇu*, either term, *Gushānu* or *Gushānaṁ*, is equally inappropriate. In Prākṛit, as much as in Sanskṛit, such an expression as *vaṁśa-saṁvardhaka* requires before it, not a separate genitive, but a base in composition with it. And what the composer of the record has given us is the base *Gushaṇa*, which means (according to the Kharōshṭhī spelling) *Gushāṇa*, = *Kushāṇa*.[1]

### The coins of Kadphisēs I

The Baron complains (p. 755) that I have not noticed at all his argument based on the coins of Kozoulo-Kadphisēs, otherwise known as Kadphisēs I, and that Mr. Allan has dismissed it very briefly. When I found that Mr. Allan, too, intended to comment on the Baron's views, I was glad enough to save space by leaving this detail to him. He has said much more about it (pp. 406–8) than the short remark which the Baron has quoted: and in my opinion he has said all that was necessary. However, I will add a brief remark by way of a summary.

In the Kharōshṭhī legends on some of these coins the Baron has proposed to read according to his original case *Kushanu*, for *Kushānu* (p. 85), and according to his later case *Kushaṇaṁ*, for *Kushāṇaṁ* (p. 757), as, respectively, the foreign and the Prākṛit genitive plural of his desiderated base *Kusha*. The same principles of reading,

[1] Mr. Pargiter has proposed (pp. 646, 650, above) to read *ṇo*, and to find here *Gushaṇo*, as the foreign nominative singular of the base *Gushaṇa*, = *Gushāṇa*, *Kushāṇa*, used, in foreign fashion, instead of the base, as the first member of the compound. As he has said (p. 651, note 1), his reading would strengthen the case which I support: at any rate it would not help the Baron's view. But I regret to have to say that, for reasons already given (p. 373, and note 2), I cannot agree with him: I retain the belief that the syllable is *ṇa*.

applied to the legends on the coins of another ruler, Pakorēs,[1] would give us the truly remarkable titles—

*maharuju* and *rujutiruju*,

or *maharaṁjaṁ* and *raṁjaṁtiraṁjaṁ*,

instead of the ordinary—

*maharaja* and *rajatiraja*,

which are yielded by those legends when read on sensible lines. This point, I think, may be left at that, without any further comment.

**The Shaonano shao coin-legend**

Certain coins of Kanishka bear a legend which runs thus :—

Shaonano shao Kanēshki Koshano :

"Kings of kings, Kanishka, the Kushān."[2]

This arrangement and interpretation of the legend are not new ones, put forward by me and endorsed only by Mr. Allan, as might well be thought from the Baron's remarks (p. 759 f.). They are the standing treatment of it, always accepted until the Baron came forward to dispute it.

In his desire to find here, again, the use of a base *Kusha*, the Baron wishes to persuade us (pp. 83, 759) that the legend begins with *Koshano* ; and that this word is a genitive plural (instead of a nominative singular), dependent on *shaonano shao*.

Now, the Baron admits (p. 759) that I have established the fact that substantial parts of the general design nearly always separate the words *Koshano* and *shaonano* on the coins in question. And he admits also that this fact would indeed favour the accepted arrangement of the legend,

[1] Whitehead, *Coins in the Panjab Museum*, vol. 1, plate 16, No. 76 ; and see p. 156, note 2. Compare Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, plate 23, fig. 8.

[2] The legend is in Greek characters, cursive ; and the *omicron* in it represents an *u*, as it so often does in the Greek transliteration of Indian names, etc.

supported by me, and militate against the new one proposed by him, "if [he says] it could be proved that the parts of the general design constituted on the coins of the period anything like marks of punctuation." But he goes on to ask:—"But can such a rule be proved?" A little real study of coins would, I think, have given the Baron the answer to this question, and have resolved some other doubts which he has.

It can hardly be denied, I imagine, that every coin-legend, like any other sentence which is not either nonsense or a riddle, must begin with some particular word, and cannot be read haphazard from any point in it; also, that it would not be altogether a senseless proceeding for the designer of a coin to ensure that there shall be no doubt as to what is intended to be the first word of his legend. And a glance through the plates in Gardner's Catalogue —or through those in Whitehead's Catalogue— will show that the designers of the coins represented therein did in many cases mark distinctly the beginning of their legends. They did so in more ways than one. But we are concerned here only with the means adopted by the designers of the coins of the Kanishka series, including those of Huvishka and Vāsudēva. I have figured seven obverses of this series in the plate at p. 378 above. These are not exceptional instances: they are typical ones, representing the whole series of the coins bearing the *shaonano shao* legend. They show that the designers of these coins kept steadily in view the desirability of marking the beginning of the legend, and that they did it by putting a space, filled with a substantial part of the general design, between the last word and the first. They show also that, while the designers plainly thought it good, whether from an artistic or from a common-sense point of view, to present the first word of the legend without any division of it, the rest of the legend was subordinated to the treatment of the general

design, so that any other word of it —even the king's name— might be divided at any place that should be found convenient.[1]

That gives the answer to the Baron's question: the coins themselves prove the rule that he wants. It also answers another question raised by him in bringing into this matter another legend which has nothing to do with it, but which happens to illustrate further my remarks: he asks (p. 759):—"Do not the king's legs, which generally separate *Koshano* from *shaonano*, stand between the *iota* and the *lambda* (in *basileōn*) on some coins of Kaniṣka (cf. Whitehead, pl. xx, No. 4)?"

Certainly they do: and why should they not? The coin to which the Baron refers is not unique, and has nothing extraordinary about it: it is one of the series for which see also Whitehead, plate 17, No. 53; Gardner, plate 26, figs. 1, 2, 3; and Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 16, figs. 1, 3, 5, 11. These are the coins of Kanishka, with the Hēlios, Hēphaistos, Salēnē, and Nanaia reverses, which have on the obverse a Greek legend in Greek uncial characters. The legend is—

Basileus basileōn Kanēshkou.

In each case it begins at the top, on the right (like the legend on the coins B, 1 and 2 in the plate at p. 378 above), behind the head of the spear in the king's left hand, and ends at the top, on the left (like that same legend), in front of his helmet; the beginning of it being thus clearly marked here, again, by a substantial part of the general design intervening between the first and last words. On all these coins the word *basileōn*, at the bottom, is divided by the king's legs between the *iota* and

[1] The same practice, of marking the beginning of a legend by placing a substantial part of the general design between the last word and the first, and of subordinating other parts of the legend to the design, can be traced also on coins of other lands and other times: it is found even on our own coinage of a quite recent date.

*lambda*; just as on the coin B, 2 the name *Kanēshki*, at the bottom, is divided between the *alpha* and *nu* by the legs and the altar. And it was so divided because it was only the middle word in the legend, and it was found convenient to subordinate the treatment of it to the treatment of the general design.

The Kushān coin-legend in which we are interested is marked distinctly as beginning with *shaonano* and ending with *Koshano*: not even the pronouncement by "a well-known authority on Indian numismatics", which the Baron has cited so hopefully on p. 760, can shake this position. For the rest, no doubt much may be done in the speculative line with the little-known syntax (see p. 760, note) of a language about which not much more is known than about its syntax. But in view of all the other evidence *Koshano*, = *Kushānu*, the last word of the legend, cannot be the genitive plural of a base *Kusha* dependent on the opening term *shaonano shao*, from which, in the construction of the sentence, it is separated by the proper name of Kanishka, or of Huvishka or Vāsudēva as the case may be: it can only be the nominative singular of a base *Kushān*, in apposition with the proper name.

### Miscellaneous remarks

In note 2 on p. 754, the Baron has complained that no notice has been taken of his suggestion that evidence in favour of the name being Kusha, Kuśa, instead of Kushān, is to be found in the term Kuśadvīpa, which is the name, meaning "the *kuśa*-grass island", of one of the fabulous zones, each separated from the next one by an ocean, which the Hindū ideas of geography placed round outside Jambudvīpa, "the rose-apple-tree island" (India), and the Lavaṇasamudra or "ocean of salt" which surrounded it. This seemed, and still seems, too trivial to call for any discussion.

As to a remark made by the Baron on p. 760, I have not the slightest wish, nor, I understand, has Mr. Allan (see p. 403), to deny that the expression *Kūšān šāh*, taken as Persian and treated on "purely philological grounds", can be translated by "king of the Kūš or Kūšas". But, as Mr. Allan has indicated, the Baron's mistake has been in starting with that, at the wrong end, instead of examining first the contemporaneous evidence of the inscriptions and coins, which lead distinctly to the result that *Kūšān šāh* means "the Kūšān king".

As regards a remark made by the Baron in note 1 on p. 762, I am not responsible for the translation of the Tibetan work dealing with Li-yul, Khotan. I believe that that translation is right. But it does not matter a jot for our present purposes whether that work does or does not speak really of "Kanishka AND the king of Guzan". The important point is that it presents the transliterated form *Gu-zan*, which, like the Chinese *Kueishuang*, can only indicate a name *Gushan*, = Gushān.

As regards the Baron's closing sentences, I think that any reader of his papers and mine will agree that it is his novel view, not the long-standing one that I support, which is so dependent on assumptions. But the question passes now beyond the sphere of assumption and argument.

We have now a new item of evidence in the inscription of the year 136 recently discovered by Dr. Marshall at Taxila: and this in fact clinches the matter. In line 3 (p. 976 above) we have the clause—

maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushaṇasa
aroga-dachhinae:

"for the bestowal of good health upon the great king, the over-king of kings, the son of the gods, the Khushāṇa."

No amount of ingenuity can find here in *Khushaṇasa* an equivalent of *Kūšān šāh*, or take the word as anything but the genitive singular of a base *Khushaṇa*, = *Khushāṇa*.

The upshot of the matter is simply that the name of Kanishka's race was *Kushāṇa*, Kushān, with the occasional variants *Gushāṇa*, Gushān, and *Khushāṇa*, Khushān.

J. F. FLEET.

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## MALAVA-GANA-STHITI

Dr. J. F. Fleet, commenting (*supra*, pp. 745–7) upon my note concerning the above expression, adheres to his "original interpretation of it twenty-five years ago", and maintains that "the word *gaṇa* means simply 'a tribe', not 'tribal constitution, i.e. embodiment as a tribe'". He does not, however, refer to the authorities mentioned in the note or support the statement concerning the meaning by any confirmations.

In order to put the difference of view in a pointed manner, it might be convenient to affirm that *gaṇa* never and in no place has the meaning "tribe". But, unfortunately, the word "tribe" is itself ambiguous, and we might be led into misunderstandings not germane to the point at issue. So much, however, may safely be said, that the meaning "tribe" is not, to my knowledge, given by any of the dictionaries, Sanskrit or European, although the word is treated with sufficient explicitness by most of them.

The ordinary senses ascribed to the word by Indian lexicographers are: (1) a collection or group (usually *samūha*) of animate or inanimate things; (2) the following of Śiva; (3) a subdivision of *gulma*, itself a division, or squad, in an army.

In Buddhist writings *gaṇa* denotes a group, class, or quorum, something intermediate between the Sangha and the individual monk; see, for example, the indexes to Professor Oldenberg's edition of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

Among the Jains also the word was a technical term, meaning according to the Abhidhāna-rājendra *paras-parasāpekṣāṇām anekakulānāṃ sādhūnāṃ samudāya*

"a group of Sādhus, of different successions, standing in relation to one another," and according to Professor Jacobi, not inconsistently ("Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxii, p. 288, n. 2), "the school which is derived from one teacher."

If we turn to writers dealing with legal and constitutional matters, we find Professor Foy (*Die Königliche Gewalt*, p. 20, n. 1) giving the meaning "village assemblies", while Professor Jolly (*Recht und Sitte*, p. 136) has "Ortsausschüssen oder Gerichten" ("local committees or courts"). Dr. Fleet himself has doubtingly rendered *gaṇa-śreṣṭha* by "leader of an assemblage" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, iii, p. 291, and n. 3). In the *Mahābhārata*, according to Professor Hopkins, "we find corporations of every kind, under the name of *gaṇa*" (J.A.O.S. xiii, pp. 81–2). The *Arthaśāstra* (c. 24, p. 60) speaks of *gaṇas* of workmen (*kāru*) and artisans (*śilpi*). But, of course, it is in connexion with tribal names, such as Malla, Yaudheya, and Mālava, that the implication of the term specially concerns us. Relying upon the evidence adduced by Professor Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 17 sqq.) and Mr. Jayaswal (*An Introduction to Hindu Polity*, pp. 3 sqq.), I represented the *gaṇas* as denoting "[ruling] aristocracies"; and it is here that I find room for the ambiguity, since an aristocracy might in such a case be also a "tribe".

It should be observed that the existence of a *gaṇa* in this sense does not necessarily imply the absence of a king, whether hereditary or temporary, and in the important chapter of the *Mahābhārata* (xii, 107) which treats of the matter the coexistence of a king is the case contemplated. The king must not consult with the whole *gaṇa*, but with the chiefs (*mukhya*): the strength of a *gaṇa* is union, and its weakness dissension. But, when coins are issued by the authority of a *gaṇa* (which is the case with the Yaudheyas), or an era is maintained by it

(which is the case with the Mālavas), plainly the absence of royalty is implied.

It is an interesting etymological fact, upon which, however, no stress should here be laid, that *gaṇa* is in origin the same word (except in gender) as the Greek *βουλή*; and one may indeed suppose the *gaṇa* to be a sort of council representing the powerful families in the state.

It is desirable to seek rather for points of agreement than of difference; and accordingly one would ask whether Dr. Fleet seriously dissents from the view that the era in question, which he considers to have been maintained by the Mālavas, had been used by them from its commencement. If we listen to his own statement, he goes further still, for we read (p. 746) that "I arrived at the conclusion that something happened in B.C. 58 which led to a more definite constitution of them then as a tribe; and I treated the era as running from that event, and so as having been founded by them". If this view is adhered to, the whole question is settled, since it is plainly unnecessary to ascribe the institution of the era to some further cause, such as the reign of Kaniṣka.

There would still remain, however, a linguistic question: does *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti* mean the "continuance of the Mālava *gaṇa*", or "the usage of the same"? There is no doubt that *sthiti* can mean "a settled rule, custom, usage"; but what seems inappropriate is to include under such terms a method of dating. Upon repeated consideration I do not feel that we have the means of decisively resolving this question.

It may be asked whether any suggestion can be made as to the nature of the event which led to the inauguration of the era in question. Since in earlier times the Mālavas had unquestionably been under the rule of kings, it would be natural to suppose that the dating was from a termination of that sovereignty. Now "the Çunga dynasty of Magadha and Mālava" is dated by Professor Rapson in

his recent work (*Ancient India*, p. 183) as ruling from 184 to 72 B.C., an approximation no doubt. This brings us rather near to 58 B.C., and it is a plausible conjecture that the reconstitution of the *Mālava-gaṇa* may have been a consequence of the overthrow of that, or an allied, dynasty, whether due to a Śaka invasion (cf. the story of Gardabhila) or to some other cause.

F. W. THOMAS.

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THE DATE OF VASUBANDHU[1] "IN THE NINE HUNDREDS"

As regards the article of Professor Otto Franke (JRAS. April, 1914, pp. 398–401) against my interpretation of "in the 900 years" and "500 years" in the life of Vasubandhu, it is certainly a peculiar use of numerals not often found in Chinese literature. *Wu-pai-nien-chung*, lit. "five-hundred-years-in", in an ordinary Chinese sense would mean "during" or "within the five hundred years". But that it is not meant for a duration of time is seen from the context, which requires a point of time either 900th (500th) year, or may be some years after the named year (but not before it). In this sense I used "the tenth century" for 900. Vasubandhu's date is, as M. Péri himself says, "900 years A.N. generally", but sometimes "900 et plus" or "900 ans passés", or even "1100 years A.N."[2] So here it is certain that the ninth century elapsed is meant by 900 and not that current. Perhaps my explanation 900–99 for 900 and 500–99 for 500 may sound too exact; but, if "900 years +" is meant, it is

[1] This note was sent in the form of a letter to Mr. F. W. Thomas.

[2] See *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-orient*, Juillet–Decembre, 1911, p. 356, n. 2. Instead of 900 another text has 1100; see l.c., p. 357. As regards M. Péri's article on the date of Vasubandhu, I am studying the materials once again. When I proposed my date 420–500 for Vasubandhu, a still later date was being assigned by M. Lévi and others. So I limited myself to the safest materials. Several of those rejected by me were taken up by M. Péri. I myself am in favour of an earlier date for Vasubandhu-Asaṅga; but I shall see whether or no I can agree with him and give up my own proposal.

natural for a Chinese to mention 900 and leave the odd years. And I thought it quite reasonable to include all odd numbers 1–99 in the year-period of 900.[1] In any case, 900 and odd years will be the tenth century, and not the ninth century, as Professor Franke puts it. Besides, I don't think that there is an example of e.g. *chiu-erh-nien*, i.e. "900 years", being used for the ninth century in Chinese literature. I am quite ignorant about the case.

If an early part of the tenth century is meant, and not the ninth century, it is best to stick to the round number as M. Wassilief did, simply saying "fünf hundert Jahr" or "neun hundert Jahr, nach dem Nirvāṇa des Buddha", thus leaving odd years to the imagination of the reader.[2]

Lately, however, I found a strong reason to suppose that we should be all wrong if we translated such numeral phrases according to the usual Chinese sense; for they are, after all, translations of a Sanskrit, or at any rate of an Indian, original.[3] To prove this we have an excellent work called the *Samaya-bhedoparacana-cakra*, by Vasumitra, of which we have three different Chinese translations.[4]

From these we can clearly see that *chung*, lit. "within", "in", is simply the Sanskrit locative or *antare*; for Hiuen-tsang translates it as such, while Paramārtha uses *chung* here, as in the life of Vasubandhu. Here Paramārtha's translation abounds in the expressions such as "after 100 years",[5] "full 100 years", "16 years over 100 years"

[1] In Japanese, if we say *Go-hyaku-nen-dai* (五百年代), lit. "in the five hundreds", it means exactly the period of 500–99. Further, if we say *Go-hyaku-go-ju-nen-dai* (五百五十年代), it is for the period of 550–9, just as you say "in the fifties", "sixties", or "seventies" of the current century. I think that this ought to be also the Chinese custom, if any era or dynasty lasts so many hundreds or thousands of years. Unfortunately, no era being in use in China, I cannot adduce any evidence for this.

[2] Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, pp. 238, 240.

[3] [Cf. my remarks *supra*, p. 749.—F. W. T.]

[4] Nanjio Cat., Nos. 1284, 1285, 1286; Wassilief, l.c., p. 244.

[5] *Nikkhante paṭhame vassasate* (Dīp. 5. 16).

(*vassasatassa upari soḷasame vasse*),[1] "in the second, third, fourth, hundred years" (*dvitīye*,[2] *tṛtīye, caturthe varṣaśate*), or "in the 200th, 300th, 400th year" (*dvi-varṣaśate, tri-varṣaśate, catur-varṣaśate*).[3] M. Wassilief translates these last from the Tibetan text "im fortgang des zweiten Jahrhunderts", "im dritten Jahrhundert", "im vierten Jahrhundert", and, in case Chinese puts "when the second hundred year is full", the Tibetan seems to put "im zwei hundertsten Jahre".[4] From this it is pretty clear that when *ti* (第)[5] is prefixed to a "hundred-years", the hundred-years means "century" (*varṣaśatam*), entirely against the common usage of the Chinese language; for commonly *ti-erh-(san, ssŭ)-pai-nien* would mean "the 200th, (300th, 400th) year", but never "the second, third, fourth century". No such century system exists in China. So far it is clear enough. Further, in the Treatise on the Eighteen Nikāyas (Nanjio, No. 1284), which is assigned to Paramārtha, but is in reality a translation of Kumārajīva,[6] 200, 300, and 400 are used without the ordinal sign *ti*, and the case is exactly the same as for the 900 and 500 in question. In this text 116 years and 100 and odd years are not called the "200 years", while in the other texts they are called the "second century"; but when we come to the time which the other texts indicate with the words "the second century is full", then, and then only, it is said in this text "in the 200 years A.N.", and after that we have only 300 or 400 years A.N.[7]

[1] *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 294. [2] *Dutiye vassasatantare* (Dīp. 5. 53).

[3] Or these may be *dvi-varṣaśate*, *tri-varṣaśateṣu*, *caturṣu varṣaśateṣu*, or something like these, as we find in some inscriptions. See *Bombay Archæological Report*, March, 1913, pp. 58–9.

[4] Wassilief, l.c., pp. 249, 251, 252, 255.

[5] *Ti* is the sign of an ordinal.

[6] Especially the latter part of the book, which corresponds to Vasumitra's work.

[7] The list is not quite clear on some points; therefore I add the whole list at the end for a reference.

From these analogies we can judge that "in 500 years" and "in 900 years" of Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu* mean the 500th and 900th year respectively, but not the fifth century and the ninth century. Thus, it would be the best after all to translate them simply "500 years" or "900 years" A.N., as Wassilief did. But, if we understand that these are simply expressed in the round numbers, it will be only fair to assume that a few years after or before the named year are included therein. This will not be against the Chinese usage nor the Indian either.

How various year-periods are expressed in the three different translations of the presumably same original of the *Samaya-bhedoparacana-cakra* :—

| No. 1286. *Hiuen-tsang.* | No. 1285. *Paramārtha.* | No. 1284. *Paramārtha* (*Kumārajīva*). |
|---|---|---|
| 100 and odd years A.N. | 116 years A.N. | 116 years A.N. |
| In the second 100 years. | In the second 100 years. | In 100 and odd years. |
| ,, ,, | ,, ,, | *Deest.* |
| ,, ,, | ,, ,, | In 100 and odd years. |
| When the second "100 years" is full. | The second "100 years" being full. | In the 200 years. |
| In the third "100 years".[1] | In the third "100 years". | In the 300 years. |
| ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| At the end of the third "100 years". | In the third "100 years". | In the 300 years. |
| At the beginning of the fourth "100 years". | In the fourth "100 years". | In the 400 years. |

J. TAKAKUSU.

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## TROIS NOTES

### I. *La date de Kaniṣka*

Le Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādins insère dans la section des Médicaments (Bhaiṣajyavastu) une sorte de *māhātmya* bouddhique du Gandhāra ; le Bouddha y prédit entre autres la construction du stūpa de Kaniṣka.

[1] The text has 300 years, but we have to read "the third 100 years" from the context.

M. Huber a cité et traduit le passage dans ses *Études Bouddhiques* (BEFEO., t. xiv, No. 1, p. 18): "Le Bouddha dit: Après mon Nirvāṇa, cet enfant qui s'amuse à faire un stūpa en terre sera le roi Kaniṣka, et il fondera un grand stūpa qu'on appellera le stūpa de Kaniṣka, et il étendra la religion du Bouddha." Ici encore, comme presque dans tous les cas, le traducteur chinois qui travaillait sous la direction de Yi-tsing a fâcheusement abrégé son texte. Le passage parallèle dans la version tibétaine (*Dulva*, ii, 247ᵇ, l. 2) ajoute d'importantes précisions: "Quand 400 ans seront écoulés après mon Parinirvāṇa il y aura, dans la race de Kuśana, un roi nommé Kaniska" (*ña yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'das nas lo bźi brgya lon pa daṅ 'dir ku śa na'i rigs kyi rgyal po Ka nis ka źes bya ba 'byuṅ ba 'gyur ba*). La date indiquée ici est aussi celle que donne Hiouen-tsang (*Mémoires*, i, 107: "Dans la quatre-centième année après le Nirvāṇa, le roi Kaniska monta sur le trône . . .") avant de raconter le fondation du célèbre stūpa. Le pélerin chinois a, comme il le fait si souvent, suivi le texte du Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādins; mais il a négligé de lui emprunter le nom de la dynastie; l'original, scrupuleusement reproduit, comme toujours, par le traducteur tibétain, mentionnait expressément "la race de Kuśana".

La date assignée à Kaniṣka par la prophétie du Bouddha dans le Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādins ne résout pas l'énigme chronologique qui a tourmenté tant de chercheurs; elle introduit du moins un élément de précision dans la controverse. De Hiouen-tsang, garant trop tardif pour imposer la conviction, la responsabilité de cette date passe à un Vinaya que des indices assez nombreux semblent reporter vers l'époque de Kaniṣka (cf. *Les Éléments de Formation du Divyāvadāna* dans *T'oung-Pao*, 1907, pp. 114 sqq.). Du même coup, le chiffre de 400, adopté

par les rédacteurs de ce Vinaya, prend une importance qu'on ne saurait nier. Le point de départ du comput, l'année du Parinirvāṇa, reste encore, il est vrai, impossible à déterminer. Mais, à défaut de cette donnée, le même Vinaya fournit un élément assez solide de chronologie relative. Presque immédiatement à la suite de la prophétie sur Kaniṣka, le Bouddha sur le chemin du retour passe par le pays des Śūrasenas et il annonce à Ānanda la grandeur future de Mathurā. "Une centaine d'années après mon Nirvāṇa, deux frères, Naṭa et Bhaṭa, fonderont en ce lieu un monastère qu'on appellera Naṭa-Bhaṭa; entre les endroits où demeurent et couchent ceux qui se conforment au *śamatha* et à la *vipaśyanā* celui-là sera le premier. Et dans le bourg de Mathurā il y aura un parfumeur nommé Secret (chin. 秘密; tib. *sbas* = Skt. Gupta); son fils nommé Proche-secret (近密; tib. *ñer sbas* = Upagupta), quoique manquant des signes merveilleux, sera comme un Bouddha. Une centaine d'années après mon Nirvāṇa, il quittera la maison pour entrer dans ma loi, et il fera œuvre de Bouddha." La prophétie est identique dans la version chinoise (*loc. laud.*, p. 35[a], col. 13 sqq.) et dans la version tibétaine (*loc. laud.*, p. 249[a], in[o]). On reconnait ici la prophétie énoncée dans le Pāṁśupradāna du Divyāvadāna: *asyām Ānanda Mathurāyāṁ mama varṣaśataparinirvṛtasya Gupto nāma gandhiko bhaviṣyati | tasya putro bhaviṣyaty Upagupto nāmālakṣaṇako buddho yo mama varṣaśataparinirvṛtasya buddhakāryaṁ kariṣyati*, etc. J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de signaler (*Les Éléments de Formation*, p. 6) que cette prophétie avec le récit où elle est incorporée se retrouve dans les deux versions chinoises de l'Aśokāvadāna datées l'une (*A-yu wang tchoan*) de 281–306, l'autre (*A-yu wang king*) de 512, et aussi dans la version chinoise du *Saṁyukta Āgama* exécutée entre 435 et 443. Cette même prophétie est encore rappelée dans les mêmes termes, sans aucune modification, dans le dernier

chapitre du *Saṁyuktavastu* du Mūla-Sarvāstivādi-vinaya (id., Tōkyō, xvii, 2. 94[b], col. 7 sqq., et 95[b], col. 9), où Ānanda sur le point d'entrer dans le Nirvāṇa prédit la transmission de la doctrine. La date d'Upagupta vaut approximativement pour l'empereur Aśoka, qui fut son disciple. Il faut donc en conclure que le système chronologique des Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, fixé dans leur Vinaya peu de temps, semble-t-il, après Kaniṣka, mettait un intervalle de trois siècles entre Aśoka et Kaniṣka. Aśoka règne, sous réserve d'un très léger flottement, entre 269 et 227 av. J.C.; l'ordination d'Upagupta, qui fut le guru d'Aśoka, ne peut pas descendre plus bas que les premières années du règne; un intervalle de 300 ans (300–269 = 31) mène assez loin de l'an 78 J.C.

## II. *Le nom de Kuṣaṇa*

*L'Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra*, traduit deux fois en chinois, par Buddhavarman et Tao-t'ai, 437–9 (Nanjio, 1264), et par Hiouen-tsang en 656–9 (Nanjio, 1263), se présente formellement comme l'œuvre des " 500 grands Arhats " réunis en concile par Kaniṣka. On peut contester cette attribution (cf. Takakusu, " On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins ": Journ. Pali Text Soc., 1905, pp. 123 sqq.), que Hiouen-tsang n'avait pas hésité à contresigner. En fait l'œuvre est un commentaire du *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*. Pour expliquer ces mots: " régner sur une région," la Vibhāṣā prend des exemples réels. " Comme le roi *K'iu cha* 瞿沙, le roi *Ou-loun-tch'a* 無崙茶, le Fils du Ciel de *Ts'in* 秦天子, etc." (trad. Buddhavarman, chap. 14; éd. Tōkyō, xx, 7. 85[b], col. 6; même énumération, col. 7); mais Hiouen-tsang (xxii, 1. 107[a], col. 4) traduit ainsi: " Comme *Kiu-cha-ṇa* 屈厦拏, *Mou-lou-tch'a* 沒魯茶, le Fils du Ciel de *Tche-na* 至那, etc." Je ne m'arrêterai ici ni sur *Ou-loun-tch'a* et *Mou-lou-tch'a* = *Muru(ṁ)ḍa*, ni sur *Ts'in* et *Tche-na* = Cīna, ni sur le titre de " Fils du Ciel ", qui tous cependant

peuvent suggérer d'utiles observations. Je ne veux signaler que l'alternance *K'iu-cha* et *Kiu-cha-ṇa*. La transcription de Buddhavarman, *K'iu-cha*, suppose une sonore à l'initiale ; j'ai déjà traité de ce caractère à propos du prétendu nom sanscrit de Khotan, Kustana, dans mes *Notes chinoises sur l'Inde*, v (BEFEO. v, p. 259) ; une page plus haut (p. 85ª, col. 4, duch. 14) Buddhavarman emploie exactement les mêmes caractères 瞿 沙 *K'iu-cha* pour rendre le nom du savant docteur Ghoṣa, que Hiouen-tsang de son côté traduit (p. 106ª, col. 17) "Beau son", *miao-yin*, 妙 音. Buddhavarman connaît donc le nom de cette dynastie sous la forme *Guṣa*. Mais Hiouen-tsang, qui se pique de reproduire rigoureusement les originaux sanscrits, rétablit la forme pleine et correcte à la fois : *Kuṣaṇa* ; il n'est pas jusqu'à la nasale cérébrale qu'il n'ait soigneusement notée. Sans son témoignage, on pouvait être tenté de reconnaître chez Buddhavarman la forme originale et authentique du nom des Kouchans.

### III. *Les rois Fou-tou de Khotan*

Les Annales des T'ang mentionnent une série de rois de Khotan qui portent tous en tête de leur nom personnel l'appellation *Fou-tou*. Le premier de cette série est *Fou-tou Sin*, qui vint se présenter à la cour impériale juste avant l'avènement de Kao-tsong (649). M. Sten Konow, qui vient d'inaugurer si brillamment ses *Études Khotanaises* (JRAS. 1914, pp. 339 sqq.), a reconnu l'étrangeté de cette appellation ; il a, par l'intermédiaire de Dr. Hoernle, consulté Prof. Bullock et M. Parker ; sur la foi de leurs indications il observe que "la transcription correcte est probablement *Fou-tch'a* (*Fu-ch'a*), qui semble une autre manière de rendre Vijaya, ou plutôt Viśa". Mais le caractère 闍, lu *tou* dans *Fou-tou*, et que les autorités de M. Konow lisent *tch'a* (*ch'a*), a une valeur nettement définie dans les transcriptions, où il est d'usage constant ; il représente la syllabe *ja* des mots sanscrits, autrement dit

la sonore palatale suivie de *a* (ou les syllabes pracritisées en *ja* dans l'usage, comme *dya*, etc.). D'autre part le caractère écrit 伏, qui se lit *fou*, et qui est un caractère significatif sans usage dans les transcriptions, se confond aisément avec le caractère 吠, à phonétique identique, lu *fei*, en usage courant dans les transcriptions, où il figure *vi, ve, vai* du sanscrit. Il me paraît hors de doute qu'il faut lire 吠闍 *fei-che*, qui transcrit exactement *vija*; on retrouve ici le *vijaya* attesté par les sources tibétaines, et représenté dans les documents antérieurs par *Wei-tch'e* 尉遲 (que la tradition maintient ensuite dans des cas sporadiques). La substitution de *Fei-che* à *Wei-tch'e* vers 649 est un fait significatif; Hiouen-tsang est rentré de ses voyages en 645 avec le prestige du pélerin, de l'explorateur, et du savant; son influence propage et fait triompher une méthode scientifique de transcription qui s'applique à rendre exactement les sons des mots étrangers; les annalistes de la cour se conforment sans retard au nouveau système, consacré par le grand nom de Hiouen-tsang.

SYLVAIN LÉVI.

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## THE AGE OF THE PURANAS

Mr. Pargiter, who has recently[1] devoted some study to the approximate dating of the *Purāṇas*, has concluded that there are reasons for holding that *Purāṇas* existed in the fourth century B.C., and were authoritative even then, and he argues that they are older than my estimate of their date. The importance of the subject renders some investigation of the facts desirable.

The new evidence adduced by Mr. Pargiter for the existence of the *Purāṇas* in the fourth century consists merely[2] of the fact that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* ranks the *Itihāsa* as the fifth Veda, and analyses it into six elements, *Purāṇa, Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyika, Udāharaṇa,*

[1] JRAS. 1914, p. 745.

[2] Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 23.

*Dharmaśāstra*, and *Arthaśāstra*. Manifestly this adds nothing to the Vedic evidence,[1] which reveals to us *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*. Clearly it is useless as a piece of evidence for the existence of *Purāṇas* in the modern sense, for all the other terms are generic, not descriptions of definite works, and all that it tells us is that ancient tales were current, a fact which is certainly natural. But what a *Purāṇa* contained in the way of ancient tales we simply do not know, and in particular we have not a hint that *Purāṇas* contained any historical matter at all at this stage. Therefore the new evidence is absolutely without value.

Of quite different importance is the question of the evidence adduced by Mr. Pargiter himself in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, when he seeks to show that, as regards the account of these dynasties, the oldest form was embodied in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* about the middle of the third century A.D., not later than A.D. 260–1; this form was borrowed from the *Bhaviṣya* by the *Matsya* during the period A.D. 275–300; the *Bhaviṣya* was revised and the account of the kings carried further down to about A.D. 315–20, and this form was borrowed by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in one MS.; it was further revised about A.D. 325–30, and in that form borrowed by the vulgate text of the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa*. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* contain later versions. These are more definite results than those arrived at by Bühler,[2] and differ as regards the relative age of the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* from those of Bhandarkar.[3]

Unfortunately, the acceptance of these views requires a good deal of faith. The *Bhaviṣya*, the reputed source, in no case contains the information given in its reputed descendants, and the theory that these other versions were

[1] *Vedic Index*, i, 76, 77, 540. See also below as to the important evidence of Āpastamba, not used by Messrs. Pargiter and Vincent Smith.

[2] IA. xxv, 323.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii, 162.

derived from the *Bhaviṣya* rests on an extraordinarily weak foundation. The Sūta in the *Matsya* prefaces the account of the kings with the verse *tān sarvān kīrtayiṣyāmi bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān*. Mr. Pargiter holds that *bhaviṣye* must here mean "in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*". It is impossible to see the necessity; two MSS. indeed have *bhaviṣyān*, and the sense of *bhaviṣyān* can be found in *bhaviṣye*, "in the future." That this is the case is really made certain by the phrase above, *ata ūrdhvam pravakṣyāmi bhaviṣyā ye nṛpās tathā*. It is wholly unreasonable to put a different sense on *bhaviṣye kathitān*. In the *Vāyu* we find *bhaviṣye paṭhitān*, but *pace* Mr. Pargiter this may and probably does mean nothing more than *kathitān*, with the added implication of a written record, *bhaviṣye* meaning still "in the future". This view is confirmed by looking at the variants of p. 3, l. 15, of Mr. Pargiter's text: *pravakṣyāmi nāmataś caiva tān nṛpān*, which is so read in the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* with the variant in five *Matsya* MSS. of *bhaviṣyān kathitān nṛpān*, which the editor calmly says "should no doubt be *Bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān*". Or, again, the verse in the *Matsya tasyānvavāye vakṣyāmi bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān* is in the *Vāyu tāvato nṛpān*, which Mr. Pargiter has to condemn as a misreading, unless it can be found to give the same sense as the *Matsya* in his version, which is really impossible.

The next piece of evidence of Mr. Pargiter is the use of the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* of the phrases *bhaviṣya-(bhaviṣyaj)-jñair udāhṛtaḥ* at the end of the Aikṣvāka dynasty in place of the *viprair gītaḥ purātanaiḥ* of the *Matsya*. In the face of the obvious parallelism and identity of sense of these phrases, we are asked to believe that *Bhaviṣya* here was the name of the *Purāṇa* because (*a*) Vyāsa alone had foreknowledge, (*b*) others could only have it from him, (*c*) the Sūta had it from Vyāsa, and (*d*) therefore could not reasonably quote others. But the

*Matsya* answers all this reasoning by the fact that the Sūta gives the information as "sung by ancient sages", and the phrase here means precisely the same, "proclaimed by those who know the future," i.e. the same people as the ancient sages.

Finally is quoted, p. 59, l. 10, *bhaviṣye te prasaṅkhyātāḥ purāṇajñaiḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ*, which is held to support the rendering "in the *Bhaviṣya*". It is an extraordinary phrase to have this sense, and the obvious sense is "in the future". That two MSS. of the *Matsya* have *purāṇe śrutisarpibhiḥ* is cited in support of the other version without a hint of the sense to be given to *śrutisarpibhiḥ*.

With this analysis of the evidence disappears, I think, the whole basis of the three recensions of the *Bhaviṣya*, themselves a very bold conjecture. That there was an old *Purāṇa* called *Bhaviṣyat* is indeed proved by an authority cited neither by Mr. Vincent Smith [1] nor by Mr. Pargiter, the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*,[2] a fact which would render unnecessary Mr. Pargiter's view that *bhaviṣyajjñaiḥ* in the *Brahmāṇḍa* is a corruption, but unhappily the text of the *Purāṇa* known to us by that name is evidently not the text known to Āpastamba, and we are again left without any date for an existing *Purāṇa*, though we have proof that *Purāṇas* of some kind did exist and were of importance at the date when Āpastamba flourished.

The question then arises whether we can assume that the *Matsya* version was composed before A.D. 300. A still earlier date for the original version of the *Bhaviṣya* is suggested by Mr. Pargiter[3] by reason of the fact that some five MSS. of the *Matsya* speak of Yajñaśrī reigning in his 9th or 10th year, which he interprets to indicate that a compilation was begun in the latter part of the second century. But this is a mistake; the verse, if read

[1] *Early History of India*, pp. 22, 23.
[2] Bühler, SBE, ii, pp. xxix seq.
[3] p. xiii, n. 1; p. 42, n. 8.

*nava varṣāṇi Yajñaśrīḥ kurute,* is merely a prophetic present; there is a similar case of the use in respect of Senājit on p. 15, l. 13, where the future is a variant reading.[1] The later date is based on the view that the *Matsya* does not give any account of the Guptas, and therefore must have followed a version which stopped before that dynasty. The question, however, presents itself whether the data of the *Matsya* do not point to a period beyond the beginning of the Guptas. According to that text eighteen Śaka kings were to reign *śatāni trīṇy aśītiṁ ca.* Assuming, with Dr. Fleet,[2] that these Śakas are Nahapāna and his successors, this gives us a date something like A.D. 458 for the termination of Śaka rule, and, as this flatly contradicts the date assigned by Mr. Pargiter, he finds in these numerals the sense 183. This sense is manifestly not Sanskrit, and as the phrase happens to be clearly recorded also in the *Vāyu,* Mr. Pargiter has to fall back on a theory that this phrase was a translation from Prākrit, the words 103 being rendered by a sort of attraction not *śataṁ trīṇi* but *śatāni trīṇi.* Apart from the Prākrit hypothesis, the suggestion of an inaccurate translation is too far-fetched, and the fatal difficulty arises that other numerals must admittedly be taken as ordinary Sanskrit ones, as, for instance, the 460 years of the Andhra dynasty.[3] Instead of this wild conjecture it would be better in Mr. Pargiter's view to date the 380 years from 56 B.C., taking this with Dr. Fleet as a Śaka era, and see in the date an approximate allusion to the commencement of the Gupta period which is known to the other *Purāṇas.*[4]

[1] This passage differs from p. 4, l. 6, and p. 10, l. 5, in giving the length of the reign, and so is prophetic.

[2] JRAS. 1912, p. 1047.

[3] So Mr. Pargiter's view of 163 years for the Śiśunāgas in place of 360 is not accepted by Vincent Smith, *Early History*[3], p. 45.

[4] The Kushan line survived until the fifth century in Kabul and the Śaka Satraps until A.D. 388; see Vincent Smith, op. cit. pp. 274, 292.

Again, the *Matsya* knows of eleven Huns who are to reign 300 years (reduced by Mr. Pargiter as above to 103), and Tuṣāras who are to reign 7,000 years, or, in the more moderate version of the *Vāyu*, 500 (periods which, contrary to his own principle that *trīṇi śatāni* = 300 and *śatāni trīṇi* = 103, Mr. Pargiter makes 105, or correcting the *Matsya* 107). Now it is difficult to fit in these dynasties or decide who they were, but it is the case that the prominence of the Huns in Indian literature is mainly in the fifth century A.D.,[1] and the Huns as founding a dynasty in India can hardly be put at an early period. It is significant indeed in the case of Kālidāsa, and points to his being assigned to an earlier date than is done by Liebich[2] and Vincent Smith,[3] that he treats of the Huns as living beyond the Persians,[4] a fact which indicates that his allusions are literary and reminiscent of the epic, the Huns being known to the *Mahābhārata*.[5] This fact is also supported by the fact recently admitted[6] that Vasubandhu, the teacher of Dignāga, who is held by many authorities on the strength of Mallinātha to be known to Kālidāsa, is really to be dated early in the fourth century rather than as was once held in the fifth.[7] The mention of a Hun kingdom is therefore rather more plausible if we regard the *Matsya* as redacted in the fifth century.

Mr. Pargiter lays great stress on the fact that it is incredible that the Guptas should not have been mentioned if the *Matsya* account was compiled in their epoch. But here we are without cogent arguments. His own theory assumes that the *Bhaviṣya* was altered repeatedly—as it has been altered apparently quite recently—to bring its

[1] Vincent Smith, op. cit. pp. 310, 410.
[2] *Ind. Forsch.* xxxi, 198–203. [3] Op. cit. p. 304.
[4] Mazumdar, JRAS. 1909, pp. 731 seqq.
[5] Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, p. 475.
[6] Vincent Smith, op. cit. pp. 328–34; Fleet, JRAS. 1914, pp. 398–401.
[7] Takakusu, JRAS. 1905, pp. 44 seqq.; Vidyābhūṣana, *Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 75–6.

context up to date, and we may equally put the question why the *Matsya* has not been altered also. We simply do not know why or when the dynastic lists came into the *Matsya* and other *Purāṇas*. It is part of Mr. Pargiter's view[1] that the popular or *kṣatriya* element in the *Purāṇas* was the older, and that the Brahmins took them over and worked them up, but it is the case that the earliest reference to a named *Purāṇa* is a reference[2] for a point, not of history, but of Brahmanical lore, and that the other early references are of the same kind. The *kṣatriya* origin of the *Purāṇas* is therefore a thesis which rests on no foundation.

This consideration is of importance when we are asked to hold that the original version of the dynastic lists were written in Prākrit, but a literary Prākrit used by the higher classes. The evidence for this, adduced in Appendix I, counts in: (1) passages which violate the Śloka metre in their Sanskrit form; (2) certain Prākritic forms especially where Sanskrit forms would violate the metre; (3) Sanskrit words used in forms which are contrary to syntax but can be explained if the corresponding Prākrit forms are replaced; (4) mistaken Sanskritization of names; (5) the copious use of expletive particles; and (6) irregularities of Sandhi. We are here again, in fact, met with the theory which ascribes a Prākrit original for the epics, and much the same criticism is applicable to that theory in this case. The metrical criteria (*Nirāmitrāt tu Kṣemakaḥ; bhokṣyanti triṁśatim; aṣṭāviṁśatir Haihayāḥ; bhagavan avatariṣyati*) do not carry us far, for they are cogent only if we assume that genealogies must coincide with the strict form of the Śloka as elaborated by the metrical authorities; they do not weigh if we admit, as we must, that the strict rules of metre are not applicable in these cases. The Prākritic forms must be examined carefully; we are

[1] p. xvii, n. 2. [2] See Bühler, SBE. ii, pp. xxix seqq.

told that *atha Māgadharājāno bhavitāro vadāmi te* is Pali, not Sanskrit. This is a pure blunder; *vadāmi te* are not in the construction as often.[1] In p. 52, l. 13, we have a line which one MS. of the *Vāyu* reads as *sthāpayiṣyati rājā tu nānādeśeṣu tejasā*, and most MSS. *sthāpayiṣyanti rājāno nānādeśesu te janā(ḥ)*. Hence Mr. Pargiter derives an original *sthāpayiṣyati rājāno . . . te janā*, Prākritisms for *rājñaḥ* and *tān janān*. But this ingenious conjecture goes beyond what is necessary. *Rājāno* as an accusative was probably original, for accusative for nominative forms can be paralleled from the epic, and *tejasā* went with it: being unusual it was amended in two ways, as *rājā tu* by one MS., while the others made a plural verb with the sense "they will establish themselves as kings" and then made *tejasā* into *te janā(ḥ)*, as the lack of continuity in construction from the previous line created by the change of subject made a new subject necessary. Again, on p. 33 the *Matsya* text shows signs of a line *prasahya vyasanī nṛpam*, which is traced to a Prākrit *pasajjha vasaniṃ nṛpam*; but if *vyasanim* (not *vyasanīm*) is to be read to correspond with *vyasaninam* of the *Vāyu* we still have a form with epic parallels. The same considerations can be applied to the other instances of less cogency cited by Mr. Pargiter, as, for instance, the use of the numerals such as *viṁśati* without case forms, of which the Sūtras present several cases; instead of seeking a Prākrit original translated deliberately into Sanskrit, we have to do with accounts composed in the careless Sanskrit which is characteristic of the pre-classical Sūtra texts and which persists in the epic. It is no wonder that these texts show plenty of quasi-Prākritisms; it is a very different thing to postulate that the first version which appears in the *Purāṇas* was ever itself a translation from the Prākrit. The theory shows its difficulties when we find that the *Matsya* in

[1] See JRAS. 1914, p. 730.

pp. 32, l. 8, and 63, l. 32, has correct numeral expressions where the later *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* have the ungrammatical *varṣāṇi bhavitā trayaḥ* and *samās trayaḥ*; bad Sanskrit is a sufficient explanation of these vagaries rather than a resuscitation of a Prākṛit original which the *Matsya* corrected. So also in the case of the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* use of Śiśunāka for Śiśunāga: to ascribe this to translation from Prākṛit is easy but useless, for why should the name have been wrongly translated, if Śiśunāga is the correct form, and the exchange of sonants and surds is a not rare phenomenon in Sanskrit. The real process is seen in cases like the v.l. *ekakṣatra* for *ekachatra* in the *Bhāgavata* in some MSS. The Prākritic influence here is only that of some transcribers, not a sign of a Prākrit original, and such instances are of course found already in the Vedic texts, showing the ever-persistent influence of the Prākritic tendency, which is no less clearly marked in the later ritual texts than in the *Purāṇas*.[1]

More serious than these is the argument from the number of expletives such as *tu, hi, ca, vai*. Mr. Pargiter holds that they are too numerous to be accounted for on any theory but that a Prākrit past tense narrative was to be transmuted into one in futures, and as these were too long, expletives took the place of the verbs, or that expletives filled up gaps left by substituting shorter Sanskrit forms for Prākrit forms. But the whole argument rests on the *petitio principii* that these Purāṇic chronicles are good poetry or were meant to be, and except in the highest stage of Sanskrit verse the cases adduced by Mr. Pargiter are certainly not striking in their use of verse fillers to fit in with the names: *bhavitā cāpi Sujyeṣṭhaḥ sapta varṣāṇi vai tataḥ* is a very

[1] See e.g. Bühler, SBE. ii, pp. xliv, xlv; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* i, pp. xviii seqq.; Peterson, JAOS. xxxii, 414–28; Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 180, 196; Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 261 seqq.

harmless and normal line, and to suggest that *Śivaśrī vai Pulomā tu* must go back to *Sivasiri* is quite needless. It is useless trying to ascribe our taste in expletives to Indians, who are curiously fond of their verse fillers and who recognized their function at an early period.[1] Again, the cases of irregular or double Sandhi are simply cases of careless Sanskrit, such as are not rare e.g. in the *Bṛhaddevatā*. It is quite unnecessary to postulate a composition in an otherwise unrecorded literary Prākrit. The *Purāṇas*, as everyone must realize,[2] represent the popular side of Indian religion; they were composed by the priests for the instruction of the people; therefore as in the epic we find many clear traces of the influence of the popular speech on the composers and the handers down of the tradition alike, and this simple explanation is really far more plausible than the totally unsupported theory that the *Purāṇa* texts, which, as we have seen, existed in the time of Āpastamba, were composed in Prākrit or were translations of Prākrit originals. This theory has the grave disadvantage of postulating a distinction of a very fundamental kind between the *Purāṇa* of the Vedic texts and the later *Purāṇa*; we are asked to accept as the source of the latter genealogies ballads and popular stories, first rendered into Sanskrit and then extended by the Brahmins to contain their special tenets, although for this construction there is no trace of evidence, and though the theory of the *Purāṇa* as the popular side of Brahminism is at once obvious and convincing and has the high authority of Bühler.

There is one further consideration bearing on the date of the first account discussed by Mr. Pargiter in Appendix II. He holds that the MSS. of it were written in Kharoṣṭhī, a script used up to A.D. 300 or perhaps A.D. 350. The evidence, however, for this thesis is not regarded by its

[1] *Nirukta*, i, 4; *Bṛhaddevatā*, ii, 90, 91.

[2] See Bühler, SBE. ii, p. xxx; Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. xvii, n. 2.

author as conclusive. As a matter of fact, it is wholly without weight, and ignores the constant errors of the MSS., which render it quite needless to see in the confusion of *y* and *ś* or *k* and *bh* a proof of their being originally in Kharoṣṭhī script.[1]

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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## BESNAGAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION B RE-INTERPRETED

This Brahmanical religious record of the second century B.C., discovered by Mr. Marshall in 1908, is, I find, of considerable historical importance—firstly for the light it throws upon the origin and development of Buddhist doctrine and terminology, and secondly for its manifestly containing the first instance I can find of the affixed medial vowel *ṛi* in a Sanskrit document. The occurrence of the *ṛi* is not recorded by Bühler in his *Indian Paleography* (eds. 1896, 1904, table iii) before the Christian era; and this earlier appearance, not previously noticed, contributes to fixing the lowest date for the evolution of Sanskrit, one conspicuous difference of which language from the older Prakrit, from which it was evolved, being the tendency to insert this characteristic vowel.

The contents of the inscription, moreover, bear a somewhat different meaning from that assigned to them by previous translators. For I find that the terms, to which the different interpreters give diverse meanings, form really a known trifold category of cardinal Brahmanical virtues. As a result of not recognizing this fact, whilst one member of the triad has been given such varied

[1] I take this opportunity to correct Mr. Pargiter's complete misunderstanding (JRAS. 1914, p. 743) of my statement that the Vedic texts are not books of historic purpose; that phrase merely means, as I think must be plain, that they do not deal with history; their historic context is incidental and in my view of infinitely greater value than the pseudo-history of the epic and *Purāṇa* texts.

renderings as "liberality", "self-surrender", and "self-denial", another, *svaga*, has been omitted altogether from the group, and a different word from the context substituted.

The stanza is incised in two lines upon the Viṣṇuite Garuḍa pillar, and it was indited presumably by the Greek ambassador Hēliodōros, whose dedicatory inscription on the opposite side has been ascribed, through the contemporary kings therein named, to the middle of the second century B.C., about B.C. 175–135,[1] which is in keeping with the Mauryan form of its Brāhmī script.

In citing here for comparison the four transliterations and translations already published I have italicized in the latter trifold category as rendered therein. Dr. T. Bloch's (JRAS. 1909, p. 1056) is—

1. tiṁnaṁ amuta-padānāṁ . . . anuthitānā[ṁ]
2. neyati va dam[o] chāga apramāda.

"[Hēliodōros] pledges himself to the three (cardinal virtues ?), the observance of which leads to immortality, (viz.) *self-constraint, liberality, and modesty.*"

Professor L. D. Barnett's (JRAS. 1909, p. 1093)—

1. Trini (triṃni ?) amuta-padāni[kā]le (?) anuṭhitāni
2. neyā ti v[uttaṃ ?] damaṃ cāga apramādo.

"It has been said that one should know that there are three things which practised at the proper time are steps to immortality, viz. *self-restraint, self-surrender, and diligence.*"

Dr. Vogel's (Ann. Arch. Surv. Rep. 1908–9, p. 129)—

1. Trini amuta-padāni . . . [pta] anuṭhitāni
2. nayaṁti svaga[ṁ] damō chāgō apramāda.

"Three are the steps to immortality which . . . followed lead to heaven, [namely] *self-control, self-denial, and watchfulness.*"

[1] Dr. Fleet, JRAS. 1909, p. 1089.

Professor Venis' (JRAS. 1910, pp. 814–15)—

1. Trini amutapadāni . . . su anuṭhitāni
2. nayaṁti svaga damō chāgō aprāmādo.

"The paths to immortality are three; when rightly followed they lead to Svarga; they are *restraint of one's organs, surrender (of one's actions to the Lord), and attention (i.e. holding to the truth).*"

My own transliteration is the following. I have italicized those letters in which I differ from former readings.

1. Trini am*ṛ*ta-padāni . . . *sa* anuṭhitāni
2. nay*a*ti svaga dam*a* cāga apramādo.

This I translate as follows—

"Three are the paths which . . . followed lead to immortality, [namely] earnestness in Heaven[-aims], earnestness in self-restraint, and earnestness in charity."

My transliteration, it will be noticed, differs from the previous ones in disregarding, as merely accidental flaws in the stone, several dots which have been read as *anusvāras*, and in reading as *ṛi* the letter previously read as *u* in the second word of first line, thus giving *amṛta* instead of *amuta*. That the letter in question is *ṛi* and not *u* will be evident by a reference to the published facsimile of the inscription in this Journal (1909, p. 1054, Pl. XVI). This photographic reproduction is much clearer in all its details than the ink impression given by Dr. Vogel (Ann. Arch. Surv. Rep. 1908–9, p. 128, pl. xlvi), though that also shows the *ṛi* element unmistakably.

The earliest form of the *ṛi* figured by Bühler in table iii, l. 7, shows it as a short lateral stroke attached to the left side of the dagger-shaped *ka*, thus, which is, indeed, the normal location for the *ṛ* in the later scripts. Now this lateral stroke is clearly seen in our inscription attached to the left side of the *m* (see below)

in both reproductions, but especially in Dr. Marshall's copy. On the other hand, the subscribed or "ligatured" *ra* in the Asokan alphabet is represented by a short vertical stroke affixed to the bottom of the latter, almost identical with the ordinary medial *u* (see table ii, l. 42, letters *prā*, *pra*, *brā*, and l. 43, *vra*). To differentiate the suffixed *ra* from this *u* our inscription uses the crinkled, wavy, ornamental form of *ra* as found in the Siddhapur edict of Asoka (table ii, l. 34, Nos. 11, 12). The initial letter *tri* is an example of this, where it is fixed to the letter *ti*, . From this *ra* we now find in our inscription that the *r* is distinguished by using the old straight stroke for the *ra with the addition of the transverse stroke on the left* side of the *ma*, thus . It was doubtless because of this downward stroke leading to confusion with the medial *u*, such as has misled all the translators of this inscription, which led to its being eventually omitted from below, and the whole suffixed letter placed further to the left and attached to the main letter by one extremity only, thus . As the shape in which we find the *ṛi* in this inscription is obviously a transition form which early dropped out of use, its presence elsewhere may afford a useful criterion for dating undated records to this period, namely about B.C. 175–135.

The triad category of the three "paths", or literally "steps" (*pada*), specified in the Brahmanical stanza are, I find, absolutely identical with the first three cardinal virtues specified by Buddha in his first sermon at Benares, in its most archaic version preserved in the *Mahapadhāna Suttanta*,[1] as the path for "crossing" to *Nirvāṇa*, and forming the original version of the *Pāramiyo* or *Pāramitā*. They are there enumerated in

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. Pāli Text Soc., ii, 43, par. 11. See my article on the age and authority of this Suttanta in the JRAS., July, 1914.

inverted order, with different synonyms for two of the terms, but they are essentially identical as seen in this table, where I have contrasted the category from several other sources.

THE TRIFOLD PATH, BRAHMANICAL AND BUDDHIST, COMPARED

(The order as numbered in each column is that in each respective list, and in columns 4 and 5 the prefixed Tri-ratna are excluded.)

| Besnagar Visnuite Inscription B (*anuṭhitāni amṛta-padi*). (1) | Mahā-padhāna S. (*Pāramiyo*). (2) | Saddharma Puṇḍarika (Kern, SBE. xxi, 316, and Lal. Vist. [Mitra], p. 34) (*Pāramitā*). (3) | *Anussatiṭṭhāna* of Pāli Dharmapada, p. 346 (Childers, *Dict.*, p. 45). (4) | *Anusmṛtaya* (Nagarjuna's Suhrillekha, p. 4; Mahavyutpatti, St. P. ed., li, 18; Dharma-Sam. liv, 46). (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Svaga*, Heaven. | 3. *Saggo*, Heaven. | 3. *Kṣānti*, Patience. | 3. *Devatā*, Gods. | 3. *Devatā*. |
| 2. *Dama*, Self-restraint. | 2. *Śīla*, Right Conduct. | 2. *Śīla*, Right Conduct. | 1. *Sīlā*, Morality. | 2. *Śīlā*. |
| 3. *Cāga*, Charity. | 1. *Dāna*, Charity. | 1. *Dāna*, Charity. | 2. *Cāgā*, Charity. | 1. *Cāgā*. |

That Buddha should ever have taught that the worship of the gods was one of the main paths to *Nirvāṇa* is certainly opposed to the general spirit of later Hīnayāna Buddhism. Yet we find in the very first *Hīnayāna* book of the first collection of Buddha's discourses that *Saggo* is declared by Gotamo to be the third of the cardinal virtues, and the ordinary meaning of that word is heaven (= Skt. *svarga*). Another meaning of *Saggo* is "abandonment", that is, the Sanskrit *sarga*, in which direction I find that the word was eventually altered; but originally it seems as if Buddha took over these three Brahmanical "paths" bodily as the basis of his *Pāramitās*. For I find in what is the same trifold category under the title of *Anussatiṭṭhāna*, in the *Dharmapada*, that *Saggo* therein appears as *Devatā* or "the gods" (see column 4 of table).

This Pāli category of the Buddhist *Anussatiṭṭhāna* appears to me to be absolutely the same group as the Brahmanical *Anuṭhitāni* of our Besnagar inscriptions

(cf. columns 1 and 4 of table), and the two titles themselves to be identical. That Pāli title seems to me to be manifestly an attempt to reproduce phonetically the Sanskrit *Anuṣṭhitāni*, and the Ceylonese interpretation of that title erroneous. The traditional Pāli explanation, according to Childers (*Dict.*, p. 45), derives the first part of the word, *Anussati*, from *Anussarati* (Skt. *Anu* + *smra*), "to be recollected," and interprets the category as "Subjects to be recollected". It is in this latter sense presumably that there has been introduced in front of the triple cardinal virtues the Buddhist triad, "The Three Treasures." Whilst this etymology, however, leaves altogether unaccounted for the second part of the name thus mutilated, *the significant fact remains that these three virtues (including worship of the gods) are positively placed within the selfsame category as the Buddhist Trinity; and thus presumes for these three-fold virtues a position of cardinal importance in Primitive Buddhism.*

*Dama*, in the Bhagavad Gītā (10. 4), has the sense of "curbing the passions" and "self-restraint" (Apte, *Skt. Dict.*, 1890, p. 380), and in Manu's category of cardinal virtues it is clearly employed as the equivalent of *śīla* or "right conduct" (Manu, v, 92). In the Dharmapada and Buddhist Abhidharma it is also "self-restraint, abstinence, sobriety, and discipline" (Childers, *Dict.*, p. 111). As it is derived from √*dam*, to tame, its literal sense is well brought out by "self-restraint", which conveys the idea of "curbing wild passions".

*Cāga*, literally "giving away", "liberality", is clearly the *dāna* of Buddha, though the former word is also ascribed to him, instead of *dāna*, as we have seen in the *Anussatiṭṭhana* (table, col. 4). The word is obviously archaic and is not found in the ordinary lexicons. Childers notes (*Dict.*, p. 97) that it represents *tyāga*, the ordinary meaning of which is "charity". *Tyāga*, with the higher idea of "giving up" or "renouncing" and

"self-sacrifice", occurs in the Bhagavad Gītā, 12. 41, etc., and *Tyāgin* is one who looks for no personal reward from the performance of ceremonial rites (Bh.G. 18. 11; Apte, *Skt. Dict.*, p. 371).

*Amṛta-padāni . . . apramādo.* This Brahmanical phrase for the path to immortality was manifestly taken over bodily by Buddha to define the path to his *Nirvāṇa.* For we actually find in the Dhammapada, v, 21, the words *Appamādo amata-padaṁ,* which is translated by Childers as "Diligence is the way to *Nirvāṇa*" (*Dict.*, p. 28), and by Max Müller as "Earnestness is the path of immortality (*Nirvāṇa*)" (SBE. x, 9). In appropriating the phrase, however, the Dharmapada has left out the three Brahmanical (and also early Buddhistical) categories for which the earnestness is requisite.

*Amṛta* or immortality was in Buddha's primitive Buddhism the recognized equivalent of *Nirvāṇa.* Indeed, as late as the fifth century A.D. we find the orthodox Pāli commentator Buddha-ghoṣa saying, "*Nirvāṇa* is *Amata* (i.e. *Amṛta*), because not being born, it does not decay or die" (Childers, *Pāli Dict.*, p. 28).

The above evidence seems to establish irrefutably the fact that Buddha, according to what must be accepted as the earliest authentic texts, took over bodily from the Brāhmans their Viṣṇuite "Three-fold Path to Immortality" (*Amṛta-padāni anuṣṭhitāni*) and made it the basis of his own Six-fold Path to *Nirvāṇa* (the *Pāramitā*), and that the third cardinal virtue in Buddha's original "path" was "worship of the gods".

L. A. WADDELL.

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## MAHA-PADHANA SUTTANTA

In confirmation of the conclusion reached in my article in the Journal pp. 661–80, that the proper designation of the 14th book of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* is "Mahā-Padhāna",

and not "Mahā-apadāna" as adopted in the Pāli Text Society's edition, I find that in another book in the Pāli canon the epithet of *Padhāna* is actually applied to Buddha. It occurs in the title of the *Padhāna Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, translated by Fausböll in S.B.E. X, ii, 69 f. In this *sutta*, which describes the victory of Gotama over Māra, the Bodhisat justifies for himself the title of *Padhāna* (*Pradhāna*) or "The Foremost Being", in these words, which he addresses to Māra :—

> v. 19 (p. 71). "This army of thine which *the whole world of men and gods cannot conquer I will crush* with Understanding as (one crushes) an unbaked earthen pot with a stone."

We have thus two ancient canonical Buddhist texts bearing the title of *Padhāna*, namely, the *Padhāna Sutta* and the *Mahā-Padhāna Sutta*, in both of which Buddha, who is the main theme, is clearly designated in the title as *Padhāna* or "The Foremost Being", which was a pre-Buddhist Sāṅkhya epithet for the supreme Brahmanical god.

L. A. WADDELL.

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MR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON BENGALI PROSODY

Mr. Tagore has been so good as to examine some quite tentative suggestions of mine as to the nature of Bengali accentuation and metre, and has made them the text for a brief statement of his own views. His authority in such matters, both as an enthusiastic student of Bengali verse and as an innovator in rhythm, is unquestioned. I have ventured, therefore, to make a translation of so much of Mr. Tagore's letter as deals with accent and prosody. It is no light task to translate a poet's prose, and I am painfully conscious that my rendering does no justice to Mr. Tagore's inimitable style. I hope, however, that I have given fairly clear expression to his arguments, and indulgent readers will easily see with what delightful

humour and vivacity he discusses what is, at first sight, a somewhat dull and technical subject.

I have ventured to add a few comments of my own, chiefly by way of supplying European parallels. I feel the less impelled to apologize because Mr. Tagore generously admits that a foreigner can sometimes draw attention to points which escape a native from sheer familiarity. I hope, too, that my annotations may induce Mr. Tagore to enlarge upon one or two points which are perhaps still a little doubtful. But I leave Mr. Tagore to speak for himself.

Mr. Tagore writes as follows :—

I am delighted to find that you have been investigating the subject of metre. Hitherto, no Bengali has written a word about indigenous Bengali metres. I had intended to attempt a treatise on the subject myself, but my pen grows lazy. You have seen people laboriously pushing along a motor-car whose machinery has gone out of gear! Such is my case!

You say that the phrasal accent in Bengali falls at the beginning of a clause. I have long felt that this is so. In English every word has its own word-stress, and metre for an English poet is the skilful arrangement of words in such order that the stresses shall fall so as to create a recurrent beat. In Sanskrit the metre is not a matter of beats of stress. But the *mātrās* or audible units of verse differ from one another in containing vowels naturally long or short, or vowels whose sonority is affected by following compound consonants. The play of Sanskrit metre is determined by these *mātrās*, as in the verse

astyuttar syāṁdiśi devatātmā.

In a phrase such as this the current of sound comes into collision with vocal obstructions at the points where compound consonants or naturally long vowels occur, and is thus broken into recurrent waves of sound.

There is obviously some convenience for the poet in languages in which each word has its fixed pronunciation,

so that its enunciation is not a matter of choice or taste, its aspect being recognizable at sight. When a written sentence in such a language is presented to us, we have a definite picture of a prescribed rise and fall of voice. In Bengali, on the other hand, one strong syllable is followed by a whole series of atonic syllables which glide over the ear so fast that it is difficult to grasp their intonation. Is it not the image of one of our joint Hindu families? The head of the household is easily recognized, but behind him is an undistinguishable and undistinguished crowd! How hard is it to note their number and quality, or indeed to recognize them as separate individuals at all!

No doubt this is why our bards and popular reciters, useful as they are in providing pleasure, and even instruction for the common sort, yet feel obliged to import from time to time fuliginous Sanskrit compound words into their tales. Rustic folk do not understand these borrowings, it is true, but their minds are stirred and exalted by the swelling and stately polysyllables. So our poets, when they are at a loss for moving sounds, make free use of Sanskrit words, because of their majesty and sonority. So also, in the songs heard at *yātrā* and *pãcāli* entertainments, the verses are overloaded with the ornaments of assonance and alliteration. Such additions may be meaningless, or even ungrammatical, but the vulgar ear craves for such gratification so greedily that the composer dare not be too critical. A curry of vegetables needs stronger spices and richer condiments than a curry of meat if it is not to be insipid. Such additions add little to the nourishment afforded, but they stimulate the appetite! Why else, I suppose, does the Rāmacandra of Daśarathi Rāy bewail his grief with such pathetical wealth of assonance?

ati aganya kāje
chichi jaghanya sāje
ghor āranya mājhe
kata kãdilām!

An unfailing device to awake sympathetic emotion! In the verses of Kṛṣṇa Kamal Goswāmi, of whom you will find an appreciation in the "History" of our friend Dineś Chandra Sen, there are heaps upon heaps of such amiable, such excusable absurdities. After all, they harm no one, these ingenuous barbarisms! For instance,

punaḥ yadi kono kṣaṇe | dekhā dey kamale-kṣaṇe,
yatāne kare rakṣaṇe | jānābi tata-kṣaṇe.

It cannot be denied that the superfluous *e* suffixed to the words *kamale-kṣaṇ* and *rakṣaṇ* are meaningless. But in the floods of assonance in popular verse how many such supererogatory *e*'s and *u*'s are swept downstream. They are otiose, but, once more, what matters?

But there is a more important thing to be carefully borne in mind. The ancient Bengali verses of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Annadāmaṅgal, Kavikaṅkan, Caṇḍi, etc., were always sung to a tune, and the music disguised defects in the sounds and gaps in the metre. There was the excitement of an audience, the fly-whisk waved, the *kara-tāl* beat out the time, the *mṛdaṅga* throbbed its accompaniment. But when we read ancient verse in cold blood without these exciting aids to enjoyment, then it is easy to make the discovery, not only that words have not each its own fixed accent, but also that each *akṣar* may usually be counted as a separate *mātrā*, as e.g. in the verse

Mahābhārater(a) kathā | amṛta samān(a).

Here you find fourteen *akṣars* and fourteen *mātrās*. All the sounds, in this particular case, are of the same height, as it were. Is it not like our flat deltaic land of Bengal? As her broad bosom is level, so are her *payār* and *tripadi* metres. They involve no climbing, up or down.

This peculiarity is of help to the singer. Just as the rivers and water-channels of Bengal spread at will hither

and thither in countless creeks and effluents, so the tune spreads itself easily over syllables that have all a similar phonetic value. The words follow the tune obediently with downcast faces!

Yet when such metres are read aloud apart from the tune they are widowed, as it were, and bereaved of a necessary support. That is why, to the present day, we chant verse and do not recite it. More than that. Even in the reading of prose we use a rhythm which is practically a tune. No doubt this is a result of the natural characteristics of the language. Nay, habit compels us to read even English in a sort of sing-song, a trick which no doubt sounds oddly enough in English ears.

But I do not wish to commit myself to the statement that each *akṣara* always occupies a single *mātrā*. It cannot be that syllables containing compound consonants have the same phonetic value as syllables containing single consonants. For instance, take the verse

Kāśi Rām(a) Dās(a) kahe, | śune puṇyavān(a).[1]

Obviously the four syllables of *puṇyavān(a)* are not of the same metrical weight as the four syllables of *Kāśi Rām(a)*. But when the words are tugged and strained to fit them to a tune the intervening gaps are so filled up that heavy and light words come to occupy the same space in a verse. If your invited guests sit side by side on chairs, the chairs being equal in width, all your friends occupy the same space, whether they be stout or whether they be slim. But put the same people to squat side by side on a carpet in our Indian fashion, and then each fills an area proportionate to his real dimensions! In our old *payār* and *tri-padi* metres you must think of the words as conventional, civilized folk, trained to sit in chairs and occupy a space easily calculable beforehand!

[1] [*Translator's note.*—Pronounced *puṇṇa-vān.*]

"Equality," "fraternity," are excellent things when they are made of sterling metal, but if they ring false they are best thrown away. In our old literature the equality and fraternity of sounds is imposed upon them by chanting, but the spuriousness of these qualities is revealed when the old verses are read aloud. A sense of this defect has long been present in my mind. Long ago I noticed how some of our old poets had striven to remedy this defect in our prosody by the occasional use of Sanskrit quantitative metres. There are one or two examples in Bhārat Candra Rāy.

For example, here is a [*toṭaka*] verse—

Mahā Rudra veśe Mahādeva sāje.

In the compositions of the Vaiṣṇava hymn-writers such metres abound. For instance,

Bharā bādara mahā Bhādar śunya mandir mor.

But these imitations can hardly be called Bengali at all. When Bhārat Candra used Sanskrit metres he employed only Sanskrit words. As for the Vaiṣṇava hymns, they are written in a perversion of the current speech of Mithilā. So my elder brother [Mr. Dvijendranāth Tagore] has amused himself by writing burlesque quantitative verse, things like the following [in *mandākrānta chanda*]—

icchā samyak(a) bhramaṇ-gamane, kintu pātheya nāsti,
pāye sikli, man uṛe uṛe, e ki daiver śāsti!

But these macaronics will not serve in Bengali, because in our language the difference between long and short vowels is not predominantly audible.

On the other hand, I firmly believe that there is an audible, a metrical difference between syllables containing simple and compound consonants respectively. So convinced was I of this that, some years ago, I composed a book of verses entitled *Mānasī*, which contains examples of metres in which syllables containing compound

consonants do the work of two *mātrās*. This device has now become a current usage.

Note this difference between Sanskrit and Bengali, that in the latter language the final *a* of many words is mute. Thus, we have *phal, jal, māṭh, ghāṭ, phād, vādar, ādar*, etc. In current speech the word *phal*, in fact, occupies only one *mātrā*. In conventional verse it is taken as occupying two (i.e. it is chanted as a dissyllable, as *phalla*). Hence in the old poetry of Bengal, *has-anta* words, words ending in consonants, practically do not exist. Yet how valuable are such words in creating a forcible impact of sound! Divided by no vowel-barrier from the following word, they fall directly upon it and increase its sonority. The literary form *karitechi*, "I am doing," is blunt and without edge; it is tuneless. But the colloquial equivalent, *karcchi*, has a true phonetic vigour, from the clash of colliding consonants. Take the phrase *Yāhā haïbār, tāhā haïbe*, "what shall be, must be," and note how loose and amorphous is its sound, and how this want of phonetic vigour even affects the sense. Say, now, in honest colloquial fashion, *Yā habār, tā-ï habe*, and note how the final *r* of *habār* falls with a clang on *tā-ï* and brings out its sonority. The nasal long-drawn indolence of the first phrase is replaced by a succession of sounds that themselves create a sense of desperate inevitability! In a word, the conventional language of old verse in Bengali, with its absence of consonantal endings, reminds me of nothing so much as the petted (and fatted) darlings of babu families. I think of faces wreathed in rolls of fat. Smooth and unctuous such verse may be. It lacks the manly grace of force and boldness.

But the spoken speech of Bengali is a tongue full of supple strength. It has marked features, and a striking physiognomy of its own. If I must admit that this vigorous speech is banished from conventional verse, you are not to assume that, like a stricken beast, it has crept

to its lair to die! It lives and thrives in the heart of the people. You may hear it on the lips of street singers, in the hymns of religious devotees, in the rhymes of the nursery. It cannot, I admit, yet swagger into polite society, with a caste-mark of printer's ink on its pale forehead! But its throat throbs with song; its bamboo flute tootles sweetly in the village street; where the ceaseless torrent of popular song bursts into spray, the *has-anta* words rattle joyously against one another like pebbles swept together by the stream. No such inspiriting sounds are heard in the great still pools of conventional poetry.

In the verses composed in my later years I have striven to introduce the music of current speech, simply because popular language runs freely and gladly like a sparkling brook. Its wavelets dance and babble naturally. The lines you quoted from my Gītāñjali are written to evoke the clash of consonants in collision. For instance,

(āmār) sakal kā̃ṭā dhanya kare' phuṭ'be go phuṭ'be,
(āmār) sakal vyāthā raṅgīn haye' golap haye uṭh'be.[1]

If you look at these lines carefully, you will find that each knot (so to speak) of the metre contains a consonantal effect, a shock of clashing consonants. The very word *dhanya*, so soft in its Sanskritic pronunciation, is spoken as *dhan-na* in Bengali, and might very well be written so. Let me now rewrite these lines in conventional metre. They would run something like this—

yata kā̃ṭā mama sa-phal(a) kariyā | phuṭibe, kusum phuṭibe,
sakal(a) vedanā aruṇ(a) varaṇe | golāp haïyā uṭhibe.

[1] Roughly translated, the distich means, "all my thorns will assume a new grace and blossom as flowers. All my griefs will take on a ruddy blush and bloom as roses." It happens that, leaving out the extra-metrical *āmār*, the lines are typical *payār* verses of 8 + 5 or 6 syllables, but written in the elliptic colloquial, which leaves out many *a*'s and *i*'s, and so produces contact of consonants (see my note *ad fin.*).

Or, again, if we adopt the convention that syllables containing compound letters are the metrical equivalent of two *mātrās*, then the lines might run—

sakal kaṇṭak sārthak kariyā | kusum stavak phuṭibe,
vedanā yantranā rakta mūrtti dhari | golāp haïyā
uṭhibe.

You can now, perhaps, see how our conventional verse has burst the heads of the drums whose throb we hear in compound consonants, has stuffed plugs of lead into the stops of the flute, stops created by the impact of final consonants on the consonants that succeed them. The natural, the spontaneous melody of the language has been throttled, and an adventitious, artificial jingle has been imposed upon it. The tears in the eyes and the smile on the lips of our own native muse have been hidden behind the meretricious tinsel of a veil borrowed from Sanskrit. We have forgotten how piercing and significant is the glance of her dark eyes! I have done what I can to pull aside the encumbering garment. Followers of convention may blame me: I care not a whit. Let them, if they will, appraise the workmanship of the veil and the price of its glistening embroidery. What I want to see is the bright eyes behind it. In them you will find a wealth of beauty not quoted in the market-rates of the bazaars of pedantry.

*Translator's Note*

It is difficult for a matter-of-fact student to comment on utterances so eloquent and so ingenious, and, above all, so happily humorous. But, if I have not misunderstood him, Mr. Tagore admits that the audible unit in Bengali is not the stressed word, but the phrase which carries a tonic accent. He agrees, too, I think, that the Bengali tonic accent has a tendency to fall on the initial syllable. Hence a normal Bengali phrase consists of a strong syllable followed by several rapid (more or less) atonic syllables. Is Bengali verse, and

especially the *payār*, the heroic verse of Bengal, a result of the fact that word-stress, so far as it exists, is less predominantly audible than the phrasal tonic accent? Prima facie, one would expect it to be so. Mr. Tagore, on the whole, seems to think that this is not the case, because Bengali verse is not read but chanted. He thinks that the musical quality of the tune to which Bengali verse is chanted obscures and destroys the phonetic quality which would be audible if poetry were read aloud in Bengal.

Admittedly, the normal *payār* verse consists of two hemistiches divided by a cæsura; we should expect to find—from what we note in the prose pronunciation of Bengal—a strong initial tonic accent in each hemistich. Is this quality disguised by the sort of tune to which every shopkeeper in the bazaar chants his Mahābhārat and Rāmāyaṇ? I think Mr. Tagore, on second thoughts, will admit that it is not so disguised. On the contrary, the chant enhances and exaggerates the initial accent. Take any half-dozen lines at random, say from Kāśi Dās's version of the Mahābhārat. I think it will be admitted that the accents fall very much as I have noted them below, even when chanted.

Lŏmaś(a) balén(a) ḍāki | Dhārmmer(a) nandān
Śyĕna kapotér(a) kathā | kāraha śravān.
Ĕi ye Vitástā nadī | Śĭri-rājya dĕśe,
Sāras(a) sārásī krīṛā | kāriche ullāse,
jāl(a) upajálā duï | Yāmunār(a) pāś
mŭni-gaṇ(a) éï taṭe | kāre adhibās, etc.

I venture to think that the initial accents and the final rhyme-accent are well marked in the jingle to which the verses are accommodated by rustic singers. (Note that in the second hemistiches of the 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 6th lines there are only five syllables, the accent on the rhyme enabling the final syllable to do the work of two syllables.) On the whole, I do not think that Mr. Tagore questions my suggestion that conventional Bengali *payār* is conditioned by the characteristic tonic accent of the language, a thing which makes it difficult for foreigners accustomed to fixed word-stresses to hear and speak colloquial Bengali. Of modern developments, and

especially of the delightful innovations introduced by Mr. Tagore himself, I do not venture to speak. I can only hope that they may be studied by competent persons, and may yield their secret, so far as it is a matter of mere scansion and metrical rule.

With regard to what Mr. Tagore says about the effect of compound consonants on the quality of the vowels that precede them, and about *has-anta* words and the effect of their final consonants on the initial consonants of the words that follow, it is difficult to resist a suspicion that Mr. Tagore is influenced by the classical tradition, also in force in Europe, that compound consonants make a preceding vowel "long". It is easy to see that *dhan-na* takes longer to say than *dhana*, but in any given case does *dhan-na* occupy a larger metrical space (say, three *mātrās* instead of two) than *dhana*? The matter is one on which an Englishman must speak with diffidence, since *has-anta* words abound in English, and seem to make little difference in the "quantity" or quality of preceding vowels. Take such a line (at the end of "Measure for Measure") as—

Thanks, provost, for thy care and secrecy.

Here we have such clanging collisions of consonants as NKSPR, STF, RȣS, NDS. If in English such collections of consonants were felt to affect the metrical value of the syllables in which they were inserted, we should find our poets deliberately using them to vary quantitative effects.

It is interesting to find that Mr. Tagore thinks final *a*'s are ugly, and prefers consonantal terminations. He certainly uses such terminations himself with beautiful results, and in his own mouth, as he recites with a loving pause on the concussion of sonorous consonants, the effect is very striking. But is this a metrical, a prosodical effect? I am not competent to say.

Finally, from a philological point of view, there remains a small unsolved problem. We know, with some approach to certainty, how the French final phrasal accent came into being, namely, by the dropping off of syllables (chiefly inflexions) following the accented syllable in Latin. In Bengali the initial phrasal accent may be a Dravidian trick of speech, or a survival of Tibeto-Burmese ways of talking. Probably it is the former. What is needed is good records

of some standard bits of prose and verse taken in different parts of Bengal. A comparative study of the phonetics of Bengali and Assamese might also be fruitful. As I write I learn that the Calcutta University is prepared to open an optional course in the vernacular of the province. Perhaps someone who takes an Honours degree in Bengali may feel tempted to investigate some of the phonetic problems existing in one of the most interesting and most supple and expressive languages in India. Better still, Mr. Tagore may perhaps find occasion to make a further analysis of his own beautiful metrical innovations.

Readers accustomed to the quantitative metres, measured in *mātrās*, of other modern languages of India, may perhaps welcome a brief explanation of those parts of Mr. Tagore's letter which assume some knowledge of Bengali metres.

1. The metres which Mr. Tagore's brother uses as a sportive exercise in verbal ingenuity are *mātrā* metres. They are borrowed from other languages, and are the exact equivalent of such quantitative verses in French as the well-known hexameter

Chante, déesse, le cœur furieux et l'ire d'Achilles.

(I quote a French parallel, for a reason which will presently appear.) These quantitative metres are unfitted to the genius of the language, and, unless my ear misleads me, the long syllables are only made audible by placing an artificial stress upon them. (It must be remembered that in Bengali, as in French, the word-stress is faint, and the dominant audible quality is a phrase accent.) Such metres are (as a matter of curiosity)—

(1) toṭaka, ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — |
(2) bhujaṅga prayāta, ⏑ — — | ⏑ — — | ⏑ — — | ⏑ — — |
(3) caṇḍi, ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — — |
(4) tuṇaka, — ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ — |

(5) cāmara, — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ — |

(6) campakāvali, — ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ |

These can hardly be called Bengali metres at all.

2. To abbreviate my explanation, let me next assert that the indigenous metres of Bengali (such metres, for example, as Mr. Tagore himself uses) are "syllabic" metres in exactly the sense in which the French alexandrine is "syllabic". It is true that Bengali prosodists will say (as some Frenchmen say of the alexandrine) that a Bengali verse is not composed of a fixed number of syllables. They will prefer to say that it is composed of a fixed number of *akṣaras*. This simply means, for example, that the following French alexandrine has twelve *akṣaras* but only ten syllables—

Derrière son col brun | croisant ses belle*s* mains.

It is merely the old question whether the "*e* mute" in French, the "*a* mute" in Bengali, are *felt* metrically or actually pronounced. On the other hand, it would be admitted that the following alexandrine contains not only twelve *akṣaras* but twelve syllables—

Va, je la désavou(e), | et tu me fais horreur.

The standard Bengali metre, the *payār*, contains fourteen *akṣaras*, with a cæsura or *yati* at the eighth *akṣara*. It is possible to write a *payār* line which contains fourteen syllables, for instance—

kintu klānta yadi tumi | e duranta raṇe.

If, on the other hand, a *payār* line contains less than fourteen syllables it is because of the occurrence of mute *a*'s. For instance, the following line, ingeniously describing itself, contains only ten syllables, though it has the regulation fourteen *akṣaras*—

catur-daś(a) varṇe hay(a) | sakal(a) payār(a).

This is read as follows :—

cătur-da*ś* várṇe *hay* | să*kal* pay*ăr*.

Exactly the same thing has happened, it will be seen, as in an alexandrine containing mute *e*'s (which, it may be noted, are pronounced like the Indian *ă*).

My sole object in insisting that Bengali verse is "syllabic" in the technical sense of French prosody is in order to draw attention to the linguistic fact that the dominant audible quantity in Bengali prose, as in French prose, is a phrasal *accent tonique*, which, however, comes at the beginning and not, as in French, at the end of the phrase or clause. Whether the absence of a strong word-stress (as in most European and many Indian languages) necessarily goes with a "syllabic" prosody I do not, of course, venture to say.

To use the conventional language of Bengali prosody, then, a Bengali verse consists of a fixed number of *akṣaras*, and is wholly independent of *mātrās* or quantity. There is one *chandaḥ* which is the exact equivalent of the French alexandrine, namely the *dīrgha ekāvali*. For instance,

eï dukhe deha | dahiche satata,
daśā dukhe dukha | nāhi bhāvi tata.

Here are twelve *akṣaras*, twelve syllables, and a medial cæsura, as in a normal alexandrine.

The standard *payār* metre, as aforesaid, contains fourteen *akṣaras*. The *māl-jhāp*, *taral payār*, *mālati*, *kusuma-mālikā*, and *mālati-latā* metres are merely *payār* verses broken by internal rhymes or lengthened by the addition of one, two, or three *akṣaras*. The so-called *tri-padī* and *catuṣ-padī* metres are simply arrangements in stanzas of lines of various lengths.

Of modern developments of these *akṣara* metres, such as the charmingly musical rhythms invented by Mr. Tagore, a Bengali prosodist says: "Many changes have been wrought by modern poets in conventional

metres. Contemporary writers of verse attend to the sense rather than to rhythm and verbal ingenuity. It is difficult to classify modern metres otherwise than as being 'long', 'short', 'broken', or 'mixed'. Here is an example of a modern lengthened *payār* or *payārāṅga*:—

prabhāt adhare hāsi | sandhyār malin mukh
udhyam phurāye yāy, | bhānge āśā, guche sukh."

(It will be noticed that this is a metre of 8 + 8 *akṣaras*.)

The writer of the above criticism is probably wrong in asserting that the moderns subordinate music to meaning. The old metres had a certain hard monotony and a ruthless jingle which wholly disappears in the subtle variety of Mr. Tagore's verse, even when, as sometimes happens, he closely follows the syllabic and cæsural arrangement of classical verse. But, in spite of all modern changes, Bengali verse, like French verse, remains "syllabic", and the phrasal accent which follows and marks the cæsura remains the element which causes the rhythm and beat of Bengali prosody. I hope this very brief and summary account may enable readers who do not know Bengali to appreciate Mr. Tagore's delightfully metaphorical method of stating the case. I do not think that anything I have said clashes with Mr. Tagore's statements. If I have ventured to quote French examples, it is in the hope that a comparative study of modern metres may lead to interesting results.

Since the above was written, Mr. Tagore's letter has been published in Bengali in the Jyaṣṭha number of the new magazine, *Sabuz patra*, which I venture to recommend to those who wish to keep in touch with the poet's latest writings. Mr. Tagore has also written me another long letter on the subject of Bengali verse. I do not venture to translate this for our Journal, because although it contains much that is of interest and importance to students of Bengali, it also makes an extremely interesting

comparison between the mechanism of English and Bengali verse respectively. English prosody is still the subject of so much difference of opinion that I hesitate to subject the Bengali poet to the criticism of those who may not share his views as to what constitutes rhythm in English. As to Bengali metre, Mr. Tagore seems to admit (1) that the dominant audible quality in Bengali is an initial phrase accent, falling on the first syllable of several syllables pronounced rapidly together; (2) that, in verse, the metrical unit consists of a fixed number of such syllables from cæsura to cæsura. Bengali verse is not quantitative verse, and it is not stress verse.

J. D. ANDERSON.

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## THE SUFFIXES -*NE* AND -*NO* IN GUJARATI

All who are interested in the history of the modern Indo-Aryan languages will have welcomed Mr. Tessitori's article on the Dative and Genitive Postpositions in Gujarātī and Mārwāṛī, for it is a serious attempt to bring the study of these languages into the pale of established linguistic science. But for my own part, although I can suggest no other solution for the problems that he has attempted to solve, I cannot agree with his solution.

Mr. Tessitori sets out to show that the Gujarātī suffixes or postpositions *-ne* and *-no* are descended from the older forms (Old Western Rājasthānī) *kanhaĩ*, *kanhaũ*, through the loss of the initial *ka-*, for he believes that under certain conditions, which he does not specify, initial syllables beginning with *k-* (or for that matter with any consonant) were liable to be dropped. Now the most important condition for the disappearance of a syllable is absence of stress. But if an unstressed syllable is lost in one place, a similarly unstressed syllable in another place will also be lost. It is here that it seems to me

Mr. Tessitori's argument breaks down. For mediaeval unstressed *k* is not lost in Gujarātī: cf. *ākḍo*, m., name of a tree, from **ākaḍo, *akkaḍo*; Skt. *arkaḥ, mākḍī*, f., "monkey," from Skt. *markaṭikā*; nor is any consonant or consonant group, which survived the first sound dropping, lost in Gujarātī with the exception of *'h*, for this loss of an unstressed syllable containing a consonant is demonstrable only in the case of *h*. Cf.

*kaḍā*, f., "deep pot": Skt. *kaṭāhaḥ*.
*sū*, "with": *saha *saham*.
*paḍo*, m., "tomtom": *paṭahaḥ*.
*phaḷār*, m., "slight repast": *phalāhāraḥ*.
*sāmo*, "opposite": *saṃmukhaḥ*.

Hence, perhaps, the derivation of O.W. Rājasthānī *tau* from *hūtaü* is correct. The two forms may have existed side by side; enclitic *hūtaü*, became **hutau, *hatau, tau*, while the stressed *hū́taü*, again, later losing its stress, appears regularly in Gujarātī as *hato* (cf. for the denasalization of the unstressed syllable *pacās*, "fifty": Skt. *pañcāśat*), while unaccented *u* regularly becomes *a*, e.g. *mākaṇ*, m., "bug," from *matkuṇaḥ, Phāgaṇ*, m., name of a month, from Skt. *Phālguṇaḥ*; *lasaṇ*, n., "garlic," *laśunam*.

This does not apply to the other examples quoted, for this unstressing of words will only occur in fast sprechtempo with frequent use, as, e.g., in Gujarātī *che*, "is," from *achaī, acchaē, *acchati*, where *a-* is treated as in *rān*, n., "wilderness," from *araṇyam*. But words like *śithilaḥ* and *udāharaṇam* are not sufficiently common to be so affected. If *ḍhilla-* is really to be derived from *śithilaḥ* (it would seem very doubtful, for why *ḍh* from *th*? and I know of no other dropping of an initial sibilant), the reason given by Pischel is that the accent fell on the last syllable—*śithiláḥ*—in accordance with the old method of accentuation (cf. below *ṇaṃ* from *nūnám*). In that case it is of no use as illustrating a sound change

in Gujarātī, for one of the distinguishing points in the history of Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī is the difference of accentuation. The speakers of Śaurasēnī were already using the penultimate stress (i.e. a stress falling on the penultimate where it was long, on the antepenultimate where the penultimate was short), while Mahārāṣṭri still, at least to some extent, retained the position of the old tone, though by then become a stress. Hence the difference in the form of several Marāṭhī and Gujarātī words:—

Marāṭhī *kumar*, "boy," from Mahārāṣṭrī *kumaro*, from Skt. *kumāráḥ*.

Gujarātī *kũvār*, from Śaurasēnī *kumāro*, from *kumắraḥ*.

M. *mājar*, m., "cat," from Mahā. *maṃjaro*, from Skt. *mārjāráḥ*.

Gujarātī *majār*, from S. *maṃjāro*, from *mārjắraḥ*.

M. *pīk*, "ripe," from Mahā. *pikko*, from Skt. *pakváḥ*.

Gujarātī *pāko*, from S. *pakko*, from *pákvaḥ*.

The disappearance of the first syllable of *nūnám*, a word certain to appear often in unstressed positions, would be considerably helped by the fact that both syllables begin with the same sound.

The other instance quoted, though only tentatively, is O.W. Rājasthānī *māṭaī* (Gujarātī *māṭe*, "on account of"), from Skt. **nimittakēna*. But whence *ā* from *i*? for stressed *i* remains, cf. *chiṇvū*, "cut," *viṇvū*, "collect," *pisvū*, "grind"; Skt. *chinatti*, *vinayati*, *pinaṣṭi*. It is true that postaccentual *i* becomes *a* (cf. *kaṇas*, n., "ear of corn," from Skt. *kaniśaḥ*, *vaṇ*, "without," from *vinā*); but if the syllable *-mitt-* were preaccentual, the consonant group would be simplified and we should have not *-māt-* from *-matt-*, but *-mat-* (cf. *paṭhāvvū*, "despatch," from **paṭṭhāvvū*, from Skt. *prasthāpayati*, with *ṭh* after *tiṣṭhati*, etc., *majār* from **majjāru*, from Skt. *mārjāraḥ*). Secondly, why *-ṭṭ-*, *-ṭ-*, from Skt. *-tt-*? I should feel more

inclined to suggest Skt. *mātrakēṇa* (a form that occurs in the at present unpublished Dvāviṁśatyavadānakathā), though this without much confidence.

Thus the support to be gained from these words for the theory of the disappearance of an initial unstressed syllable beginning with a consonant other than *h* is weak.

The principle underlying the laws of sound-change is this, that the same sound under the same conditions will develop at the same time in the same way. If any particular sound or collection of sounds, being unstressed, disappears, then that sound will disappear uniformly, whatever its position in a word, provided it is similarly or to a greater degree likewise unstressed. Now I take it that Mr. Tessitori's argument is that in the words *kisiu*, etc., the *k*-, being part of an unstressed syllable, disappeared at some time posterior to the general consonant dropping of the period between the inscriptions of Aśoka and the appearance, say, of Mahārāṣṭrī, as we know it. If so, why were not all unstressed *k*-syllables treated in the same fashion? In any case, was an interrogative like *kisiu* unstressed? while, if stressed, it would obey the general Śaurasēnī rule, and bear the stress on the first syllable. Moreover, the consonant of the first syllable of a word (whether bearing the chief stress or no) is more firmly pronounced than in any other position. For this compare the history of initial and intervocalic consonants in the Romance languages and in the Prākrits. Hence, I find it hard to believe that *siu*, etc., are fast sprechtempo forms of *kisiu*, etc. I would rather derive them from demonstrative pronouns, probably the result of a contamination of two or more forms, used in an interrogative sense. For this compare the close connexion in Indo-Germanic between interrogative and indefinite pronouns, or in Germanic between relative and demonstrative, or in Latin between relative and interrogative.

If, then, my line of argument is right, there is no reason to believe that an initial *k-* would drop any sooner than another *-k-* (if anything, rather less); and since no *-k-* which remained through consonant group simplification (e.g. *pāko*, from **pakkau*, from **pakvakaḥ*, etc., etc.) after the first sound dropping at a period previous probably to the Christian era has afterwards been lost, there is no reason to believe that an initial *k-*, as coming after a vowel and so being equivalent to any other intervocalic *-k-*, would be dropped either.

Therefore, if the suffixes *-ne* and *-no* are to be derived from case-forms of a Skt. **karṇaka-*, we must suppose this loss of the *k-* to have taken place in the pre-Apabhraṃśa period. The objections to this are—

1. There is no trace of this *-ne, -no* suffix till comparatively recent times.

2. The existence of the unreduced forms *kanhaī*, etc., necessitates the theory that after the end of the operation of the laws governing the disappearance of intervocalic stops new case-forms were again composed with the help of the word **kaṇṇaa-*.

3. At the time of the operation of the above-mentioned sound laws the descendants of the original case-forms were still in use, being as yet not very greatly broken down in form, and there was consequently no need for such periphrastic expressions with **kaṇṇae*, etc., and as a matter of fact they do not appear.

To sum up, the treatment of initial *k-* will not differ from that of medial *-k-* except in the direction of being more firmly pronounced; intervocalic *-k-* does not disappear after the end of the activity of the laws governing the first sound dropping (i.e. probably not after the beginning of the Christian era). Therefore *-ne* cannot be derived from the O.W. Rājasthānī *kanhaī*, but, if connected with *karṇa-*, must have come down with the *k-* already lost in the Prākrit stage, and this appears unlikely.

This same argument applies to the derivation of the genitive suffix *-no* from *taṇau* (in addition to the objection very properly brought forward by Mr. Tessitori, viz. the impossibility of *-ṇ-* becoming *-n-*).

Lastly, a small point. I do not agree with Mr. Tessitori in his arguments as to what the *-ne* and *-no* suffixes shall be called, postpositions or terminations. For, firstly, if the word *kanhaĩ* was not enclitic (i.e. did not make one accentual whole with the noun it belonged to), how could it come about that its initial syllable was treated in a different way from any other word beginning with *k-*? Secondly, the insertion of an emphatic particle between noun and termination does not necessarily mean that the termination is felt to be an independent word: cf. the insertion of *-ka-* in *pacakatí* = *pacatí*, **jīvakam* > Gujarātī *jīvū*, "I live."

But in any case, does it matter which we call them, postpositions or terminations?

R. L. TURNER.

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## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN, BURMA

Mr. Blagden's article (JRAS., October, 1909, p. 1017) on the Talaing version and subsequent article (April, 1911, p. 365) on the so-called Pyoo version treated the matter in a masterly manner, but I should like to be allowed to make a few remarks on the Burmese version as given at p. 1019. It is a great pity that there is no estampage or photograph of the Burmese to show the actual spelling and character of the inscription. Mr. Blagden appears to think that it denotes the Burmese form of certain words at that date, but in this I cannot agree with him, for as soon as I had read it I came to the conclusion that it had been inscribed by Talaing sculptors from Burmese dictation in the characters used by them. I do not think that the Burmese of that date used the Pali alphabet, and now find from the report of

the Burma Archæological Department for 1912, par. 44, that in the time of Kyantsit-thā all inscriptions were made in Talaing. In several places I find a subscript ◌ာ. This cannot now be used, and I do not believe ever was admissible in Burmese.

If we refer to the characters used in the Po-u-doung inscription of A.D. 1774 we shall find that the subscript *r* was written in two ways, so that ◌ြ might be written ◌ြ or ◌ျ *kra*. If, as is above stated, there were no Burmese inscriptions made in Kyantsit-thā's reign, and everything was written in Talaing, I think the presumption is that the Burmese version was made by Talaing masons from Burmese dictation, and that they represented the sounds as best they could. If we find, as in line 2, the word for "eight" written ဆယ်ဆ် *haet* or *het*, it does not follow that that was the proper Burmese sound. But according to Haswell's notes on the Peguan language, p. 8, this combination should be pronounced *hāt* if ending in ◌် (*t*), but if ◌် (*k*) be the final it is then *hīt* (*hite* ?), and if on the inscription it is ◌်, which is not improbable, then we get the sound which the Aracanese still give it, minus *r*, which the Peguans could not pronounce when aspirated; this would be *hrīt* (*hrite*), according to the way in which some Aracanese pronounce it, and the Burmese of the north most probably pronounced in much the same way in the year A.D. 1000, till after Kyantsit-thā's time, when the language began to soften down through contact with the Peguans.

The words ပြစ် (l. 5), ပျံ (l. 17), ငြိတ် are, I have no doubt, the same sound as the present Burmese ဖြစ် (*hprit*), ပြု (*pru*), ငြေ (*mré*), but the word ပျံစ် (l. 17) appears to be ပြိ (*pro*) or ဖြိ (*hpro*) "to cause to break down", used with ထု *htu*, "to engrave, sculpture," thus indicating the breaking up of the gold ornaments to make the image.

မြိတ် (l. 21) appears to be a mistake for မြိ *mro* in နှစ်မြိ *hni(t)-mro*, "to be delighted."

The အ in line 27 before သာ is clearly a mistake for ဒေသ်, the sign of the possessive case modern ၏.

In line 29 the meaning of ပ္လေဒ် is not clear, but seems to be identical with the modern ဟ္လု *hlloo*, "to dedicate, offer."

I cannot understand the ရ် in the word သရ်ဗ္ဗညုတညာဏ် except on the supposition that the word was written by a man accustomed to the word as taken from the Sanskrit **सर्व**. The curious word ဖြည်ဉာ *hpritñyā* is the modern Burmese ဖြစ်ညာ "though it be", and shows that the verb ဖြစ် (*hprit*) was written both ပ္ဍစ် and ဖြစ်.[1]

In line 39 a doubt is expressed as to whether the word after သွင် is အဟု or အဆု; probably it is neither, but အဘူး for အဖူး *a-hpoo*: the noun form of v. ဖူး "to behold with reverence". The word ဝ "not" has evidently been omitted.

The most remarkable word in the whole inscription is the word ကြညော (line 16), which I have no doubt should be read *krañjo*. There is no such corresponding form in either the Talaing or Pyoo version, but it evidently means "benefits". The Burmese words following are ကြက်မိ which read အောက်မိ *ouk-mi* and stand for the modern အောင်းမေ့ *oungs-mé*, commonly pronounced *ouk-mé*, which is evidently the older form, "to remember with good feeling."

The only word now in use for "benefit" is ကျေးကျူး *kyé: zoo:* pronounced *kyee: zoo:* The component parts of this word when separated make no sense. ကျေး *kyé:* means a "country or province", and ကျူး *zoo:* has no meaning. Whence did the word come? My impression is that it really is an old Sanskrit or Pali loan-word, *karaṁ + jo*, which by a certain rule must turn into *karañjo*, meaning the "result of an act". This was, as in the text, written *krañjo*, and then ကြည်းဥော pronounced in course of time *kyee: zo*, and again changed into ကျေးကျူး, for in Aracan we often find

[1] ည appears to be the old way of writing, and not ဥ *nra* as in Judson.

that ဥ = ည်. The ဥော *jo* became *zoo:* through Talaing influence. Mr. Blagden[1] has an idea that the old Burmese used ယ *l* when they ought to use ရ *r*, and now use ယ *y*. He thinks that Mr. Taw Sein Ko is wrong in calling the old subscript ယ found in the Po-u-doung inscription and elsewhere a form of ◌ *r*. I feel sure that the old Burmese did not use *l* subscript, but on the other hand I think that certain of the Talaings did.[2] Mr. Blagden writes: "My view is that the old scholars, probably Talaings, or at any rate the immediate pupils of Talaings, who wrote the Burmese text of the Myazedi Inscriptions, wrote *kl* because they *heard kl* and for no other reason whatsoever." Exactly so, but that does not prove his case; people hear differently.

1. Some words in Burmese end in ည် and some in ဒ်, and to most people they both sound like final *t*, whilst others hear *p*.

2. Germans cannot always distinguish between *b* and *p*, and talk of *budding* thinking they say *pudding*.

3. A friend of mine in Burma, who picked up his colloquial Burmese from a semi-Talaing lady, always called လ (*hla*) *kla*.

Mr. Blagden also says that in an inscription he has read, and which he believes to date from about the twelfth century, written in Talaing, the first syllable of the place-name *Kyouk-sè* is written *klok* (representing, presumably, a sound like *cloak*). That merely proves that the

[1] These references are to a correspondence that has passed between us on the subject.

[2] If, as in the Po-u-doung inscription, there were two forms for ယ *y* subscript, viz. ◌ and ◌, there can therefore be no reason why there should not be two forms for ရ *r* subscript, viz. ◌ and ◌. But I think the fact that in line 5 we have ဆွဒ် and in line 35 ဖြစ်သော (ဖြဿော) proves the case, and shows how careless the masons were with their spelling. Those who have known anything about Burmese writing, even in the past fifty years, know what Burmans could do. The derivation of the word *kyé-zoo* has always been a puzzle.

Talaing scribe thought he heard the Burmese say *cloak* when they said *krowk*. Mr. Blagden also calls Taw Sein Ko as a witness that in Tavoy they say *klông* for *kyoung*, which in Aracan is *kroung*. But he apparently forgets that the Tavoy person is a descendant of an Aracanese mixed with Môn (*vide* Mason).

But to return to the Myazedi Inscription, which is a most remarkable document. It was cut to the order of a prince who was a son of one of the wives of Kyantsit-thā; not the chief wife, but the most beloved.[1] Was she a Burmese or Pyoo? As the inscription was written to order of a prince, the son of a monarch who prided himself on having all his own records made in Talaing and *not in Burmese*, I conclude that the lady was a Pyoo. Again, why did not Kyantsit-thā (Krancac-sā) have his records kept in Burmese? According to Phayre (p. 38) "his mother was a princess of Vessali in Tirhoot", and his people objected to Indians. In fact, it does not appear that he was liked by the Burmese, for very little is recorded of him in the histories, though inscriptions in Talaing, now found, make him out to be a mighty king, who subdued the Talaings, and that he thought himself an incarnation of the Rishi Vishnu. The name Krantsit-thā has no special meaning in Burmese, and I suggest that they spoke of him as "the son of Karanjaca", which I am told might have been his mother's name. This half-Pyoo prince naturally had the inscription cut in Pyoo and then got other scribes to cut a Talaing inscription in the language his father loved, and a fairly good inscription, by the same masons, in Burmese.

There are several peculiar words which seem to differ from ordinary Burmese, such as ဃဝ်ဒ် (ll. 2, 13) for ရိဒ် *hrit*, but on the whole the meaning is perfectly clear, and the difficulties are practically *nil*. However, I learn from

[1] The text does not say she was the chief queen, and her son did not succeed to the throne.

the Archæological Report of Burma for 1913 that we are to have some more inscriptions of an older date than this one, which will "prove most useful in constructing a vocabulary of old Burmese".

It is to be hoped that there will be proof that these inscriptions were actually cut at the dates assigned to them, and not by monks or others in later times, who wished to show they had grants from the kings therein mentioned.

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

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## The Myazedi Inscriptions

I am much obliged to Mr. St. John for the kindly way in which he refers to my attempts to interpret the Mon and "Pyu" texts of these inscriptions. As I said in my article in JRAS. 1909 (p. 1019), it did not lie within the scope of my purpose to edit or explain the Burmese text; the version I gave of it was inserted merely because it had to be referred to in order to justify my interpretation of the Mon text, and the previously published Burmese copy was imperfect. Therefore I did not consider it necessary to give a plate of the rubbing I used, which had been lent me by M. Finot and which in due course I returned to him, together with a rather poor photograph of the Burmese replica mentioned in my article of 1910. As M. Finot is now in French Indo-China, these materials are unfortunately not available at present; but I have no doubt that the Archæological Survey Department in Burma would readily furnish Mr. St. John with rubbings of this and other early Burmese inscriptions. Meanwhile I can assure Mr. St. John that the transcript published in my article of 1909, as amended by the corrections given in that of 1910, is a substantially accurate representation

of the original. I say this with some confidence, for the alphabet is the same as that of the Pali and Mon versions, and in preparing the transcript I had the assistance of a friend who is familiar with modern Burmese.

For myself I do not lay claim to any knowledge of Burmese, but as some views of mine on the subject of this inscription have been referred to, it seems necessary that I should offer reasons in support of them. It also appears to me that Mr. St. John has fallen into several errors of fact.

To take first the Burmese words cited by him—

ဒုတိ *het*: in my opinion the *modern* Mon pronunciation is entirely beside the point; there is every reason to believe that the *ancient* pronunciation was much more literal, i.e. that the spelling was practically phonetic. The final consonant as written in the inscription is *t*, not *k* as suggested. The Mon word *het* (from the Sanskrit *hetu*) is spelt in identically the same way in l. 29 of the Mon text, version A (1909 article, p. 1023). Therefore there must have been a pretty close resemblance of sound between these two words. In the Burmese inscription of Bodh Gaya (late thirteenth century) the word for "eight" is written ဍ္ဘတ် *yhat*. My view is that the initial consonantal sound was more or less like that of the English word "hue". ဝ *h* is repeatedly used in early Burmese inscriptions in words that are nowadays spelt with ရှ *rh*, e.g. in the 1913 collection of inscriptions we find ဟိ *hi* for ရှိ *rhi*, and ဟိုယ် *huiy* and ဝှယ် *hway* for ရွှေ *rhwe*.

I admit that the words ပ္လဲ့ *phlac*, ပ္လု *plu*, and မ္လိယ် *mliy* are represented in modern Burmese by the forms given by Mr. St. John, but for reasons which will presently be given I do not agree that the ancient *sounds* were the same as the modern ones.

ပ္လေါ့ *plo'*: I take this to be a variant of ပ္လု *plu*. In any case it can only mean "to make", the object

being in l. 19 the golden statue and in l. 29 the pagoda with the golden spire. Certainly it cannot be for လှူ *hlū*, as that is not what the context requires; and besides, လှူ *hlū* appears in l. 38 spelt in the usual way.

ဖ္လိုဒ် *phlui'*: this was a mistake of mine, due to the rubbing being blurred by reason of the damaged condition of the stone. I corrected it on p. 798 of my article of 1910 and gave the true reading, which is ကျိုဒ် *klui'*.

အ *a*: the true reading (as stated ibid.) is ဒ်. I take it that it goes with what precedes to form the variant ဓာတ်အ် *mayā'* (instead of ဓာတ် *mayā*); but nothing much turns on this point.

I commented on the form *sarwwañutañān* in the Mon version (1909, p. 1047). Sanskritized forms are common in both Mon and Burmese, both ancient and modern.

အဖှ *aphū*: as stated (1910, p. 799) this is certainly the true reading. The Burmese text never uses the *visarga* (ः) at all, and its ဘ *bh* is utterly unlike its ဖ *ph*. The corresponding Mon word is *ñirñāc*, a noun formed from the verb *ñāc*, "to see." I mention this because I failed to explain it correctly in my 1909 article and also because it determines the meaning of the Burmese word. (As to the apparent omission of the Burmese negative, see the note on p. 1049 of my 1909 article.)

ကျည်ဇော *klañjo*: it does not seem necessary to postulate Mon influence in order to account for *jo* becoming *zū* in modern Burmese. The change from *j* to *z* appears to be regular in Burmese, while some Mon dialects on the other hand retain the original sound (Haswell, 2nd ed., p. 3). I must leave the possibility of the Sanskrit or Pali origin suggested for this word to the judgment of Indo-Aryan scholars; but on my own view of the value of the subscript *l* at this period such an origin seems improbable.

We come now to the question of the value of the subscript *l*, a point of fundamental importance in comparison with the other matters hitherto mentioned, which are rather points of detail. The case stands thus: (1) *palæographically* the letter is certainly *l*; (2) what may we suppose to have been its *phonetic* value *circa* A.D. 1100?

Now we know, of course, that none of the existing alphabets can claim to give a really perfect rendering of the phonetic systems they profess to represent, and we are also aware that inaccuracies and variants of spelling occur *passim* in many inscriptions, of all ages and in all languages. But, until the contrary is shown, I submit that prima facie an inscription must, within reasonable limits, be taken to mean what it distinctly says. The only basis, in this case, for suggesting the contrary is that the sound *l* is not found as a conjunct in modern Burmese. That strikes me as an exceedingly weak argument. All living languages undergo changes in course of time, and when the interval amounts to eight centuries it is nothing to be wondered at if some of the changes are very profound. That fact is abundantly illustrated by the Mon text of these inscriptions, and certainly Burmese can claim no exemption from the universal law of change. A language which, to give a few notorious cases, has turned *c* into *s*, *r* into *y*, and *s* into the English *th*, cannot lay claim to any special phonetic stability. Where, then, is the warrant for assuming it in the case of subscript *l*?

Mr. St. John's reply is that the inscription represents not what Burmese at this remote date really *was* but what the Mons took it to be. I admit Mon influence as a possible *vera causa*. The alphabet used in the Burmese Myazedi inscription was essentially the Mon national script, and there is good reason for supposing that it had only recently been introduced into the Burmese country. But that does not carry the argument any further.

Mr. St. John's explanation would no doubt be a good one if the Mons confused *r* and *l* in their own language. But they never do, either now or in their old inscriptions, so far as I have examined them. They have plenty of words with conjunct *r*, *l*, and (I may add) *y*, but I have never seen any one of these letters written for any other. To my mind that fact entirely knocks the bottom out of Mr. St. John's contention.

To argue that because the Burmese do not use conjunct *l* now, therefore they could not have done so eight centuries ago, is merely to import modern phonetic peculiarities into the ancient stages of the language, a method fatal to the true historical study of language, and one of the main reasons why in the case of Burmese that study can hardly as yet be said to have begun. Every transcript of an early Burmese inscription that I have seen (with the sole exception of the one published by myself) has more or less modernized (i.e. falsified) the spelling of the original. To take the case of the Bodh Gaya inscription: it contains a number of words with conjunct *r*, *l*, and *y*, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko's transcript renders nearly all of them by *y*. Whether there is sufficient evidence to show that they were really so pronounced in the latter part of the thirteenth century I do not profess to know. Obviously the simplest way to prove it would be by showing that the letters were already used interchangeably at that period.[1] But in the early part of the twelfth century, when (as we believe) the alphabet had only just been borrowed from the Mons, there is no antecedent probability in favour of such an assumption. My own view is that these very early Burmese inscriptions were intended to be read, and should therefore be transliterated, with the Mon

[1] Though no Sanskrit scholar myself, I must confess to a slight shock on seeing a well-known Sanskrit word like *prajñā* explained as a Burmese expression and used to prove that *r* and *l* were employed interchangeably in the Burmese text of the Myazedi inscription: v. p. 1060, *supra*.

(i.e. substantially, the Indian) values of the letters, so far, that is to say, as these letters and their combinations also occur in Mon inscriptions of the same period. I regard this as a principle of fundamental importance, and I am glad to find myself in general agreement on this point with Mr. C. Duroiselle, who has recently written on the subject in the Journal of the Burma Research Society.

Thus, for example, while it is permissible to transliterate ရှ by *rh*, it must not be assumed that it was really intended to represent that sound, for such a combination of letters does not occur in Mon. It is an arbitrary digraph and its phonetic value must be determined by other evidence. But ကျ *kl*, on the other hand, is a common Mon combination meaning precisely what it says, and there is no serious reason for supposing that it meant anything else in the early Burmese inscriptions than it did in the Mon ones.

The case of the Po U Daung inscription is different. My friend Mr. Taw Sein Ko would not claim to be exempt from error, but on referring to his introduction to that text I find that he merely says (in substance) that *ky* and *kr* are represented *inter alia* by ကျ (i.e. *kl*). As the date in question is A.D. 1774, I dare say he is *phonetically* quite right, for that period. It only illustrates over again the fact that language changes.

There is no warrant for the assertion that Kyanzitthā's inscriptions are *all* in Mon. In the 1913 collection there are several transcripts of Burmese ones of this monarch and likewise of his two immediate predecessors.

In my previous articles (1909, pp. 1019, 1041, 1045; 1910, pp. 809–10) I have shown that in the case of the Myazedi inscriptions the Burmese text must be regarded as the original draft on which the Mon (and "Pyu") versions were based. And *a priori* that is also the most natural view, seeing that they were set up by a Burmese prince, the son of a Burmese king residing in the heart of

the Burmese country. The existence of the Mon and "Pyu" versions merely testifies to the fact that the State of Burma of those days was a composite affair. The Mons occupied a large area in the South (much larger than they do now), and they were no doubt the most civilized of the nations that composed the Burmese kingdom; from them the Burmese received much of their culture, just as Rome did from Greece. Why Kyanzitthā should be supposed to have "subdued" the Mons does not seem clear, seeing that they had already been conquered by his father before him. But it seems likely enough that Mon scholars and nobles played a considerable part at the Burmese court during Kyanzitthā's reign, and it is certain that Mon craftsmen were largely employed in building some of the great pagodas at Pagan. Between the Burmese and the Mons lay a tract occupied by the people who spoke the so-called "Pyu" language. Presumably these three tongues, together with Pali, were the most important written languages (the only ones, it may be) of Burma at this period, and therefore the Myazedi record was made in each of them.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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## REMEN

At pp. 495–6 above Mr. Blagden gives some particulars about the name Rman-Rmeñ for the coast districts of Lower Burma (Pegu). It may be noted that this name is also found on two Kawi inscriptions in the Batavia Museum, one dated 943 Śaka, the other probably of the same time.[1] In both cases the word is *Rĕmĕn*, with final dental *n* and with a short *ĕ*, not with open *e*. This part of the inscription being in a very good condition, the name is here absolutely certain.

N. J. KROM.

[1] Published in *Verhandel. Batav. Genootsch.*, lx, pp. 120–8.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

REDEN UND AUFSÄTZE VORNEHMLICH ÜBER INDIENS LITERATUR UND KULTUR. Von LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER. Leipzig, 1913.

This is a valuable and interesting collection of papers by one of the most distinguished of modern German authorities on Indian literature and religion. In a short paper on popularizing,[1] which was evoked by a criticism of his notice on Max Müller's death, the author expresses his conception of the attitude of the scientific world towards the public in general, and he recognizes explicitly the duty of interpretation which lies on those who have made some abstruse subject their special study. It is this recognition which has resulted in much of his own work, especially his admirable *Indiens Literatur und Kultur* and his *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, both in their own way books of wide and profound erudition, but both couched in attractive and effective form. This realization of the limits of pure scholarship has enabled him in his two striking notices of Otto von Böhtlingk[2] and Max Müller[3] to bring out the admirable quality of both men without unfairness or partiality.

The several papers, naturally, differ much in importance and interest. Of the earlier sketches the most valuable is that on the divergences between Christianity and Buddhism,[4] because it is written with a real and intelligent appreciation of the strong side of the latter creed, and yet shows how great is the difference between the two religions. The essays on Indian poetry are characterized by their happy renderings of Sanskrit verses, an art in which German writers far surpass the

[1] pp. 307–14. [2] pp. 315–25. [3] pp. 296–306. [4] pp. 85–127.

English, while those on travel[1] in India reveal that romantic appreciation of India and sympathy with the Indian people in the abstract which are more readily felt by foreigners than by those to whom India to-day and Indian problems have a direct practical appeal.

The last four essays[2] have a more intimate connexion with one another, and a special importance as dealing with the question which is now of supreme interest to the author, the reconstruction of the primitive Aryan religion. The main thesis put forward is that Aryan religion has three roots—the worship of natural phenomena, the reverence paid to the spirits of the dead, and the true form of religion, the belief in a god whose essential nature consists in the moral law, a belief which is derived from the human conception of duty and its attribution of the moral law which it recognizes to a lawgiver. This god is recognized in the sky-god, Dyaus pitar, Zeus pater, Jupiter, the Zio-Tyr of the Germans, the Zeus Papas, Pappoos, Pappaios of the Bithynians and Scyths. He appears also in other forms, the all-encompassing (Varuṇa or Uranos), the kindly generous god (Bhaga), the true friend (Arya, Aryaman, Mitra, Ingvi), or the lord (Asura, Ahura, Freyr). He appears as the light sky in the day, the starry heaven at night; he reveals himself as the terrible god who punishes the evil with the lightning, or as the ruler of holy order. This one figure is differently developed by the several Aryan peoples. In Greece his different aspects are united into the one glorious figure of Zeus, in Rome into the strong personality of Jupiter. In India and in Germany his different traits appear as different deities; in India Varuṇa and the Ādityas stand beside Dyaus, in Germany there are beside Zio-Tyr and Tiwaz-Thingsaz an Ingvi-Freyr, Eri-Erch, Irmin and Istvi, Fjörgynn and Heimdallr. The Slavs differentiate the dread thunderer, Perun, from the mild Bogŭ, and the

[1] pp. 326–57. [2] pp. 348–430.

position among the Letts and Lithuanians is similar. It is noted that there is a clear line of demarcation between the eastern people with their insistence on the mild Bhaga-Bogŭ, including the Indians, the Persians, the Phrygians with Zeus Bagaios, and the Slavs, and the western group which ignore Bhaga and reveal in their great god a marked warlike character, including the Greeks, the Romans, the Celts, and above all the Germans. This distinction is parallel to that of the *satem* and *centum* divisions of Aryan speech, so far as the religious evidence is available. There is no proof of the religious views of the Thracians and Armenians, who are, however, probably represented by the Phrygians. Of early Albanian religion nothing is known and Bogŭ is not found among the Lithuanians and Letts, but they cannot be separated from the kindred Slavs.[1] The differentiation corresponds with a psychological distinction of these peoples; the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, and the Celts are not merely the warlike but also the state-building peoples, as opposed to the more reflective and unorganized Indians and Russians and other Bhaga-worshipping people.

There was probably no cult of the highest god as such, for the highest god in primitive communities is often not worshipped as are the lesser deities and the spirits of the dead, and this is the truest worship, to obey the moral law and thus carry out the will of the high god.

This is a very attractive hypothesis, but it can hardly be regarded as adequate to the facts. This belief in a highest god who is not the object of a cult is the subject of a most interesting essay,[2] but it runs into the most difficult of all questions, that of the origin of religion, and it cannot be proved by any evidence which can be adduced. No amount of observation of primitive savages can tell us anything about origins, for there is no possibility of

[1] p. 389, n. 1. [2] pp. 368–92.

proving that such savages are not really degenerates and in no sense primitive except on the theory that primitive is an equivalent of degraded. The question is therefore one of philosophy, not of comparative psychology, and Professor von Schroeder's argument would really be better if restated frankly on the Kantian basis, which evidently appeals to him, instead of resting on the observation of the religion of primitive, and most primitive, people. Judged from this point of view, Professor von Schroeder's hypothesis may be regarded as entitled to serious consideration, but at the same time its formulation appears open to great objection. The true religious feeling, the obedience to a moral law as the will of the lawgiver, can hardly be held in its early manifestation to have stood out as separate from the reverence of nature gods, and, indeed, the author expressly recognizes that the sky-god was to the Aryans essentially not merely a nature god but a moral god.

More important than this point is the question whether it is possible to ascribe so much to the Aryan period; the evidence is extremely weak, for what is most striking is not the similarity of Zeus, Jupiter, and Dyaus, but their divergence of character, a fact which suggests independent developments from an undeveloped nucleus, not the continuation of a strongly marked figure. A further consideration arises in the case of most other Aryan peoples where the name Zeus is not even found. Beside these facts must be placed the most important argument that we have no authentic information as to any Aryan religion in a pure state. It is now recognized that Greek religion is largely affected by the religion of the Mediterranean race, which was, as far as we can judge, artistically much superior in endowments to the Aryan invaders. The same consideration applies still more strongly to Roman religion, which we know only at a comparatively late date, and to Celtic religion, while of

German religion we have little early evidence. Similarly, no one can doubt that Vedic religion is not primitive, for it is essentially hieratic as revealed in the *Ṛgveda*, while in the other *Saṁhitās* there is little doubt that it is influenced by the aborigines. We are left, therefore, to reconstruct a primitive Aryan religion from religions of peoples who were far from pure Aryan in race or speech or religion, and from such a basis no result can be expected. What, in fact, Professor von Schroeder gives us is a religion which is not specifically Aryan at all, but a synthesis of the several motives which, according to comparative religion, lie at the roots of religion, and the thesis contended for by the author is of value only when the specific Aryan character of the reconstruction is eliminated.

Thus in the characteristics of the religious rites ascribed to the Aryan age we find nothing except what is common to many peoples of very diverse blood. Due stress is laid by the author on the Mahāvrata rite of the Vedic ritual, which is comparable with a vast mass of solstitial rites in other parts of the world, and there are many other simple cases of vegetation and fertility magic in the elaborated rites of the *Brāhmaṇas*, but such rites are essentially common to all primitive peoples and not specifically Aryan. What is perhaps more important to give a correct idea of Aryan religion is to ascertain some differentia which marks it out from other religions, and unhappily the attempt to do this is rendered extremely difficult by the fact that the Greek and Roman cults are permeated with Mediterranean influences, and we are left to declare that the Indo-Persian cults alone are safe sources for Aryan belief, and that if, as seems to be the case,[1] the sacramental view of sacrifice and of the divine victim is only incidental in these beliefs, this is a feature of the Aryan creed as opposed to the Mediterranean

[1] Keith, JRAS. 1907, pp. 937 seqq.

religion. This point the author does not touch, or perhaps it would have revealed to him how difficult it is to reconstruct a faith from the available materials.

As with all who have a theory of religion, Professor von Schroeder cannot be acquitted of pressing his analogies unduly far. He finds as an important part[1] of Aryan religious belief the wedding of the young sun with the moon, as in RV. x, 85, or with the Aśvins, a view paralleled in the Lettish myth of the marriage of the sun's daughter with the morning and evening star, the marriage of Zeus and Hera, of the Dioscuri and Leucippidæ, of Brünhild and Siegfried, etc. Again, Indra, Herakles, and Thor all appear as derivates of a primitive form of the sun and of the rain, and their cosmic character is emphasized. But all these comparisons are too hastily assumed as decisive of the nature of the deities compared. The case of Zeus and Hera cannot by any reasoning be made parallel to that of Soma and Sūryā, in itself a late Ṛgvedic conception and a difficult one, which can hardly be reconciled with the author's view of the marriage of the young sun at the beginning of spring with a god of light; the relation of the Greek god and goddess may be parallel to that of sky and earth in the famous fragment of Æschylus, but in any case Hera is not a sun or moon or dawn goddess. It is needless to elaborate the argument; all the deities we know are composite, and that a single trait should be taken as proving their origin is as great a mistake as to ignore the fact that the same ritual may in different cases have wholly different explanations. Professor von Schroeder, indeed, is as great a sinner in his generation as Max Müller himself was in his theory of mythology as a disease of language, or as Sir James Frazer now is in his insistence on finding everywhere the periodical death of the god as an attempt to renew the force of life.

[1] pp. 398 seqq.

The last essay[1] is an ingenious attempt further to develop the thesis of the origin of the Holy Grail which the author expounded in his book *Die Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral*, and which I have already discussed.[2] There is nothing in the new account to strengthen the author's position, and the chief novelty is the view that the lance which plays so large a part in the Grail legend is not merely the weapon of the storm-god, but is essentially a phallic symbol, a view arrived at by the author independently of Miss Weston's similar view.[3] This position is very possibly correct, but it has nothing to do with Indian mythology, in which it finds no support. The author, however, accepts the remarkable suggestion of Gruppe[4] that the death of Semele is a trace of the kindling of fire by the primitive method of friction, regarded as a process of generation, a view supported by a gloss of Hesychios which makes $\Sigma\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta = \tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha$; as the lower Araṇi is not a $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha$ we are asked to believe that it originally was a wooden table representing the sun or moon. On this basis anything in the world can be proved.

Professor von Schroeder repeats again his view of the souls of the dead as being conceived as moving in swarms, and as fertility genii, and he ascribes to this class the Maruts, the Satyrs, the Corybants, etc., even the Apsarases and the Gandharvas.[5] Here, again, the author has no real evidence to offer for his belief in the common character of all these figures; here again we meet generalizations which will not stand examination; the Gandharva and the Apsaras have no real connexion with the spirits of the dead, nor have they anything in common with the Maruts, who in their turn seem to possess no chthonic traits.

There are many other points of interest. The author maintains his belief in the antiquity of 2000 B.C. for the

[1] pp. 407–30. [2] JRAS. 1911, pp. 261–4.
[3] *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, i, 17; ii, 217, 274, 281.
[4] *Griechische Mythologie*, ii, 1415 seq. [5] pp. 402, 403.

*Ṛgveda*, a view which seems to me wholly unjustifiable; in the reality of the mystery and mime of the *Ṛgveda*, a position already criticized in this Journal;[1] and in the derivation of the Pythagorean belief in transmigration from India, and in the antiquity of the Pythagorean theorem in that country.[2] In all these matters, agreeable as is his presentation of his views, it is impossible not to feel that he is falling into the fault which he himself recognizes in Max Müller, the scholar whose work his own most nearly resembles, of failing to appreciate the force of the arguments adduced against his theories.

A. Berriedale Keith.

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Bhāradvāja Gṛhya Sūtra. The Domestic Ritual according to the School of Bhāradvāja, edited in the original Sanskrit, with an introduction and list of words. By Henriette J. W. Salomons, Litt.D. Leyden, 1913.

To the already large number of well-edited Gṛhya texts another is added in Dr. Henriette Salomons' edition of the *Bhāradvāja Gṛhya Sūtra*, undertaken at the instigation of Professor Caland. Unfortunately the task of the editor has been made more difficult by the small number of MSS. available: the only MSS. which could be used are two, one from Vienna in Grantha script (G.),

[1] 1909, pp. 200 seqq.; 1911, pp. 981 seqq. Sir James Frazer's unfortunate failure to make himself familiar with the literature of Vedic religion accounts for his ignorance of von Schroeder's great work, *Mysterium und Mimus*, and explains his statements in *The Scapegoat*, pp. 384 seqq.; *The Dying God*, pp. 109 seqq.

[2] See Keith, JRAS. 1909, pp. 590 seqq.; 1910, pp. 519-21. Sir J. Frazer again has overlooked von Schroeder's classical treatise in his discussion of transmigration in *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii, 302, where he denies borrowing on the wholly inadequate ground that there was not time for the Buddha's views to penetrate to Empedokles, with whom he compares the Buddha. But pessimism based on transmigration is older than the Buddha.

with a commentary (Bh.), and one, also from Vienna, in Devanāgarī (N.), and a MS. from Burnell's collection in the India Office, containing a Prayoga on the Sūtra by Bhaṭṭa Raṅga (Pr.). The two text MSS. differ especially in the verses cited, and in the editor's view N. often agrees with the readings of the *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, G. with those of the *Āpastamba Mantra Brāhmaṇa* (i.e. the *Mantrapāṭha*); while the reverse does not occur. Too much stress, however, must not be laid on these cases of agreement, nor is it certain that the rule is absolute. Thus in i, 15 the wife is addressed as *śivā patibhyaḥ śantamā prajāyai* in the text of G., with the Prayoga, but *śivā paśubhyaḥ sumanāḥ prajāyai* in N. Neither version agrees with the Ṛgvedic, which is as in N. but with *suvarcāḥ* for *prajāyai*, and G. agrees with Āpastamba only in *patibhyaḥ*, which of course is a *pluralis maiestatis*,[1] though doubtless a bad version for a misappreciated *paśubhyaḥ*. In i, 16 N. and Pr. have apparently[2] *gandharvo 'gnaye dadat*, while G. has *'dadāt*; now the reading with *'dadāt* is that of the *Hiraṇyakeśi*, while Āpastamba has *gandharvo dadad agnaye*, which is natural after *somo dadad gandharvāya* just preceding. Here Āpastamba agrees with N., not with G., and Hiraṇyakeśin with G., not with N. The editor's procedure, too, seems rather doubtful: the reading adopted in i, 15 is a combination of N. (*paśubhyaḥ*) and G. (*śantamā*), and therefore represents no real tradition whatever, while in i, 16 the whole probability is that *'dadāt* is correct and N.'s *dadat* a mere misreading in a very bad MS. Considerable help is derived from the Bhāṣya, which here and there contains explanations showing misreadings in the text both of G. and N.; thus

[1] Cf. *Vedic Index*, i, 479; below, p. 1087.

[2] The critical note (p. 16, n. 4) does not mention G. expressly, doubtless by a misprint or oversight. On the other hand, on p. 73, n. 5, the mention of N. is inconsistent with the fact (n. 3) that N. omits the Kaṇḍikā.

in iii, 6 it enables the restoration of *'chadirdarśe*[1] for *'chadideśe* of G. and *'chadirdeśe* of its own text.

The relations of Bhāradvāja to Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin are clearly less close in the Gṛhya than in the Śrauta Sūtras. It is, however, clear that in some respects at least Baudhāyana must be closely allied to Bhāradvāja. Thus in the Upanayana, Baudhāyana[2] has the sequence a Brahmin in spring, a Kṣatriya in summer, a Vaiśya in autumn, a Rathakāra in the rainy season, or all in spring. Bhāradvāja has the same list of four, giving as alternatives for the Rājanya summer or winter, for the Rathakāra the rainy or the cool season, and for all the alternative of the cool season. On the other hand, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin have only three classes, showing the growing disfavour with which the Rathakāra was regarded. Again, in iii, 11, which is no doubt an addition to the primitive text, is given a list of teachers to whom reverence is shown, as follows: Vaiśampāyana, Phaliṅgu, Tittiri, Ukha, Ātreya, the Padakāra, Kauṇḍinya, the Vṛttikāra, Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Bharadvāja, the Sūtrakāra, Āpastamba, the Sūtrakāra,[3] all the Sūtrakāras, etc. Baudhāyana[4] has Vaiśampāyana, Phaliṅgu, Tittiri, Ukha, Aukhya Ātreya, the Padakāra, Kauṇḍinya, the Vṛttikāra, Kāṇva Baudhāyana, the Pravacanakāra, Āpastamba, the Sūtrakāra, then Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśa, etc. The lists are of special interest in that they agree in substituting for Yāska Paiṅgi of the *Kāṇḍānukrama* of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* the little-known Phaliṅgu. We may trust the appearance of Bharadvāja between Baudhāyana and

[1] Cf. ĀpŚS. vi, 25. 6; xv, 20. 2, etc.

[2] Bühler, SBE. xiv, p. xxxviii, n. 3.

[3] The ed. omits *sūtrakārāya*, but N. has it, and it is clearly needed. G. has omitted it by an obvious accident.

[4] Bühler, op. cit. p. xxxvi, n. 1; see also HGS. ii, 20. 1. This has Paliṅgu, but the evidence of all these texts shows that Oldenberg (SBE. xxx, p. 295, n.) is wrong in suggesting the replacement of Paiṅgi from the *Kāṇḍānukrama*.

Āpastamba as indicating his place in the order of teachers, which is confirmed by his close relation to Baudhāyana. The *Baudhāyana* version enables us to see that the *Bhāradvāja* text should be amended: G. has *Tittiraya Ukhāyātraye Ātreyāya*, N. *Tittirāyokhāyātreyāya*, and probably both are bad versions of *Ukhāyaukhyāyātreyāya*. On the other hand, Baudhāyana's citations of Śālīki, Kāśakṛtsna, and Bādari[1] have no parallel in Bhāradvāja. He has, however, one interesting citation from the *Śāṭyāyani Brāhmaṇa* in iii, 18. A Bhāradvāja is once quoted expressly in i, 9, alternatively with Śālmalīmūla, as being the author of a view. This is, of course, perfectly consistent with the nature of the *Gṛhya Sūtra* as the product of a certain school.

The editor is of opinion that there are traces of modernizing and interpolation in the Sūtra, but the evidence adduced is too slight to bear this out. In the first place, Dr. Salomons suspects the description in i, 11 of the motives of marriage: the passage runs: *catvāri vivāhakaraṇāni vittaṁ rūpaṁ prajñā bāndhavam iti. tāni cet sarvāṇi na śaknuyād vittam udasyet tato rūpaṁ. prajñāyāṁ ca tu bāndhave ca vivadante, bāndhavam udasyed 'ity eka āhur, aprajñena hi kaḥ saṁvāsaḥ? athaitad aparaṁ na khalv iyam arthebhya ūhyate prajananārtho 'syāṁ pradhānaḥ. Prajñā* is in Dr. Salomons' view modern and startling: *prajā* is to be replaced with *prajāyām* for *prajñāyām*; then "the modern looking rhetorical interrogation" is to be cancelled, or, better still, the whole passage from *prajñāyām*, reading merely *tato bāndhavam*, and then "the original meaning of the Sūtra appears, logical and clear". As a matter of fact this is a complete misunderstanding: the matters adduced are causes for taking in marriage: wealth, beauty, and intelligence are successively discarded and *bāndhava* exalted, because marriage is not for worldly

[1] Bühler, SBE. xiv, p. xl, n. 1.

advantages (to be obtained by *prajñā*, which would assist a man in mastering the *Arthaśāstra*[1]) but for offspring, and similarly *bāndhava* is by parity of reasoning a more desirable thing than mere intelligence. The sentence proposed to be omitted is in the best Brāhmaṇa type and is not in the slightest degree modern in style, and the contrast of *ekam* and *aparam* occurs just before in i, 9. Moreover, Āpastamba (i, 3. 19) expressly provides for learning as a good quality in a husband in addition to the good family, character, and health as auspicious characteristics deemed desirable in a woman, a fact which explains *aprajñena* here.

The second case is even more clearly misunderstood. After the enumeration of omens, in choosing a wife, a śloka is quoted—

*yasyām mano 'nuramate cakṣuś ca pratipadyate*
*tām vidyāt puṇyalakṣmīkām : kiṁ jñānena kariṣyati?*

This ironical passage must, we are told, be a later addition from a light-hearted copyist. But, unluckily for the theory, Āpastamba (i, 3. 20) has the same sentiment attributed as a view of some. Hence we cannot possibly accept the theory of later date for these passages. More important is the fact that there were some signs of different strata in Praśna iii, the MSS. repeating the last words of Kaṇḍikās 3 (1–3 = *aupāsanakalpa*),[2] 5 (4–5 = *vratādeśavisarjane*), 11 (6–7 = *avāntaradīkṣā*, 8–11 = *upākaraṇavisarjane*), and 21 (12–14 = *vaiśvadeva*, 16 = *nāndīśrāddha*, 17 = *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, 18–21 = *gṛhyaprāyaścittāni*). The whole Praśna may be of later origin than the rest of the text.[2]

At the end of ii, 6 we find an interesting case of a quasi-metrical passage which can be read as a couple of (not one) ślokas—

[1] For Āpastamba and the Arthaśāstra, see Bühler, SBE. ii, p. xxxii.

[2] The corresponding passage in HGS. i, 7. 26 is not commented on and is, no doubt, late.

*yad vāstu garhitaṁ <yatra>*[1] *yatra vānyaḥ paribhavet*
*tatrāpi sukham āsīta śamayan vāstv ṛtāv ṛtau,*
*etat Dhaumyasya vacanam Asitasya Turaṅgasya [ca]*
*muneḥ Kāvyasya Dālbhyasya, naitad vidvān parā-*
*bhavet.*

These verses are comparable with those in other Sūtras.[2] In iii, 15, however, we come on a versified passage of some length of a more recent character; there are fourteen half-lines, and not one deviates from the approved ⏑ — — ⏑̄ of the second four syllables. Indeed, in one case (*na ced utpadyate tv annam adbhir enān samapayet*) the avoidance of the irregular but more natural *utpadyeta* is noteworthy.

The Sūtra yields very little grammatical, lexical, or syntactical matter of interest. A short list of deviations from the grammatical forms[3] is given by the editor, but it does not distinguish between Mantra and the Sūtra itself. Analysed they yield for the Mantra *Sarasvate* as a voc. in i, 4, following *Adite* and *Anumate*; *āhāriṣam* in i, 8 as a v.l. of G. and Pr. for *āhārṣam* of N.; *abhiśastipāvatī* as a nom. sing. fem. in i, 13; and *ghnata*, 2nd pers. plur. imp. in i, 23, as not rarely in the Epic. From the Sūtra are cited in iii, 5 *saṁtiṣṭhate vratādeśa-visarjane*, but in view of palæography that is a mere error for *saṁtiṣṭhete*, and in iii, 8 *adhīyante* is probably an error for *adhīyate*. In i, 10 *arthebhya ūhyate* is found in G. and N. alike; it is supported by the reading in a verse cited in i, 12—

*invakābhiḥ prasṛjyante te varāḥ pratininditāḥ*[4]
*maghābhir gāvo gṛhyante phalgunībhyāṁ vyūhyate.*[5]

[1] *bhavet* is suggested by Dr. Salomons.
[2] See Oldenberg, SBE. xxx, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.
[3] Introd. pp. xxiv, xxv.
[4] Āp. has *pratinanditāḥ*, which must be right. *Pratininditāḥ* may be an oversight of the ed.
[5] N. has *uhyate*.

This form is found also in Āpastamba (i, 3. 2), but is of course contradicted by the early evidence (RV. x, 85. 13, *pary uhyate*; AV. xiv, 1. 13, *vyuhyate*, which is followed in Kauś. lxxv, 5). It should be noticed that in i, 18, for *yathārthaṁ vahanty uhyamānam* of N., G. has *upyamānam* and Bh. and Pr. *ūhyamānam*, showing how little trust can be placed in the discrimination of *ŭ* and *ū*. In i, 18 *gṛhān uhya* occurs, a usage not rare in the Epic[1] and found in other Sūtras. In i, 32 *upāvekṣīt* is from *viś*, and stands beside *vyaraukṣīt*, which, if from *ruh*, is equally irregular.

The lexical novelties are few: *avakinyaḥ*, in iii, 8, is an obvious derivate from *avakā*, and *śaṁkhinyaḥ* there is rendered *śaivalavatyaḥ* by Bh.; *ādahanaśīkṣṇī* in i, 11 is probably a mere misreading. In ii, 19, after *śmaśrūṇi*, *upapakṣau* can hardly mean the hair of the armpits, and the commentary renders *gaṇḍau*, which should therefore be taken as the sense in Hiraṇyakeśin also (i, 9. 17). In i, 23 *nirdaśatā* is an uncertain reading. In ii, 5 we find *śāḍvalam* and *rāsabham* glossed as *bālatṛṇam* and *samudraphenam*. In iii, 13 there is a group of words descriptive of parts of the house, etc., thus glossed: *udghāṭe* = *argaladārudeśe*, *saṁvadăṅyām* = *kavāṭadeśe*, *vāhayoḥ* = *dvārasthūṇayoḥ*, *upalabdhe* = *rathyāsaṁdhau*, and *piṅkṣāṇyām* = *dṛṣadi*. It is easy to conjecture *bāhavoḥ* for *vāhayoḥ*, but it is not necessary. In ii, 32 *kuptu* is found, and in the locative, thus justifying the conjecture of *kuptvau* for *kuptvā* in Hiraṇyakeśin (i, 7. 15) adopted by Oldenberg.[2] This word has from Āpastamba (i, 8. 23) found its way into Monier-Williams' *Dictionary* in the Appendix. In ii, 29 *pakṣasī* is held by the commentary to refer to the side horses, and for this view Dr. Salomons quotes the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (i, 5. 12. 5), where it is suggested in contradiction with Sāyaṇa's version (*cakre*) that *pakṣau* indicates two horses. That view

[1] Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 990*a*. [2] SBE. xxx, 184.

can hardly be accepted; in that passage *praṣṭiyau* and *dhuryau* are contrasted,[1] and leave no place for another pair of horses, and *pakṣau* makes perfect sense as "sides". *Pakṣasī* will also do in that normal sense; the *madhyamam aśvam* which follows (the reading is doubtful) may easily refer to a one-horse chariot. The same passage has *śamaratha*, rendered as a chariot which, though dragged by horses, does not go. In i, 28 *yathopajñam* is found glossed as *yathopakramam*, and that is illustrated by the editor from Baudhāyana.[2] In ii, 19 *yathopapādam* is rendered *yatheṣṭam*; *samāja*[3] in iii, 6 is of some interest.

In syntactical matters little is to be gained. In i, 10 we read: *tato bhikṣate yām manyata iyam mā na pratyākhyāsyatīti tām āhṛtyopanidhāyācāryāya prāha.* The editor[4] punctuates at *iti* and thinks *yām* as correlative to *striyam* is understood. But this is clearly wrong and leads to an unnecessary repudiation of the commentary's version of *yām* as *bhikṣām*. The first two words as usual form the leading title; then *yām* . . . *tām* must be one sentence, or *tām* is left without an explanation. The sense in the text would then be, "having taken (the alms) which, he thinks, this (lady) will not refuse me"; *yām* and *mā* are therefore both accusatives of outer and inner objects, a quite reasonable use here. But *mā* is very doubtful; G. has *manyate 'yam mātā*, N. *manyate 'yam mā*, Bh. no *mā*, and *mātā* is an obvious gloss on *iyam*, as in Hiraṇyakeśin (i, 7. 19) the student is told first to beg of his mother. Therefore *mā* had probably better be omitted.

In i, 22 there is a rare use of the instrumental: *tṛtīye māsi caturthādau vā tiṣyeṇa vā hastena vānurādhair vottarair vā proṣṭhapadaiḥ*; this use is recognized by

[1] See *Vedic Index*, ii, 42, 202, 515.
[2] *Karmānta Sūtra*, i, 2: *yajña iti kimupajñaḥ.*
[3] See Thomas, JRAS. 1914, pp. 392–4, 752. [4] Introd. p. xiv.

Pāṇini (ii, 3. 45), and found again in iii, 8, and in other Gṛhya Sūtras (e.g. *Āśvalāyana*, iii, 5. 1: *osadhīnāṁ prādurbhāve śravaṇena . . . hastena vā*). This rule has been invoked[1] to justify the change to *puṣyeṇa* of *puṣpeṇa* in the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (xii, 8), but it is doubtful if the use there can be justified by these parallels; it will be seen that in both cases cited (and also in iii, 8) the date is given primarily in the locative, the specification by the Nakṣatra being added thereto. The parallel breaks down therefore when as in the *Śāṅkhāyana* there is no point of time, but only a compounded specification of duration (*trirātropoṣitaḥ*). That Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* gives a case of its free use is no proof, as of course the Pāṇinean rule, which is presumably based on cases like those above-mentioned, is worded as usual sufficiently widely to cover such a case as that instanced by Patañjali.

In i, 25 *yadi ciraṁ na vijāyate . . . darśayet* is read in G.; in N. *vijñāyeta*; the optative should in any case be kept where there is manuscript evidence for it, as in i, 11; iii, 17. This regular potential optative occurs also in protasis in iii, 3, *yadi prayiyāset*, but the apodosis there is not the normal optative, but a substituted sentence, *pravasathakalpo vyākhyātaḥ*. On the other hand, the generic optative with indicative apodosis is found in ii, 30: *yadi . . . vrajet tad anumantrayate*, and it is unnecessary to suggest any change; so with *yadā* in i, 20.

In i, 26, after and before presents in a description, occurs the laconic *snātau mātāputrau*, where it seems almost inevitable to suggest *snāto*, practically no change, better grammar, and more vivid. Another slight correction of the text seems needed in ii, 28; the edition reads *sthūlādhārikā* (glossed *bahupādajalarukā*) *jīvacūrṇāni kārayitvā*; this is decidedly awkward, and it seems obvious

[1] So Professor Caland in a note to me dated July 30, 1912, citing Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 78, Rem. 2.

to read *jīvacūrṇā nikārayitvā*; this gives us another—reverse—case of an irregular gerund of a specially common type.[1] Nor should the editor have in i, 26, *ad fin.*, followed N. in reading *āmantrayeran*; G. has *āmantrayīt*, Bh. *āmantrayīran*, and the latter is obviously correct, being a note of the Sūtra style.[2] On the other hand *keśaśmaśrū* in iii, 6 is so extraordinary as to suggest a mere misprint.

The commentary, from which Dr. Salomons gives[3] a series of excerpts, is of some interest. Thus, on ii, 23 the commentator renders *grāmaṇīḥ senānīr vā* by *vaiśyaḥ* and *rathakāraḥ*, a recognition of an unexpected kind of the Rathakāra, who is said to lead the *rathinaḥ*, i.e. the *senā*, a view which can hardly be accepted. On ii, 26, *savyena hastena chatraṁ samāvṛtya*, the editor queries the rendering *chatreṇātmānam agniṁ ca samāvṛtya*, and would prefer to derive from *samāvartate* in the sense "he transfers (the umbrella) to his left hand" the preceding word *āttachatraḥ*, giving the sense "having taken the umbrella (according to the usual human way with his right hand)". But this, while ingenious, puts a serious strain on the language. The note on ii, 28 is of interest, as it shows the pious desire of the commentator to defend the morality of the Sūtra, which as it stands attributes to a husband, who is going to be away, the possible desire that his wife may have successful lovers (*yadi kāmayeta siddhyeyur iti*), a fact which may justly be added to the evidence bearing on Vedic views of life[4]; the commentator attributes this desire to a wish for a son *devaranyāyena*, the plural *siddhyeyuḥ* being one *maiestatis*.

The text adds comparatively little to our knowledge of Vedic life. The deities mentioned beside the ordinary great gods are of the Sūtra type—Dhanvantari, Skanda,

[1] Whitney, l.c.
[2] Whitney, §§ 1043*c*, 738.
[3] Introd. pp. xiii–xxiii.
[4] See *Vedic Index*, i, 394 seqq.

the Atharvans and Aṅgirases, Vaiśravaṇa. Proper names are mainly confined to the lists in iii, 10, 11. Those of most note are Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana, Jātūkarṇa (Jātūkarṇya in N.), Tarukṣa, Bṛhaduktha, Tṛṇabindu, Somaśravas, Somaśuṣmin, Vājaśravas, Vājaratna, Udamaya, Ṛṇaṁjaya, Kṛtaṁjaya, Dhanaṁjaya, Tryaruṇa, Trivarṣa (Traiviṣa in G.), Tridhātu, Parāśara, with others obviously mythical. The list is closely allied to that in Hiraṇyakeśin (ii, 19. 6), and there is no reasonable doubt that it is of later origin, like the whole section iii, 8–11. In the earlier portion Āśmarathya is quoted for the view that all *upāyanas* are performed with Mantras, but Ālekhana restricted that to the first and that *ṛtau* (i, 20). The notice is of extraordinary interest to those[1] who lay stress on the fear that accompanies marriage in the primitive mind; Āśmarathya thought Mantras to avert this danger were always needed, Ālekhana only on the first, i.e. most dangerous, occasion and at the *ṛtus*. These two teachers are cited together elsewhere, and must have been peculiarly closely related. In ii, 6 Asita, Turaṅga, and Saumya or Dhaumya appear with Kāvya Dālbhya; in i, 9, Bhāradvāja or Śālmalīmūla. In the later portion, iii, 15 gives the beginnings of the four Vedas, Ṛg, Yajur, Sāma, and Atharva; iii, 10 has as the fourth Atharvāṅgirases, and adds Itihāsapurāṇas, Sarpadevajanas, and Sarvabhūtas; iii, 18 quotes the *Śāṭyāyani Brāhmaṇa*. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, though often cited, is never so named, the general expression *brāhmaṇa* being used of its prose portions.

The edition closes with an excellent list of words, though the grammatical forms actually occurring are not given. It should be noted that while it does not give the terms found in the Mantras, it does give words in verses cited in the text but not as Mantras (e.g. in ii, 6). There are several important words in the Mantras,

[1] e.g. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*. For the idea of danger see Hiraṇyakeśin, i, 24. 1 seqq.

including *maṭacī* in i, 25, but in a hopelessly obscure passage with a doubtful reading; *pāka* in ii, 10, the editor renders[1] "quickly digesting"; this agrees well with Oldenberg's[2] version of Āpastamba (vii, 20. 15), "has a strong digestion."

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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INTRODUZIONE ALLO STUDIO DELLA FILOSOFIA INDIANA. By LUIGI SUALI. Pavia, 1913.

The title of Professor Suali's work is perhaps a little misleading; one is led to expect a sketch of the philosophy of India in all its bearings, and it is prima facie disappointing to find that the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems alone form the subject of the treatise. But apart from the title there is nothing unsatisfactory in the book, which presents in its second part by far the best sketch available of the syncretism of these systems, based on the works of Śivāditya (perhaps eleventh century), Keśava Miśra (thirteenth century), Viśvanātha Pañcānana (about A.D. 1600), Jagadīśa (A.D. 1600), Laugākṣi Bhāskara, and Annambhaṭṭa of about the same date. The fundamental principles of the combined doctrine are sketched in an order following that of the arrangement of the Vaiśeṣika school. After a brief treatment of the categories in general in ch. 1, substance, including the atomic theory and the theory of soul and mind, quality, motion (*karman*), generality, particularity, inherence, and negation are each disposed of in a chapter; then follow the theory of causality (ch. ix), the theory of knowledge (ch. x), perception (ch. xi), the logical process (ch. xii), the syllogism (ch. xiii), and logical errors (ch. xiv). Ch. xv deals with the logical categories of the Nyāya, xvi with the logical theory of both systems and of the Buddhists, xvii with comparison, and xviii with Śabda. In the main

[1] p. 117, n. 1. [2] SBE. xxx, 291.

this part of the treatise is simply expository, but it is in part historical in treatment, in part it touches on fundamental philosophical features. To it is prefixed in part i an important contribution to the literary history of the two systems and of the logic of the Jains and Buddhists, which supplements in a very valuable way what has been done by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*. The part falls into two chapters, the first a history of the literature of the two systems as such, the second an account of the syncretist authors on whom the second part is based.

The whole work is one evincing not merely wide research and a full appreciation of the complexities of Indian logic, but an unusual power of explaining a difficult and complicated subject, and of rendering it attractive. It is also marked by a real and generous recognition of the work of his predecessors, especially of Dvivedi in his edition of the *Tarkakaumudī*, of Paranjape on the *Tarkabhāṣā*, and of Athalye on the *Tarkasaṁgraha*. Of European scholars he recognizes the merits of Ballantyne as a pioneer, is somewhat critical of Roër, Gough, and even Hultzsch, but quotes freely Professor Jacobi's important article on *Indian Logic*.[1]

In the discussion of the dates of the two systems as they appear in the Darśanas of Gotama and Kaṇāda, the author follows the views ably expressed by Professor Jacobi in his paper on "The Dates of the Philosophical Sūtras of the Brahmans".[2] In that paper, in contradiction to Professor von Stcherbatskoi, Professor Jacobi undertook to show that among others the Nyāya Sūtra discussed the Śūnyavāda or nihilism of the Madhyamika school of Buddhism, which he assigned to Nāgārjuna about A.D. 200, and not the Vijñānavāda or idealist view of the Yogācāra school of Buddhism, founded by Asaṅga and his younger

[1] *Gött. Nach.* 1901, pp. 460–84. [2] JAOS. xxxi, 1 seqq.

brother Vasubandhu, in the latter part of the fifth century. His arguments were two: (1) that chronologically the idealist school could not have influenced the Sūtra; (2) that the interpretation of the Sūtra (iv, 2. 26 seqq.) showed that the nihilist school was meant. On this result he fixed A.D. 200–500 for the limits of the composition of the Sūtra. Accepting this result, Professor Suali tries to bring the limits a little nearer, and by laying stress on the fact that Vātsyāyana calls Akṣapāda a Ṛṣi, and that this must indicate a considerable interval of time, arrives at, say, A.D. 300–50 for the *Nyāya Darśana* and A.D. 250–300 for the *Vaiśeṣika Darśana*.

Now this argument is open on its chronological side to an objection of weight. (1) Professor Jacobi accepted Takakusu's date [1] for Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and since the investigations of Péri [2] this date must be considered a good deal too late, and Vasubandhu must be placed rather about A.D. 350 than A.D. 450. The evidence, again, for Gotama's date is theoretic; Vātsyāyana, who commented on him, and, what is more important, by whose time already Vārttikas on the Sūtra existed, was attacked by the Buddhist Dignāga, and he in turn by Uddyotakara, and he by Dharmakīrti. Professor Jacobi accepted for Uddyotakara the date of the sixth century, but the researches of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa [3] must be deemed to have reduced his date to the seventh century, when he was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti and was cited by Subandhu. Dignāga remains of somewhat uncertain date, and we are really unable to prove that Gotama could not have attacked the Vijñānavāda. (2) Whether in fact he did so is difficult to decide certainly. Vācaspatimitra (ninth century A.D.) says that he did so, and his authority

[1] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, iv, 53 seqq.

[2] Op. cit. xi, 355–61. See Franke, JRAS. 1914, pp. 398–401; Thomas, pp. 748, 749.

[3] JRAS. 1914, pp. 603–7.

is supported by Professor von Stcherbatskoi; on the other hand, Professor Jacobi is followed by the author in accepting an interpretation of the, in itself, hopelessly obscure Sūtra which is based on Vātsyāyana and makes the Sūtra refer to the Śūnyavāda alone, and personally I think there is much to be said for this view. (3) Even so, however, it is doubtful if we can then accept A.D. 200 as the upper date for the Sūtra. Nāgārjuna's date is uncertain, as the attribution of contemporaneity with Kaniṣka is of doubtful value.[1] Professor Jacobi[2] indeed fixes it approximately by the argument that Āryadeva, his contemporary, is the author of a poem[3] which has the words *rāśi* and *vāraka* and therefore cannot be earlier than A.D. 250. But apart from this, it has recently been argued[4] that Aśvaghoṣa knew the Śūnyavāda; if this is true then, in view of Aśvaghoṣa's fame, Professor Jacobi's argument[5] that Gotama would not be expected to criticize a theory not definitely expounded loses most of its force. Aśvaghoṣa's date[6] is, of course, obscure, being bound up with the double question of his identity with Mātṛceṭa and the date of Kaniṣka, but there is a reasonable probability that he belongs to the first century A.D. There does not, therefore, seem to me to be any adequate ground for dating Gotama not earlier than A.D. 200. In my opinion we have no real evidence on this point save in so far as he is not known to the *Arthaśāstra* and therefore was not known in 300 B.C.[7] (4) Professor Jacobi[8] makes no definite effort to place Kaṇāda before Gotama, and the evidence available is really not adequate for this purpose.

[1] Cf. Thomas, JRAS. 1913, p. 1033. [2] JAOS. xxxi, 2, n. 1.
[3] Published in JASB. 1898.
[4] See Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, JRAS. 1914, pp. 747-8.
[5] JAOS. xxxi, 3.
[6] See Thomas, JRAS. 1913, p. 1032; *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, pp. 25-9.
[7] I accept for the purpose of this argument the date now generally accepted for the *Arthaśāstra* on insufficient evidence.
[8] JAOS. xxxi, 6, 29.

That the *Vaiśeṣika Darśana* is old is proved by Vātsyāyana's use of it, though less stress can be laid on the argument from Uddyotakara's application of Paramarṣi to its author, since we now know Uddyotakara to date from about A.D. 650. Further, there is a very striking coincidence [1] between the phraseology of the proofs of the existence of the Ātman in the *Vaiśeṣika* (iii, 2. 4: *sukhaduḥkhecchādveṣaprayatnāś cātmano liṅgāni*) and the *Nyāya* (i, 1. 10: *icchādveṣa—prayatnasukhaduḥkhajñānāny ātmano liṅgam iti*). Bodas [2] held that the former is the later, while the reverse conclusion suggests itself from the wording. Gotama again, in his phrase *pratitantrasiddhānta*, seems unquestionably to refer to the existence of the corresponding Vaiśeṣika school. On the other hand, Professor Suali in placing Kaṇāda first seems to have forgotten that he elsewhere [3] ascribes to Kaṇāda a distinct advance in the sphere of defining the logical process, in that he enumerates [4] four forms of real relationship corresponding with the logical relationship of reason and consequent, viz. causality, simple connexion, opposition, and inherence (*kāryaṃ kāraṇaṃ, saṁyogi, virodhi, samavāyi*). The truth is rather that the two systems grew up on parallel lines, and when established as systems presumably—as Professor Jacobi holds—by successful disquisitions in public, were redacted with reference to each other. It is of interest that Caraka, who is said to be a contemporary of Kaniṣka,[5] in his *Saṁhitā* (iii, 8. 26 seqq.) clearly deals with both systems as complementary.

The Sūtras being in themselves far from intelligible, our real knowledge of the tenets dates from Vātsyāyana

[1] Suali, p. 27.

[2] *Tarkasaṁgraha*, Introd. p. 21. His theory of two recensions of Kaṇāda is improbable and may be disregarded.

[3] p. 416, n. 5, following Jacobi, *Ind. Log.* p. 479.

[4] ix, 2. 1; cf. iii, 1. 9, where the last differs.

[5] See references in Kennedy, JRAS. 1913, p. 371; Jolly, *Medizin*, p. 10; cf. Keith, ZDMG. lxii, 136.

on the one hand and Praśastapāda on the other, though the latter had much more to do to put his chosen system in order. Praśastapāda is anterior to Śaṅkara (eighth century) and to Uddyotakara (A.D. 650), but beyond that we cannot at present carry his date. Praśastapāda is a notable figure in the history of the logic of India, for about him revolves the question of the credit of the introduction of the advanced doctrine of logical reasoning. The Buddhist doctrine is contained in the *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti, which reflects the view of Dignāga, who is very probably anterior in date to Praśastapāda. The fundamentally new idea is that of logical association between two things or two ideas, independent of the material mode of its expression; this is common to both works and accompanies certain striking similarities in detail. This reference is divided by Praśastapāda into *svaniścitārtha* and *parārtha*, by the *Nyāyabindu* into *svārtha* and *parārtha* as in the later literature, and both recognize apparent theses and apparent examples (*pakṣābhāsa* and *hetvābhāsa*). The logical advance can be seen in the express recognition by Pakṣapāda of one form of inference as *liṅgānumeyadharmasāmānya*, which is really the underlying unity manifested in the subject and predicate of the ordinary judgment, while the *Nyāyabindu* reduces the four members of the syllogism to two, viz. those expressing the principle and the application, and asserts that the *liṅga* must exist in the *anumeya* and in analogous cases to that of the subject, and not exist in other cases, while it resolves logical association into causality or identity or negation. Professor Jacobi[1] holds that the Buddhists borrowed the theory of logical association (*sāhacarya*, *vyāpti*) from the Vaiśeṣika in the period between Kaṇāda and Praśastapāda, since had the Buddhists had the concept of association of their own they would not have retained in their system the principles of causality or

[1] *Ind. Log.* pp. 482–4.

identity. On the other hand, Professor von Stcherbatskoi[1] lays stress on the fact that the distinction between logical and real connexion is not one which would naturally occur to the realist school of Vaiśeṣikas, which accepts and believes in the reality of the external world, and which, therefore, would normally be slow to realize any doctrine of abstract connexion. On the other hand, the Buddhist school of idealists, who accepted as the only reality knowable the ideas, could easily develop the real conception of *vyāpti*, and since all the categories become modes of conscience, the existence of laws is on their view possible, while the Vaiśeṣikas, deriving knowledge from some experience, could not easily conceive of laws, as experience is limited and cannot show a universal connexion. The derivation from the Vaiśeṣika of the classification of the middle term of the syllogism under the heads of identity (*tādātmya*), causality (*tadutpatti*), and negation (*anupalabdhi*) is denied and declared to be the natural outcome of the Buddhist idealism. So also the other points of similarity are either made of less importance by analysis or shown to be more natural as Buddhist than as Vaiśeṣika. Stress is also laid on the fact that Uddyotakara and Vācaspatimiśra do not adopt the division of experience into *parārtha* and *svārtha*, and the Nyāya school rejects the doctrine of *hetvābhāsa* and *pakṣābhāsa*, and it is argued that the *parārtha* reasoning is an invention of Dignāga, who, unlike the Brahmanical schools, did not accept *śabda* as a means of knowledge and replaced it by the syllogism, the verbal expression for the other of the true means of knowledge, viz. reasoning, which, with perception, represented for him the sole means of knowledge. The only difficulty in accepting this theory is firstly the fact that we have not the first-hand work of Dignāga, although on the other hand we have clear proof in Uddyotakara

[1] *Muséon*, 1904, pp. 129–71.

that views like his were known before Dharmakīrti, and secondly the fact that we have no reason to doubt that in the interval between Kaṇāda and Praśastapāda the Vaiśeṣika doctrine greatly developed; we cannot *a priori* set limits to its mode of development, so that it is perfectly legitimate to suppose that the view of Dignāga is that of an earlier Vaiśeṣika than Praśastapāda.[1]

The development of the conception of *vyāpti* in Hindu logic is parallel with the development of the doctrine of the parts of the syllogism.[2] It is perfectly clear that at the outset of the syllogism it was, as was natural, a formulation of the reasoning normal in the philosophic schools, and such as reveals itself in its beginnings in the Upaniṣads, and was based on analogy. Thus the primitive syllogism was in all probability of this form: (1) the mountain has fire, (2) because it has smoke; (3) as a kitchen, (4) so is this (mountain); (5) therefore is it so (i.e. having fire). The argument is then developed by the recognition of the essential basis of inference (*vyāpti*) and (3) is extended to "whatever has smoke has fire, like a kitchen", or "where there is smoke, there there is fire, like a kitchen". The essence of the syllogism is thus centred in (3) and (4), the fourth member of the syllogism being the application of the general rule to the particular case. Yet so inveterate was the tradition of the argument by example that only a very late authority like Laugākṣi Bhāskara can be found to assert that the use of the example is conventional and not necessary.

It is hardly open to doubt that the primitive Nyāya is of Indian origin; the argument by example is extremely frequent in the Upaniṣads, and follows naturally from the attempt by material similes to express the immaterial, and the use of examples is common to all Indian philosophy. The appearance of the doctrine of *vyāpti* makes a great advance on the primitive Nyāya, and, when it is remembered

[1] Suali, pp. 423, 424. [2] Suali, pp. 364–76.

that the two systems never really deal intelligently with the question of epistemology,[1] it is doubtful if the credit of the doctrine must not be attributed to an external source,[2] especially when it is remembered that such an obvious source had existed for 800 years and that India so readily appropriated for itself in its own way Greek astronomy. The fact seems to me to deprive the history of Indian logic of the interest which would normally be devoted to it, if it could reasonably be thought to be original in its development. The excellence of the Aristotelian logic is precisely due to its connexion with a rational theory of knowledge, and the absence of such a theory in the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools is an adequate explanation of their failure at an early date to evolve a theory of syllogism. From this point of view the question of Buddhist or Vaiśeṣika priority becomes of less moment; if the *vyāpti* doctrine is, as I believe, Greek, then the credit of it belongs neither to Vaiśeṣika nor to Dignāga. It is perhaps to be regretted that Professor Suali has not given his view on this question.

One other point of great interest is the religious side[3] of the systems. Neither Sūtra expressly discusses the existence or nature of a *paramātman* as contrasted with the individual *ātman*, though the syncretist view treats the Nyāya *ātman* as comprehending in it both sides. But at any rate there seems reasonable evidence that both systems became deeply imbued with Śivaite influences; Praśastapāda seems to recognize Īśvara as the creator of the universe; Uddyotakara is styled *pāśupata*, and he and Vācaspatimiśra, no less than Udayanācārya, develop the theistic side of the Nyāya. It is not impossible that Vātsyāyana and even Gotama[4] were

[1] Cf. Suali, pp. 268–70, who gives a valuable discussion of *buddhi*, not "intelligence", but "thoughts".

[2] Cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's remark, op. cit. p. 96, n. 1. [3] Suali, pp. 126–35.

[4] Suali, p. 178, n. 2, seems to waver in his view on this point.

theists. Nor in any case is it at all probable that the original atheism of the Vaiśeṣika was due to Sāṁkya influence. At any rate, the theism of the Nyāya passed into Śivaitism, and both systems in their unified form adopted the *yoga* practices of that faith, as the evidence of Guṇaratna, the commentator on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, and of Rājaśekhara in the fourteenth century prove.

Professor Suali's account of the atomic theory of the Vaiśeṣikas leaves that strange doctrine still unexplained in origin. It is doubtful whether any explanation of the origin of the theory is satisfactory which does not admit borrowing. It is quite true that mere vague similarity of general theory is not conclusive, but there is a very close likeness between the Indian and Greek doctrines even in points of detail. Consideration of this question does not, however, fall within the scope of Professor Suali's present work.

Of the many literary notices the most important novelties are the new dates accepted for Udayana and Vācaspatimiśra. The traditional dates for these authors were shown by me in 1908 in this Journal[1] to be impossible of acceptance in the light of new facts available, and Professor Suali has accepted my arguments, and in addition to adopting for Udayana, who is still placed by Professor Jacobi[2] in the twelfth century A.D., the date A.D. 984 for the *Lakṣaṇāvalī*, he adduces for Vācaspati the date A.D. 841 for his *Nyāyasūcīnibandha*, which confirms the other evidence for placing him in the ninth century.[3]

Interest also attaches to the discussion of the dates of the Nuddea School; the sequence recorded is Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, Raghunātha, the author of the *Dīdhiti*, Mathurānātha, Raghudeva, and Śaṅkara Miśra. The date

[1] 1908, pp. 522–6.
[2] *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, i, 202.
[3] Suali, pp. 57–62.

of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma would be fixed at A.D. 1250 if he is to be regarded as the contemporary of Jayadeva, who certainly lived about A.D. 1250. On the other hand, Śaṅkara Miśra composed a comment on Jagadīśa's commentary on Raghunātha's *Dīdhiti*; Jagadīśa lived about A.D. 1600, and a tradition places Raghunātha contemporary with Caitanya (b. A.D. 1484). Professor Suali thinks that the probable confusion is in the assertion of the contemporaneity of Jayadeva and Vāsudeva, and this is perhaps the most simple explanation.[1]

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT. By Pandit LINGESHA VIDYĀBHUSANA VEDĀNTA-VĀCHASPATI. Bombay, 1913.

This is a brightly written plea for the revival of Sanskrit studies in India by a Pandit who has assimilated much of the spirit of modern learning while remaining convinced of the fundamental importance to India of that language. The plan of the book is a brief summary of Sanskrit literature designed to show its great extent and importance, followed by a summary of the reasons for its decline and suggestions for its revival. The decline is traced to the political conquests of Mahomedan and Christian, the resulting degradation of the study of Sanskrit, which, though preserved, fell into the hands of Śastris who present the quaint phenomenon of "the greatest repository of Sanskrit learning in blissful ignorance of modern times and its needs", and the ignorance of foreigners of the contents of Sanskrit literature and their value. For the revival he looks to the action of government in the direct and indirect encouragement of Sanskrit students, to the Universities,

[1] Suali, pp. 80–4. Cf. for the dates, Keith, *Bodleian Catalogue, Appendix*, pp. 73–4. The date of Jagadīśa's pupil (Suali, p. 94) given by Aufrecht is not quite correct; see Keith, p. 74.

and to the Maths and rich Indians whose generosity he suggests should be addressed to this important purpose.

The Pandit is careful to point out that he does not advocate the disregard of English, "the one key which opens the gate to the vast civilisation and culture of the modern world," and which serves as "a new and powerful unifying factor among the Indians". Similarly, he insists that Sanskrit must be studied in the modern method, and so studied he believes that Sanskrit stands unrivalled in stimulating the moral and spiritual faculties, and is admirably adapted to counteract the pronounced materialistic tendency of an English education.

The value of the book is increased by a short preface by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, who points out that the Universities have already done much to establish the importance of the study of Sanskrit.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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VĀSAVADATTĀ. A Sanskrit Romance by Subandhu. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by LOUIS H. GRAY, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1913.

Subandhu has now found, like Bāṇa, his definitive rendering into English, and Dr. Gray is to be congratulated on the completion of what must have been a work, if of love, still of long and wearisome labour. But the act of translation, which reveals the *Vāsavadattā* in its true inwardness, raises inevitably the question why the romance ever attained fame. The translator, who handles the question with admirable moderation, finds[1] "true melody in the long, rolling compounds, a sesquipedalian majesty which can never be equalled save in Sanskrit"; and the alliterations to him have "a lulling music all their own to ears weary of the blatant discords of

[1] p. 27.

vaunted modern progress". In his view the paronomasias are "veritable gems of terseness and twofold appropriateness", even though some are manifestly forced and detrimental to the sense of the passages in which they occur. He sees, too, in Subandhu the creator of a literary *genre*, and finds much to admire in his descriptions of mountain, forest, and stream, the Rāja's valour and the loveliness of the heroine herself.

There can, however, be no doubt that the *genre* is much older than Subandhu: the complete and formal shape of his work precludes any idea of the *genre* being new: perhaps chance alone has failed so far to preserve an earlier masterpiece. The descriptions, which take the place of any real action, are without exception ludicrously overloaded and elaborated, thus from a literary standpoint losing all real merit. Moreover, they are often stereotyped, revealing the commonplaces of Indian scenery and description; at other times they are absurdly far-fetched, and are clearly mere shows of erudition, which incidentally present valuable notices such as that of the *Mahābhārata* as having a hundred books. In all cases they are greatly exaggerated. Still more serious, however, to the claim of Subandhu to be taken seriously is his style. Dr. Gray in a very interesting way[1] compares Lyly's use in the *Euphues* of alliteration, antithesis, paronomasia, and learned allusions with the same characteristics in Subandhu. But, apart from the fact that these notes of the style of the *Euphues* are admittedly signs of the early and unformed state of Lyly's prose,[2] there is a great gulf between the antitheses and paronomasias of the two writers. Those of Lyly are essentially simple: he expresses fully both members of his antitheses and sets out completely his paronomasias (e.g. "did not Iupiter's

[1] pp. 33, 34.

[2] Compare the antitheses of Gorgias in the *Helen* and his fondness for verbal jingles.

egge bring forth as well Helen a light houswife in earth as Castor a light starre in heauen ?"). Subandhu makes one set of words play a double part, a precursor of the lack of sense which produces in due course such a work as the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, where the same poem tells at once the history of Rāma and the Pāṇḍavas. The practice is bad enough in cases of a simple kind like *vānarasenām iva sugrīvāṅgadopaśobhitām*, "adorned with a beautiful throat and armlets, as the army of monkeys (is adorned with Sugrīva and Aṅgada)," but it reaches lower depths in cases like *nāstikatā cārvākeṣu*, "there was infidelity only among materialists (for there was no poverty)." Of course, if these absurdities were rare the fault might be overlooked, but page after page of the text is full of them, many cases are far worse than those cited, and it is idle to see in them anything but a monstrosity, however much we must admire the skill of the translator in bringing them out.

Dr. Gray[1] has little to add to the discussion of Subandhu's date. He is, of course, known to Bāṇa, and he mentions Uddyotakara; hence Dr. Gray concludes that he belonged to the end of the sixth century, as Uddyotakara set himself to refute Dignāga, who flourished between 520 A.D. and 600 A.D.[2] He holds also that he lived later, probably by at least a century, than Daṇḍin, a view for which there seems no evidence available, especially as he discards[3] the old view that the *Chandoviciti* referred to by Subandhu was a work of Daṇḍin. The reference to the death of Vikramāditya he discusses at some length, and rejects Hoernle's theory[4] that he was Yaśodharman and reigned about 533–83 A.D. He also rejects the view that Subandhu refers to Dharmakīrti's

[1] pp. 8–11.

[2] This date he accepts from Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 129; Max Müller, *Six Systems*, p. 477. But the date is probably too late. Cf. p. 1091.

[3] p. 78, n. 7, agreeing with Krishnamachariar in his *Introd.* pp. 36–8.

[4] JRAS. 1909, pp. 138 seq.

*Alaṅkāra*, though that has the support of Śivarāma's commentary. While it is by no means certain that we can trust Tārānātha's synchronism of Dharmakīrti with a Thibetan king who died 650 A.D.,[1] and while Hoernle placed Dharmakīrti about 480–560 A.D. and Dignāga and Uddyotakara about 450–520 A.D., in point of fact there is now available evidence which is sufficient decisively to fix the date of these writers. In any case, the *Alaṅkāra* of Subandhu's reference must have been some text, and Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa has proved [2] that Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries and quote each other's works, a fact which lends point to the mention of Uddyotakara and the *Alaṅkāra* in the same sentence. Moreover, he shows [3] that Dharmakīrti was a pupil of Dharmapāla and that the latter flourished in the first half of the seventh century. We are therefore compelled to see in Subandhu a reference to Dharmakīrti, and we must realize that Subandhu was only a slightly elder contemporary of Bāṇa.

Dr. Gray touches on the problem of the Greek origin of the romance suggested by Professor Peterson.[4] The fact is that there is no possibility of proving Greek influence. That stories were known among the Greeks on the Indian border during the period of Greek invasion is obvious, but that in any real sense these stories are the source of the Indian romance we have no evidence to show, and at any rate the actual divergence between the two types is so great as to render any theory of borrowing no more than a conjecture without grounds. The Indian romance is differentiated from the Greek by its disregard for the narration of adventures which is so marked a feature of the Greek romance, and by its elaboration of form, seen in its paronomasias and in its appalling

[1] Accepted by Jacobi, JAOS. xxxi, 2 seq. [2] JRAS. 1914, pp. 603–7.
[3] *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 105.
[4] *Kādambarī*[2], pp. 101–4; so Weber, SBA. xxxvii, 917.

compounds, which is totally foreign to the childish simplicity of style of the Greek stories.[1] It is perfectly true that this fact of difference is not incompatible with borrowing, as India can assimilate and transmute what it received, and the Sanskrit romance is, as we have it, essentially a product of elaborate learning; but, as in the case of the drama, we cannot say that there is any reliable ground to suppose that the origin of the romance is due to Greece. The tradition[2] that telling stories at night was introduced into India from Greece by Alexander the Great is of course of no weight.

Dr. Gray has added to the value of his translation by notes, including parallels of incident in modern Indian and other folk tales. It was perhaps hardly worth while endorsing Fay's[3] most improbable theory that Mātariśvan means "having water as his mother", which is only less unlikely than his other view[4] that it means "materiæ puer". He has also printed the southern version of the text, and given, besides a bibliography, a lexicographical appendix of much interest.

A. Berriedale Keith.

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Hariścandra il virtuoso (Satyahariścandra), Dramma indiano di Rāmacandra. Prima versione dall'originale per cura di Mario Vallauri. Florence, 1913.

The Satyahariścandra is a Nāṭaka by Rāmacandra, whose date is fixed at the end of the twelfth century A.D. by his proclaiming himself in the prologue as a pupil of the famous Hemacandra. As usual, the subject is

[1] The cases of homoioteleuta, alliteration, parisosis, and strained compounds referred to by Gray, p. 36, are wholly incomparable with the Sanskrit uses; the Greek authors have a few instances as special ornaments; the Sanskrit essentially depends on them.

[2] Rohde, *Griechischer Roman*[2], p. 593; see Gray, p. 96, n. 14.

[3] JAOS. xvi, pp. clxxii–iii.

[4] KZ. xlv, 134–5.

a hackneyed one, an episode found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and dramatized a couple of centuries earlier by Kṣemīśvara in his *Caṇḍakauśika*. The degree of originality of Rāmacandra consists merely in his development of the action so as most clearly to reveal the moral purpose of the story in its apotheosis of the virtue of truth in the form of fidelity to a rash vow. The chief interest in the drama lies in its form of development: Indra, anxious to prove Hariścandra's virtue, allows him, with the aid of Kundaprabha and Candracūḍa, to be tested by being reduced to the uttermost depths of human misery through his determination to fulfil a rash promise made to a hermit in expiation of an accidental sin. Mr. Vallauri[1] recognizes in this series of events a close parallel to the story of Job, and holds[2] that the similarity of the action can only be accounted for on the hypothesis that the motive of the exposition in a prologue of the divine plan of tempting Job was borrowed in India through the action of Christian missionaries. He points out that, although the actual form of the drama has no prologue explaining the situation, the drama does unquestionably rest on the basis of such a prologue. It is, however, clearly going too far to accept this theory: the idea of resistance to temptation is admittedly Indian and old, and the parallelism in form with the Book of Job is far too slight to make the suggestion of borrowing more than fanciful.

The translation, made from the Bombay edition of 1898, reads well; the author is unaffectedly an admirer of the pathos of the drama, in proof of which he cites the opening of the third act, where Rāmacandra cleverly depicts the scene in which the hunger of his son, beguiled for a moment by the sight and sounds of the Ganges, drives the king to sell his wife and the child into slavery. In

[1] pp. 23, 24.

[2] Following Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xv, 413–17; *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, p. 14.

fact, the play has some degree of merit, but it is devoid of originality of conception or any marked beauty of diction, and is chiefly interesting as an agreeable specimen of the work done by the lesser Indian dramatists in the drama of morals.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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ARCHÉOLOGIE DU SUD DE L'INDE. By Professor G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL. Published in the Annales du Musée Guimet, under the auspices of the French Ministry of Public Instruction. 2 vols. 1914.

Up to the present time students of South-Indian architectural styles have had to depend for their information on the works of Fergusson and Burgess, and on Mr. Rea's *Chalukyan Architecture* (1896) and *Pallava Architecture* (1909). But in these treatises no attempt has been made to trace chronologically the change of form assumed in each of the separate details which, taken together, constitute or adorn the structural whole. Mr. Rea describes each temple separately, while the other works are too comprehensive to allow of a lengthy and minute consideration of individual parts. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil has now undertaken this most useful and interesting study, and he is to be heartily congratulated on the result. He writes concisely, in simple and vigorous language, and in logical style. He takes in turn each individual part of each member of the temple (vol. i) and each image sculptured on it (vol. ii), and by means of abundant illustration traces, century by century, the changes that have taken place in these; and thus makes it possible for any student or archæologist to decide for himself on its approximate date by observation of such details as the capital, shaft, or base of a pillar, the corbel above it, the style of the entablature, the ornaments sculptured on it, and, in the matter of iconography, by

noticing the treatment of the subject, of the emblems of the dress or of the pose of the figure. The author's investigations are for the present confined to the architecture of the Tamil Dravidians; but it is to be hoped that he may be enabled hereafter to give us volumes equally instructive dealing with the Telugu and Kanarese countries. To make his teaching plain he enforces every argument by illustration. There are upwards of two hundred particularly clear and good photographs, and far more than that number of drawings, plans, and figures in the text.

Professor Dubreuil divides the history of Dravidian art in the extreme south into five periods each of 250 years—(1) the Pallava style, A.D. 600–850; (2) the Chōḷa style, A.D. 850–1100; (3) the Pāṇḍya style, A.D. 1100–1350; (4) the Vijayanagar style, A.D. 1350–1600; (5) the Madura style, A.D. 1600 to the present day. This division is rough, and it seems hardly necessary to insist on an equality of duration for the successive epochs. As a matter of fact, the period of Chōḷa domination lasted till well into the thirteenth century, and the period of Pāṇḍya influence in Chōḷa lands was brief. The peculiarity of the architecture and sculpture of the Tamil country consists in the fact, the Professor insists, that it is purely indigenous. No foreign element has ever been introduced into it. The temples contain no motive of ornamentation derived from any other source. It has changed by itself by a process of natural evolution since the seventh century A.D., the art of the preceding period being Buddhist. We can trace its gradual change century by century, and in consequence it presents to us a very interesting and very rare state of things, namely the growth of an architecture isolated from any outside influence. The workmen of each age had their fixed canons, as they have to-day, and they could only depart from them to a very moderate extent. Each individual

detail of a pillar carved in the present day can be recognized as a descendant of the earliest form; there is no break in the continuity and no intrusion of style.

Previous to the seventh century A.D. the art of the Buddhists was modified by the influence of the Greeks and Romans, and to this the author attributes the representation of the figure of the Buddha, for in monuments of Asoka's date he was never represented at all. He thinks that the Buddha's robes, the hair tied in a knot, the aureole often depicted behind his head and behind the heads of his disciples, are due to this influence, introduced probably in the period of Kanishka and carried into the times of the Guptas. After the Gupta period began the severance of the Hindu styles into northern and southern.

A few of Professor Dubreuil's conclusions may be noticed with advantage.

Thus he shows that particular parts of the temple received particular attention during each period. In period 1 this was the rock-cut shrine, in period 2 the temple *vimāna*, in period 3 the *gopuram*, in period 4 the *maṇḍapam*, in period 5 the corridor. Brick was not used before the thirteenth century (i, pp. 57, 58, 64). No image of Rāma, Śita, or Hanumān is found in any temple anterior to the tenth century, nor in any ancient temple is there found an image of Kṛishṇa the flutist (*Vēnugōpāl*), or Kṛishṇa and the bathing women (*jala krīḍā*). The Vaishṇava *nāmam* mark is never seen earlier than the fifteenth century (ii, p. 8). His style of treatment of a subject may be illustrated by his consideration of the *chakra* held in the hand of figures of Vishṇu. During the Pallava epoch it was a wheel seen edgewise, and was held between the thumb and first finger; during the Chōḷa epoch it was a wheel seen edgewise, supported on the first and second fingers, and sometimes with two flames issuing from the hub and one from the top; during

the Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagar, and Madura epochs it is similarly supported and adorned, but in the thirteenth century the wheel is represented slightly in perspective, in the fifteenth century it is seen as a circle with four flames, one being between the fingers; and in the eighteenth century and since then it is presented like the last, but has, round the upper half of it, a silk scarf tied with the ends displayed on each side (ii, pp. 6, 7, 63, 64). The evolution of the *śaṅka* is similarly treated, and so with every detail of every part of the sculpture and iconography.

The author refrains altogether from any consideration of such questions as beauty, or decadence, or the neglect in later periods of true architectural principles, and confines himself solely to the consideration of the historic evolution of motives of ornament; and for this purpose he publishes side by side figures of the gods as represented in ancient sculpture and their debased descendants of to-day, not for comparison of their relative beauty or ugliness, but simply from the point of view of treatment of detail. (See, for instance, vol. ii, pl. xxi, the image of Ranganādha; pl. xxxvii, Gaja-Lakshmi.)

The work has been carefully edited, but there are a few misprints and errors. In vol. i, p. 85, ll. 4 and 8, "Pl. XX" should be "Pl. XV". On p. 93, l. 27, "Pl. IX" should be "Pl. XIX". The English extract in the note to i, 174, has been badly mishandled.

On pp. 34 and 35 the author writes of the extensive Buddhist remains at Guntupalle as if that place were near the mouths of the Godāvari River; they are actually quite 60 miles from the nearest mouth, being about 20 miles north of Ellore. Writing of the rock-cut group of Vishṇu reclining on the serpent in one of the Māvalipuram caves, Professor Dubreuil describes the large club-bearing figures at the feet of the god as being simply "warriors" (i, 86). I have seen many of these ancient groups, and have always believed that these armed personages, shown as gigantic

in size but invariably in a position proving them to be retreating baffled and beaten, were intended to represent the Asuras, powers of darkness and evil, humbled by and retiring before the presence of the life-giving deity.

From my own point of view the most serious mistake in the book is to be found in the note to vol. i, p. 126, where the author, of course by pure accident, does me the entirely undeserved honour of attributing to me the authorship of Mr. Vincent Smith's *Fine Art in India*. The error is much to be regretted.

R. SEWELL.

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CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE PANJĀB MUSEUM, LAHORE. By R. B. WHITEHEAD. Oxford, 1914.

(*Continued from the July Part, p. 795.*)

The second volume of this Catalogue deals with the coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, an important series which until recent times has not received adequate attention from numismatists. The revival of interest in the subject may be said to date from the publication of the British Museum Catalogue in 1892 and from the researches of Mr. C. J. Rodgers in the Panjāb. The British Museum cabinet then contained about 1,250 coins, a number now greatly increased. The recent activity in this branch of numismatics may be measured by the fact that the Indian Museum at Calcutta, which contained 863 Mughal coins in 1894, contained 2,560 when Mr. Nelson Wright's Catalogue was issued in 1908, and the Lahore cabinet catalogued by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in 1892, and consisting mainly of his own collection, contained 1,559 Mughal coins, whereas the present Catalogue shows 3,283, the greatest number published as yet in any catalogue. This collection is probably unrivalled in the number of mints and the extraordinary variety of small silver and copper coins which it includes, although it does

not approach the magnificent gold series of the British Museum. A catalogue of the St. Petersburg Collection, which has absorbed many well-known private collections made by British collectors in India, is much to be desired. The number of new mints brought to light during the last twenty years is astonishing. The publication of these, in which the Royal Numismatic Society at one time took a considerable part, has of late been carried on almost entirely in the Numismatic Supplements of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Mr. Whitehead's share in this work has been a large one. The Lahore Collection has taken full advantage of the recent discoveries, and at present 134 mints, out of 200 known, are represented there. The Indian Museum has fallen behind in the race, as Lahore possesses fifty-four mints not to be found at Calcutta, while Calcutta has only eight which Lahore does not possess.

There are many points of interest in the mints of the Mughal emperors, both those which have long been known and those more recently brought to light, but space does not admit of more than a few of these being mentioned.

Under Multān, for instance, we find that both gold and silver was struck at this mint in 1173 (1759) in the name of ʿĀlamgīr II, and we know that at that period Taimūr Shah Durrānī was ruling at Multān as Niẓām under his father Aḥmad Shāh, and in fact a rupee of his struck at Multān the same year is in existence. ʿĀlamgīr II's rupees were also struck in 1172 (1758) at Dēra (i.e. Dēra Ghāzi Khān), although the whole of that region had for some time been under the Durrānīs.

Muẓaffargaṛh, which lies between Multān and Dēra Ghāzi Khān, affords an even more perplexing problem, for at a much later period, 1209–12 (1794–7), rupees were struck there in the name of Shāh ʿĀlam II, although it had long formed an integral part of the Durrānī kingdom, and Zamān Shāh had mints at Multān and Dēra.

The earlier coinage of 1173 may be explained by supposing that some hope existed that the Mughal Empire might be restored, but such could hardly have existed in Shāh 'Ālam's case. It seems probable that this Muẓaffargaṛh is not the insignificant Panjāb town, never before known as a mint-town, but some other place as yet unidentified. The name Muẓaffargaṛh, like Ẓafarābād, Ẓafarnagar, etc., might be applied to commemorate a victory.

The identification of Ẓafarābād itself has been the subject of some discussion, and Mr. Whitehead accepts the conclusion come to by Dr. G. P. Taylor in his article in JASB. Num. Supp. No. 12, that it is identical with Bīdar in the Dakkhin. The late Mr. Irvine, who originally made this suggestion, in a note to his translation of *Manucci's Storia do Mogor* (vol. i, p. 322) adopted the view that it was the Ẓafarābād on the Indus mentioned by Manucci, which he identified with Atak, and pointed out that the gap between the earlier coins of Atak struck by Akbar and the later rupee of A.H. 1158 would be filled if the Ẓafarābād mint was at Atak. Dr. G. P. Taylor thought that the filling of the gap was very partial, leaving a long interval without coins before 1158, when only one coin is forthcoming. It must be remembered, however, that the Atak mint was in a district under Nādir Shāh's power in 1158, and that it formed part of the Durrānī kingdom soon after the date of the solitary coin of Muḥammad Shāh. Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī struck there both in gold and silver, and there is an Atak rupee of his as early as his 9th year (1169). Unless the mint had been active and in working order it is unlikely that the Durrānīs would have used it, as they had another mint near by at Peshāwar, where Aḥmad Shāh struck in his 2nd year. There seems, therefore, to be good ground for inferring the continuity of the mint, and this is, as far as it goes, an argument in favour of identifying Ẓafarābād with Atak. I am not now inclined to attach much

importance to the fabric of the coins pointing to a northern rather than a Dakkhinī origin, as Dr. G. P. Taylor, with his great experience, considers that the evidence is not sufficient to justify this view. I may add, however, that a Ẓafarābād coin in my possession was found in the north of the Panjāb. At present I think the identification of Ẓafarābād is not fully established either with Bīdar or Atak.

Under Ḥaidarābād (Dāru'l-jihād) reference might have been made to my note in "Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors", *Num. Chron.*, 1902, where I described a rupee (pl. lxxii) of Kāmbakhsh of that mint. Mr. Whitehead says that Kāmbakhsh struck in both gold and silver at Ḥaidarābād, but no mention of a silver coinage of Kāmbakhsh at that mint was made in Mr. Burn's list of 1904.

Another mint whose identification is still doubtful is Islāmābād. There can be no doubt that Mathurā was the mint which bore that name in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II, but Aurangzēb's mint must have been named from one of the towns conquered and renamed Islāmābād by him, viz., Chāknā, Chittagong, and possibly some others. Mr. Whitehead quotes from J. Sarkar's *India of Aurangzēb* a place named Rāiri in the province of Aurangābād, and Jālna might be added, as both Rāiri and Jālna appear in J. Sarkar's list (p. 163, taken from the Chahār Gulshan) of places called Islāmābād in the Aurangābād Sūbah. It is not clear whether these two places were among Aurangzēb's conquests, and as far as the evidence goes I still think, as in 1902, that the probability is in favour of Chāknā, as the earliest of Aurangzēb's conquests which received the name of Islāmābād.

Many such doubtful points must arise as regards the numerous obscure mints which recent researches have brought to light. Some have been dealt with in the

Numismatic Supplements already alluded to, also by Mr. Nelson Wright in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*. In this volume Mr. Whitehead has, with great success, endeavoured to summarize all that has been as yet ascertained; and numismatists who have been accustomed to use the lists of Dr. Codrington and Mr. Burn must now supplement their information from his very full notes on the mint-cities of the Mughal Empire. The Catalogue is excellently printed and illustrated with twenty-one plates.

A companion volume on the coins of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī and the other Musulmān rulers of India would be welcomed by all students of the subject.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE NAWAR OR ZUTT. Gypsy Lore Society Monographs, No. 3. By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER. London, 1914.

The Nawar or Zutt are a nomadic race inhabiting Palestine, and are of undoubted gypsy origin. The word Nawar is an Arabic plural from the singular Nūrī, which may well be identical with the Lūrī of Persia. They call themselves, however, Dōm, and the name Nawar is only applied to them by strangers, as well as the alternative Zutt. The latter word is the Indian Jaṭṭ, which took the form Zutt in the writings of the early Arab chroniclers from Tabarī and Mas'ūdi onwards.

Mr. Macalister has been associated with this interesting race, many of whom he employed on excavation work for the Palestine Exploration Fund, and has made a study of their language, the results of which are given in the excellent monograph now published for the Gypsy Lore Society. It includes a full grammar and vocabulary and a large collection of stories and narratives, including some which are of great interest as specimens of folklore.

There is good historical ground for holding that the various tribes classed as gypsies (of whom the Nawar are a branch) were originally inhabitants of the Indus Valley; and their language bears out this theory, as it shows a greater affinity with the dialects of that region than with those of any other part of India. There are also some traces of Piśācī influence, inasmuch as certain forms are found which cannot be definitely assigned either to the Indian or Iranian branches, but seem to preserve certain characteristics belonging to the period before the full development of Iranian peculiarities. Sir G. Grierson has pointed out that, owing to the settlement of Piśācī colonies in the Indus Valley, the languages spoken there, Lahndā and Sindhī, keep some Piśācī features, and in this point also the gypsy languages are like them. The dialect of the Nawar belongs to this group, and in spite of a large admixture of Arabic words and grammatical forms it shows its origin very clearly, and is indeed a highly developed form of a modern Prākṛitic language.

Mr. Macalister has made use of a system of transliteration which differs in some respects from any of the recognized systems. This must be regretted, as the multiplication of systems can only cause confusion. For instance, the symbol *ā*, universally used for the broad *a* in "father", is here used as equivalent to the French *è*, which *a* without a sign denoting length is used for the broad sound; and *ă*, which occurs very frequently, is said to be the English *a* in "fat"; *o* is said to be the English *o* in "pot". This system of transliteration may no doubt be defended as well adapted to the language. It would seem, nevertheless, that peculiar sounds might have been provided for as additions to an established and recognized system of transliteration. Mr. Macalister has done well in marking the accent throughout.

The English sounds of *a* and *o* alluded to above are extremely uncommon, and are hardly to be found in

European or Asiatic languages; indeed, the short English *o* may be said to be confined to England proper, as it is never heard in the United States. It is impossible to avoid doubting whether these rare sounds are actually those denoted in the Nawar language by *ă* and *o*.

Grammatical affinities may be discerned in the following cases:—

THE VERB

*Infinitive* in *ar*: Lahndā *aṇ*; Kašmīrī *un*. This is the "dependent present future" used in the sense of an infinitive.

CAUSAL

formed by inserting *au*, *lau*, or *nau* after the stem. Cf. the Lahndā form in *-āwaṇ*, also the Iranian causals, as in Pers. *-ānīdan*, Bal. *-ainagh*. For *lau* cf. Hindī *biṭhlā-* from *baiṭh-*, *dikhlā-* from *dēkh*.

The *preterite* in *d* or *r* is closer to the Iranian than to the Indian forms, although a certain number of so-called "irregular" past participles in Lahndā, etc., preserve the *t* or *d* forms. In Piśācī they seem to have nearly disappeared. Thus *kerdă* corresponds very closely with Pers. *karda*, "did," while a parallel for *sītă*, "slept," may be found in the Lahndā *suttā*.

NUMERALS

show a close relation to Piśācī and Lahndā, and are nearer to Iranian than Indian forms, thus—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *yikă* | Piś. *ek*, *yat*, etc.; | Pers. *yak*; | Lahndā *hikk* |
| 2. *dī* | *dū*, *dü* | *dū* | *ḍū* |
| 3. *tă̆ran* | *trē*, *θlē*, etc. | | *trai* |
| 4. *štar* | *što*, *štā* | *cahār* | *car* |
| | | (Pašto *tsalōr*) | |

Here the preservation of the medial *t*, not found in either modern Indian or Iranian languages, except in Pašto (where it becomes *l*), is very remarkable. This extends to other gypsy dialects.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. *pănj* | Piśācī has forms in *j* and *c* | *panj* | *panj* |
| 6. *šas* | Piś. *šo*, *šah*, etc.; | Pers. *saš*; | Lahndā, etc., *čhā* |

7. *ḥōṭ* Piś. *sut*, etc.; Pers. *haft*; Lahndā *satt*

Here the Iranian form takes the place of the Indian, which prevails both in Piśācī and Lahndā.

8. Generally *štár wă štár*, "four and four," but a form *hošt* found in one dialect is close to the Pers. *hašt*.

9. This also applies to *nah*, which is found in the same dialect.

10. *das, des* *daš, de, dah* *dah* *ḍāh*

Here the Indian form in *s* is preferred to the Iranian in *h*, which is used in Lahndā. The Piś. languages vary.

20. *wīs* *vīšī* *bīst* *vīh*
*bīš*
*bī*
*wuh*

Here the original *s* form is adhered to, as in Persian as well as most of the Indian languages, though Lahndā and some Piśācī dialects adopt the *h* form.

### Pronominal Suffixes

These are very characteristic of the Nawar language, and, as in Lahndā, form integral compounds with verbal forms. The usual form

| | Sing. | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-m* | *-man* |
| 2. | *-r* | *-ran* |
| 3. | *-s* | *-san* |

may be compared with the Lahndā

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-m* | *-sē* |
| 2. | *-ī* | *-vē* |
| 3. | *-s* | *-nē* |

the Piśācī

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-m* | *-ma, -miš, -mi* |
| 2. | *-š, -ī* | *-mi*, etc. |
| 3. | *-s* | *-ni, -i*, etc. |

and the Persian

1. *-m, -am*
2. *-t, -at*
3. *-š, -aš*

The forms in the 1st and 3rd persons can be easily explained by reference to the parallels quoted, but the 2nd pers. sing. in *-r* requires elucidation. There are some rare Piśācī 2nd pers. plural forms in *-r*.

VOCABULARY

A long list of Indian and Iranian forms might be drawn up, but a few instances will suffice here.

*bar*, brother. Piś. *brā*; Lahndā, *bhirā*.

*ăger*, before. Lahndā, *agērē*.

*dowī*, wooden spoon. Lahndā, *dōī*; Eng. gypsy, *roī*.

*ẖri*, heart. Piś. *heṛa*, *harā*, *herdi*; Lahndā, *hāi*. (No trace of the Iranian *z* or *d*.)

*naštar*, to flee. Lahndā, *nasaṇ*.

*pai*, husband. Lahndā, *pai*.

*pitr* / *pótră* } son. Piś. *puṭr*, *piṭr*, etc.; Lahndā, *putr*.

*auăr*, to come. Pers. *āmadan*; Lahndā, *āwaṇ*.

*jar*, to go. Lahndā, *jā*.

*kérăr*, to do. Pers. *kardan*; Lahndā, *karaṇ*.

*jănar*, to know. Pers. *dān-istan*; Lahndā, *jānaṇ*; Bal. *zānagh*.

*ḳōlār*, to open, loose. Lahndā, *khōlaṇ*.

*mónă*, bread, loaf. Sindhī, *mānī*.

*kšălăr*, to pull. Pers. *kashīdan*; Pašto, *kšal*.

*brári*, cat. Kašmīrī, *brāru*.

*bōl*, much. Panjābī, *bhōt*; Lahndā, *bahũ*.

*der*, to give. Lahndā, *ḍē*, etc.

*dai*, mother. Lahndā, *ḍāī* (foster-mother).

*dăd*, grandfather. Lahndā, *ḍāḍā*.

*brinž*, rice (explained as "from the Turkish *birinjī*, 'first,' adopted in Ar. in the sense of first-rate"). Pers. *birinj*, rice. Cf. Skt. *vrīhi*, which would be equivalent to an Iranian *vrīzi* (Pašto *vrīžē*). The Greek *oryza* is no doubt derived from some such form. The Turkish origin can hardly be defended.

*jar* and *gar*, to go, are two distinct roots—*jā*, go, and *gard*, return, as found in the causal *garnaur* = Pers. *gardānīdan*.

*dēs*, abode. Pers. *deh*; Lahndā, *dēs*.

*dīrga*, long. Pers. *dīrāz*; Piś. *driga*.

*dīr*, far. Pers. *dūr*; Bal. *dīr*.

*dīrī*, daughter. Lahndā, *dhī*, pl. *dhīrī*.

*hast*, hand. Piś. *hast*. Most Indian forms which preserve the Skt. *h* lose the *s*, while Pers., which keeps the *st* termination, transforms the *h* to *d* (*z* in *Avesta*).

*idrák*, grapes. Lahndā and Balōcī, *drākh*.
*dīs*, day. Piś. *dēs*; Skt. *dīvasa*.
*gálī*, talk. Lahndā, *gālh*; Panjabī, *gal*.
*gṓrū*, cow. } Pers. *gāv*; Pašto, *γvā*; Lahndā, *gaū̃*; Bal.
*gṓrwă*, bull. } *gōkh*; Piś. *gōh*, *gāē*, etc.
*gas*, grass. Hindī, *ghās*; Pers. *giyāh*; Lahndā, *ghāh*.
*játro*, son-in-law. Lahndā, *jāwātra*; Bal. *zāmāθ*.
*kan*, ear. Lahndā, *kann*; Piś. *kān*, *kōn*, *kōr*, etc.
*štir*, camel. Skt. Av. *uštra*; Pers. *šutur*; Bal. *huštār*; Piś. *štyur*, etc.
*chal* (*cāl*), well. Av. *cātha*: Bal. *čhaθ*; Pers. *čāh*.
*wat*, stone. } Lahndā, *waṭṭā*.
*wut*, cliff. }
*wai*, wind. Lahndā, *wā*.

The above examples will sufficiently illustrate the close relationship between the Nawar language and those of Northern India, especially, as stated above, the Lahndā of the Indus Valley. The whole book deserves careful study, as it is full and accurate, and gives abundant specimens of the language in narrative form. The folklore contained in the tales is in itself deserving of a separate study. Mr. Macalister's work must be welcomed as a most valuable contribution to philological knowledge.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

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ARS ASIATICA. Vol. I. Par ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES et RAPHAËL PETRUCCI. Bruxelles et Paris: G. Van Oest & C^ie^, 1914.

This volume, the first of a series, provides a record of the important exhibition of Chinese paintings which took place at the Musée Cernuschi in 1912. The names of the joint authors are sufficient guarantees that the work will completely attain the object advertised in the preface—to appeal both to the sinologue and to the connoisseur. Like everything coming from their pens, it is a monument

of able scholarship and criticism. There are forty-seven most satisfactory reproductions in monochrome and in addition four repeated in colour. The general make-up of the book reaches a high standard of excellence which might well serve as a pattern for all works of this nature.

The exhibition included no less than three pictures of the T'ang period. The first is attributed to Li Chao-tao, one of a family of artists who are famous as originators of the landscape painting in colour that gave rise to what was afterwards known as the "Northern" to distinguish it from the "Southern School" of black and white painting dominated by the poet-painter Wang Wei. This picture, which is obviously a fragment of a larger work, represents a seventh century palace (called Chiu-ch'êng Kung) often since employed as a theme for paintings belonging to the category "towers and storied buildings". Even if it be not from the brush of Li Chao-tao himself, it is valuable as an early example of the colour scheme originated by the Li family and of the method of drawing perspectives with the certainty obtained by mechanical aids.

Much stronger evidence of a master's hand is shown in the second drawing reproduced, which is attributed to the ninth century artist T'êng Ch'ang-yu, and represents Lü Tung-pin, one of the most popular of the group *pa hsien* so often appearing in Chinese art. Distinguished in conception and breadth of treatment, it is plainly the work of a great artist, and has characteristics, as the authors remark, which show affinity with the well-known stone reproductions of Confucian portraits preserved at Ch'ü-fu and with the picture by Ku K'ai-chih in the British Museum. May not these be regarded as among the earliest known examples of what was a purely indigenous art and one independent of outside Buddhistic influence, and may not the portraiture of national heroes —practised up to recent times and popularized in such books as the *Chieh-tzŭ-yüan* and *Wan-hsiao-t'ang*—

represent a national tradition, the beginnings of which are lost in the mists of antiquity ?

The next drawing has also for its subject the Patriarch Lü, but is a poor affair. There could be no more striking demonstration of the contrast between an original masterpiece and a feeble copy than the placing of these two portraits of the same man side by side. One shows a dignified being endowed with life and individuality through the spontaneity and characterization of a great draughtsman's brush ; the other has the feeble halting line of a diffident copyist who lacks the power of selection and of generalization. The third T'ang example is a coloured painting, delightfully simple, which belongs to the category " birds and flowers ".

Among the thousands of falcons in existence said to come from the hand of the Emperor Hui Tsung the one exhibited at the Musée Cernuschi seems to bear evidence of being genuine. Perhaps more interesting as an historical document than as a work of art, it still possesses many qualities distinctive of Sung painting—qualities which find more artistic rendering in a fragment of a picture by Ts'ui Po. The last-named artist, together with Wu Yüan-yü, are credited with having brought about, at the end of the eleventh century, a renaissance of the ancient national tradition to which they added the practice of monochrome effects of tone as taught by Wang Wei, combined with a gracious delicate colouring of their own. The detailed analysis characteristic of the "Northern School" also appears in these Sung pictures, but it has become less stilted and academic.

Yüan painting is represented by no less than fifteen examples, most of them belonging to the school of Chao Mêng-fu, famed as calligraphist, landscapist, and painter of horses. Two of the master's own works painted in this last capacity are reproduced, and of these the picture labelled "Cavaliers mongols poursuivant un cheval

échappé" is specially remarkable for its vitality and vivid characterization. The transition stage between Sung and Yüan is exemplified by a graceful composition of birds and flowers by Ch'ien Hsüan.

The remaining reproductions represent painting down to the eighteenth century, and of these perhaps the most interesting, because most distinctive, is a funeral portrait group of the Ming period.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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CHINA REVOLUTIONIZED. By J. S. THOMSON. Illustrated. London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd.

This is a very interesting book of 590 pages, written by an American, who, unlike many business men, made time whilst resident in China to study Chinese politics, life, manners and customs. Consequently the book is pre-eminently a business man's book. This, however, does not mean that it is devoid of interest to the general reader. Far from this, it caters for that class of reader as well. A glance down the table of contents shows from the headings of the thirty-one chapters the varied and exhaustive character of the book.

The first chapter, the longest of all, deals with the history of the revolution and furnishes the keynote to the rest of the book to a great extent. We then pass from grave to gay with a chapter on wit in China. The possibilities of a future industrial and commercial China that will require an increasing supply of foreign goods and commodities is outlined. It may comfort some who are afraid of the nightmare of a "yellow peril", even though it may be an industrial one, to know that wages are rising even now in China. Some of the succeeding chapters are on Agriculture and Forestation, Architecture and Art, Finance, Railways, Shipping, Politics, Public Works, Army and Navy, Education, Literature and Language, Cities, Religions and Missionaries, Crime and

Laws, Daily Life, Sociology, Climate, Diseases, Hygiene, and Women. A number of chapters deal with foreigners in China, their business, life, and their settlements, especially as regards the American and Briton, the Russian, Japanese, and Manchu.

The book is one of the most up-to-date on Chinese affairs, being brought down to the time of Yuan Shi-kai's acceptance of the provisional presidency of the Republic.

The author is not obsessed by blind prejudice as so many writers of books on China are, who can see nothing good in missionary work and ignore its wonderful results. On the contrary, he has had an open mind on this phase of foreign influence on China, and, as the result of what he has seen, he gives unqualified praise to these pioneers of civilization and incidentally of commerce while carrying on their propaganda of Christianity.

It is to be hoped that a second edition will soon be required, and then the author will continue his history of revolutionized China and some errors which have crept in will be corrected. Among others are the following. It is a common thing among residents in the Far East to believe that one of the images in what is known as the Temple of 500 Genii at Canton is one of Marco Polo. The idols are representations of 500 of Buddha's disciples, and the great Venetian traveller was not one of these, nor would he and "Chinese" Gordon be represented among the 10,000 other disciples in other temples (p. 424). A class of small sailing boats in Hong-Kong is known as the hakau boat. The name is so similar to Hakka that many residents in Hong-Kong think that they are the same and consequently suppose that these boats are manned by Hakka Chinese. The latter are not "aboriginal tribes" (pp. 205, 383, 396, 491). Read Lew Yuk Lin as the name of the Chinese Ambassador in London instead of Luk Yuk Lim (p. 225). Teak has doubtless been used in building temples, but the red

wood which is stained black and which the author mentions (p. 553) is Chinese ebony. The two Manchu characters on the reverse of the Chinese coins give the mint at which they were cast and the word "currency" (p. 306). The Mandarin speech of Nanking is Southern Mandarin, that of Peking is the northern variety, and the latter city being the capital, the Northern or Pekingese Mandarin has been the Court language (p. 392). The Execution Ground in Canton is about a couple of miles further down the river than the old "Thirteen Factory Section". The Chinese language possesses pronouns (p. 359) and they are in constant use. If "London Mission" (p. 387) is meant for the London Missionary Society, it should be struck out, as that society is not represented in Fuchau. Sir Matthew Nathan is still alive (p. 269). The author must have confused him with someone else.

J. DYER BALL.

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DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN-VERZEICHNISSE DER KÖNIGLICHEN BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN. Band XXIV: Verzeichnis der Tibetischen Handschriften, von Dr. HERMANN BECKH. 1. Abteilung: Kanjur. pp. 192 (22 × 30 cm.). Berlin, 1914.

The Royal Library of Berlin has certainly deserved well of Orientalists through a continuous accumulation of manuscripts and books in almost all Oriental languages and through the careful preparation of catalogues which render these treasures accessible to the scientific world. The works of Weber, Steinschneider, Dillmann, Pertsch, Ahlwardt, and Sachau have achieved great reputation, and become household books in the hands of specialists. The cause of the literatures of Central and Eastern Asia has heretofore been somewhat neglected, though the older stock of Chinese and Manchu books was registered by

J. Klaproth as early as 1822, and published again in a more thorough manner by W. Schott in 1840. These lists, excellent as they were for their time, no longer satisfy the demands of modern sinology; and, with the great increase of books, a new catalogue of East Asiatic literature has become imperative. Professor H. Hülle, on the staff of the Library, who has had the advantage of several years' study in Peking, is now actively engaged in drawing up the catalogue of Chinese and Manchu books, the appearance of which is anticipated with great interest; while Dr. H. Beckh has devoted his energy during the last years to a survey of the Tibetan manuscripts. Dr. Beckh is no novice among students of Tibetan literature; in 1907 he brought out his painstaking study of the Tibetan version of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, and in 1911 he gave us a critical edition of the Tibetan text of the Udānavarga. The Royal Library did well in choosing such a circumspect and persevering worker for the arduous task of examining the 108 volumes in its possession, constituting a magnificently written copy of the Kanjur; this was secured in 1889 from the Lama temple Yung-ho-kung at Peking,[1] through the good offices of Mr. v. Brandt, then German Minister in China. The inventory of this Kanjur edition forms the contents of the present volume, being the first of the entire series that is to deal with the Tibetan manuscripts and books of the Royal Library.

Our previous knowledge of the Kanjur was based exclusively on the analysis made by Alexander Csoma (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx), a very meritorious work, considering the trying circumstances under which the author laboured. The summaries of contents which he

[1] Dr. Beckh might have added that the merit of having obtained the copy is due to E. Pander, who at that time was Professor at the Peking University and on very friendly terms with the Lamas (see *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxi, p. (203), 1887).

added to every work are still our main guidance in the labyrinth of this vast collection of religious literature, being based on faithful translations from Sanskrit. Sanskrit, however, was one of Csoma's weak points; and the Sanskrit titles, as recorded by him, suffer from numerous defects. Beckh is the first to inaugurate in this respect a sound reform, and to reconstruct by means of efficient critical methods both the Indian and Tibetan titles in their original and correct readings. In view of the host of copyists' errors by which the Berlin text is marred, this enterprise was by no means easy; and the author's patience and care merit the highest praise. He has indeed presented us with the first critical and accurate catalogue of Tibetan literature, which is extremely useful, not only to the librarian, but to the student of Buddhism as well.

Under each volume the miniatures adorning the covers are listed with their designations, and this has special importance for the iconography of Lamaism. The titles are given in Sanskrit and Tibetan, the latter in Tibetan types followed by a romanization, and, what is very gratifying, are accompanied by a translation. Then, the introductory salutation formula is given; and the locality of India where the plot of the story is laid has been added. The names of authors and translators, as far as they are on record, are pointed out; and colophons, with the exception of a few lengthy ones, have usually been translated in full. As the number of the folio and even the number of the line where each treatise begins is recorded, it is possible for the reader in the Royal Library to lay his hands on any desired work at a moment's notice. The two excellent indexes of the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles[1] are a most valuable addition, and

[1] Dr. Beckh (p. viii) asserts that an alphabetic list of the Sanskrit titles of the Kanjur had not previously existed. But there is one by L. Feer appended to his "Analyse du Kandjour" (*Annales du Musée*

simultaneously afford a concordance with the Index published by the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg and prefaced by I. J. Schmidt, and with the analysis of Csoma. Beckh's index shows at a glance that many works of the Berlin edition (I noted fifteen of these) are not contained in the Kanjur utilized by Csoma and in the Index of St. Petersburg; and it is this peculiar feature that lends the Berlin version its special scientific importance, which will be discussed presently. Beckh has numbered the single treatises under each volume; in the opinion of the reviewer it would have been preferable to number the treatises right through from the beginning to the end of the work, irrespective of the volumes, in accordance with the Index of St. Petersburg and Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*. This procedure would have considerably simplified the work of indexing; it would enable one to recognize at once the total number of treatises embodied in the Berlin copy, and would facilitate the quotation of a treatise by referring to the individual number. This, however, is a purely technical point of minor importance.

As there are many editions and recensions of the Kanjur at variance with one another in the arrangement of the subject-matter and in contents, the main question to be raised is, What edition is represented by the Berlin copy, and what is its specific importance? Dr. Beckh has but partially responded to this query. The problem as to the date of the Berlin Kanjur is naturally one of consequence. In his brief discussion of this matter in the prefatory notice, Dr. Beckh has correctly seen two points, first that a recension of the Kanjur in 108 volumes, like the Berlin edition, differs from one in 100 volumes, as for instance represented by the edition of Csoma and the one underlying the *Index Schmidt*, and second that the

*Guimet*, vol. ii, pp. 499–553); Beckh's list, however, is far superior and represents the first complete and accurate inventory of the Sanskrit titles.

manuscript copies now current in China, Tibet, and Mongolia have no independent value, but are traceable to printed editions from which they have been copied. Misled by an unfounded statement of Colonel Waddell, Dr. Beckh is inclined to trace his copy to an alleged Derge print of the Kanjur in 108 volumes, and tentatively conjectures the date of the Berlin copy as being some time after the year 1731, which is an alleged date for the printing of the Kanjur at Narthang.[1] This argumentation is inadmissible, and the result conflicts with the facts as disclosed by the Berlin Kanjur itself. The edition of Derge published in 1733 cannot come into question as its prototype, for the technical reason that it consists in fact of only 100 volumes (this statement refers to a copy of this edition in the Library of Congress, Washington, examined by the writer), and for the inward reason that the Berlin version contains a number of works which are lacking in the Derge edition. But more than that—the Berlin copy, as revealed by inward evidence, cannot have been made from any edition of the Kanjur issued in the age of the Manchu dynasty (1644–1911); it can only have been copied from a print published under the preceding Ming dynasty (1368–1643), and its scientific importance rests on the fact that it reflects the tradition of the Kanjur, as it was established in the Ming period.

[1] Dr. Beckh credits this date to Waddell (*Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 159); but Waddell in this passage exactly copies a statement of A. Csoma (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, p. 42), and even repeats the misnomer "wooden types" (instead of "wooden blocks"). As has been demonstrated by M. Pelliot, Csoma's dates are all unreliable. In fact, the preface of the index volume of the Narthang edition is dated 1742 (*c'u p'o k'yii lo*, "water male dog year"). If Beckh had consulted Csoma's work in its original issue, he would have been saved from the incorrect statement (p. vi) that Csoma gives no information as to the Kanjur edition utilized by him. Csoma, indeed, states that his study is based on the Narthang edition in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and procured by Hodgson. Moreover, his analysis is in harmony with the index of Narthang. Koeppen also (*Lamaische Hierarchie*, p. 280) had already pointed out this fact.

Statements in regard to the date of the Berlin Kanjur have previously been made, and these should have been mentioned by Dr. Beckh. E. Pander, when he reported on the acquisition of the copy in Peking, left the chronological point undecided.[1] Grünwedel[2] first made the general statement that this copy is said to come down from the end of the sixteenth century; and on another occasion referred to the Wan-li period (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty as the time when the work was copied, presumably from the Yung-lo edition of the Kanjur printed in 1410.[3] Of the latter, the Royal Library possesses thirty-seven volumes procured in Peking, likewise by E. Pander,[4] among which the twenty-four volumes of the Tantra are said to be complete.

From these statements I suspected that the manuscript Kanjur might contain a colophon making a reference to the Wan-li period, or at least imparting some information as to its date, and therefore appealed to my friends in Berlin. Professor Grünwedel, in a letter of April 22, was good enough to write me that his notice previously quoted was based on an entry in the Accession Documents of the Pander Collection: "In a letter of Minister H. von Brandt, dated Peking, March 18th, 1888, the Berlin Kanjur is styled 'a unique copy made at the time of the Ming Emperor Wan-li (1573–1620) after a printed edition from the time of Yung-lo, accordingly, prior to the reforms of bTsoṅ-k'a-pa'." Professor H. Hülle of the Royal Library, in a letter of May 15, very courteously replied in detail to all my queries regarding the Berlin Kanjur editions, and stated that the colophon suspected by me in the beginning or end of the work is not to be found, nor

[1] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxi, p. (203), 1889.
[2] *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 178.
[3] "Die orientalischen Religionen" (in *Kultur der Gegenwart*), p. 161.
[4] Loc. cit., p. (201). Pander gives the date as 8th year of Yung-lo, but wrongly identifies it with the year 1411 instead of 1410.

does it contain any Chinese prefaces or postscripts; but Mr. Hülle found in a catalogue of the Library the same observation as made by Professor Grünwedel, entered by the hand of L. Stern, the late Director of the Department of Manuscripts. This statement, ultimately, must have emanated from E. Pander, who acquired the copy at Peking, and seems to have received this communication from his Lama friends. The question, then, pivots around the point whether Pander's information is trustworthy. Pander was exceedingly well posted on Lamaist affairs, and at the outset I can see no reason why his information should be discredited. There are, in fact, several circumstances which conspire to prove that his opinion is well founded. Professor Hülle has been so kind as to place at my disposal photographs of the imperial preface and postscript in Chinese and Tibetan accompanying the printed Ming Kanjur, and these are indeed written by the Emperor Yung-lo and dated in the manner that Pander had indicated.[1] Pander, accordingly, was quite right in this assertion; and the Yung-lo Kanjur of Berlin is a fact. Further, Dr. Beckh, to whom I submitted my opinion on the date of the manuscript Kanjur, advised me that the latter closely agrees with the Yung-lo edition, as far as he had collated the two, and that for this reason he too had formed the opinion that the manuscript edition is copied from the Yung-lo print. This, then, forms the second point in which Pander is correct. Of course, the assumption that on account of this agreement the copy was actually made in the Ming period is not cogent; in theory it may have been executed at any posterior time. But such a theory is not very probable. Each historical period has had its standard

[1] The exact date is 永樂八年三月初九日; in Tibetan ཡུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལོ་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཚེས་དགུའི་ཉིན། "On the ninth day of the third month of the eighth year of the period Yung-lo (1410)."

printed edition of the Kanjur, from which the manuscript copies were written out; and the issue of a reprint is always the symptom of a previous edition being extinct. When the K'ang-hi Kanjur was out in 1700, when in the reign of K'ien-lung several editions were published in Peking as well as in Tibet, it is not very likely that at that time a copyist should have resorted to the Yung-lo edition as his model. The greater probability, at any rate, is that a Kanjur copy coinciding with the latter is also the work of the Ming period. It is hoped that the further researches of Dr. Beckh will settle this point positively. Meanwhile I wish to call attention to the fact that the Kanjur analysed by Dr. Beckh does not contain any traditions relating to the Manchu dynasty, and does contain works which are not extant in the editions coming down from the age of the Manchu.

In like manner, as works were added to the Chinese Tripiṭaka under the Manchu dynasty, so also books translated from Chinese into Tibetan were joined to the Kanjur in the same epoch. The titles of such books are to be found in the *Index Schmidt*, for instance No. 199 (p. 33): *byaṅ=c'ub sems-dpa dga-ldan gnam-du skye-ba blaṅs-pai mdo*, "Sūtra as to how to be reborn as a Bodhisatva in the Tushita Heaven," translated from Chinese by Bab-toṅ (Tibetan transcription of a Chinese name) and Šes-rab seṅ-ge (Skt. Prajñāsiṁha). This work, however, is not contained in the Berlin edition.

In the *Index Schmidt*, No. 446 (p. 67), we find a work translated by Bu-ston, with a colophon saying that a new translation of it was made after the Chinese version by mGon-po skyabs, professor at the Tibetan school of Peking.[1] This personage is well-known, and lived during the K'ang-hi period (1662–1722). Turning to Beckh's catalogue (p. 86 *b*), we notice that the fact of this revision is lacking in the colophon of the Berlin edition, which

[1] The colophon is translated in the writer's *Dokumente*, i, p. 52.

likewise attributes the translation to Bu-ston, but refers to a revision through Rin-c'en rgyal=mts'an. The tradition of the age of the Manchu is therefore unknown to the Berlin Kanjur. A similar case occurs in No. 502 (p. 76) of the *Index Schmidt*, where a brief *dhāraṇī* is cited as having been translated afresh by the same mGon-po skyabs, who on this occasion is characterized as "the great translator of the present great Ts'ing dynasty".[1] Hence it follows that the *Index Schmidt* represents the tradition of the time of the Manchu dynasty. Again, this colophon is absent in the Berlin recension (Beckh, p. 97, xii, 1). The last eminent scholar who laid his hands on the Kanjur was Tāranātha, born in 1575; he is expressly named as such in the index volume of the Kanjur printed at Derge in 1733 (fol. 97*b*). Several separate issues of Kanjur treatises are known to me which, according to the colophons, were revised by Tāranātha.[2] His name, however, is not mentioned in any colophon of the Berlin copy.

As already stated, at least fifteen treatises of the latter are wanting in the subsequent editions. It would be very interesting to study these, and to ascertain by what reasons their elimination under the Manchu may have been prompted. Another task that remains to be done is to draw up a list of those treatises found in the Manchu prints of the Kanjur, and which are lacking in the Ming edition.

The greatest surprise offered by the Berlin Kanjur is the fact that the uncanonical "Sūtra of the Dipper", which has never before been pointed out in any other edition, is embodied in that collection (Beckh, p. 70). This work has been discussed by the writer in *T'oung Pao*, 1907 (pp. 391–409, with an additional note of S. Lévi, ibid., p. 453), together with the texts and translations of

[1] Tib. *da-lta c'en-po C'in gur-gyi lo-tsts'a-ba c'en-po.*

[2] In particular an edition of the *dhāraṇī* styled *Vajravidāraṇā.*

the two interesting colophons, which yield the date 1337 for the Tibetan translation. Dr. Beckh has overlooked this contribution; he leaves the first colophon untouched, and gives but a brief abstract of the second,[1] omitting all difficult points and any dates, and without discussing the important fact that this Sūtra is lacking in other editions, and is for the first time here revealed in the Kanjur. Bu-ston, the editor and first publisher of the Kanjur, according to the chronological table *Reu mig*, lived from 1290 to 1364; and his edition of the Kanjur was printed at Narthang, at the time of the Emperor Jên-tsung (1312–1320).[2] The translation of the Sūtra of the Dipper made at Peking in 1337, therefore, cannot have been embodied in his collection. Indeed, it has never been included in any of the subsequent re-editions of Narthang as shown by the index volume of the last edition of 1742 and the analysis of Csoma based thereon, where this work is omitted. It is likewise absent from the *Index Schmidt.* We are thus bound to conclude that the Sūtra of the

[1] This has been done by him in several cases; and he observes that the context, as in many colophons, remains obscure (p. 68), or that the entire colophon is very difficult and obscure (p. 136). In such cases it would have been advisable to publish the texts of the colophons *in extenso* in order to enable future students to make the best use of them.

[2] Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, vol. ii, p. 165, and Laufer, *Dokumente*, i, p. 53. From the text of ạJigs-med nam-mk'a it follows that the first Narthang edition was printed in black by means of Chinese ink. Also the later edition of 1742 was printed in black. This point is mentioned here because Schmidt and Boehtlingk (*Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften*, p. 4) speak of a Narthang edition of the Kanjur in St. Petersburg as printed in red (that is, vermilion); but no such vermilion print has ever been issued from the press of Narthang. Technically it is impossible to print from the same blocks a copy in black and another one in vermilion; the same blocks can be utilized for impressions either in black only, or in vermilion only. From the summary of contents given by Schmidt and Boehtlingk it follows that the Kanjur in question cannot be an edition of Narthang, for in the latter the section Nirvāṇa (Tib. *myan-ḍas*) occupies a separate department (No. vi); while in their edition this section is joined to the Sūtra class. It is therefore probable that this edition is the one printed at Derge, which is, indeed, in vermilion.

Dipper was inserted during the Ming period in an edition of the Kanjur somewhat deviating from the orthodox line; certainly, this cannot have been any Ming Narthang edition, nor in all likelihood any edition issued in Tibet. The Sūtra of the Dipper having first been published in Peking, the greater probability is that also the first Kanjur print containing it may have been one executed in China. The Yung-lo edition to which the Berlin copy is supposed to go back is therefore the one suspected, and it would be interesting if the Sūtra in question could be traced in one of the thirty-seven volumes of that edition extant in Berlin. On the other hand, there is also a reason militating against this supposition; and this is that, as formerly remarked by me, the Sūtra is not contained in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. It has been adopted, as observed by M. Lévi (loc. cit.), in the new Japanese edition of the Tripiṭaka published in Tōkyō. I have been searching unsuccessfully through the index of the K'ien-lung Tripiṭaka of 1738, but I am not positive in asserting that the work should not be contained therein. Thus the Berlin Kanjur raises a problem which remains to be investigated.

A catalogue of the Kanjur and Tanjur should furnish us with the material with which to build the most important chapter of the literary history of Tibet. This, in fact, remains a task to be desired. The chief sources from which we have to draw for this purpose are the colophons appended to the individual works, and giving names of authors, translators, patrons, localities, etc., with greater or less fullness. There are very simple and brief colophons, easy to grasp at first sight; there are complex and lengthy ones of problematic nature, and exacting hard study. Tibetan is not an easy language, and we are all liable to err in translating from it: those who fancy themselves to be infallible are usually those with the largest quota of mistakes.

The correct understanding of proper names and separation of personal from clan names and titles, especially, is one of the difficult points in Tibetan, and there is no reference book to assist the student. Frequent misconceptions occur in linking two names into one, or in taking as the name of one man a compound in which two names are abridged. On p. 33 Dr. Beckh imparts a name in the form "der an der Grundlage des Dharma festhaltende mit ausgezeichnetem Verständnis begabte Lotsava rGya-mts'oi-sde". In fact, two names are here intended, namely, dGe-bai Blo-gros with the title *Dharmai - gži adsin* (that is, "comprehending the foundation of the Dharma") and rGya-mts'oi-sde with the title *Locāva* ("translator"). On p. 75 (and similarly on p. 90) we read "C'os-kyi dbaṅ-p'yug, der Übersetzer aus Mar", instead of Mar-pa, the translator, with the title *c'os-kyi dbaṅ-p'yug* ("the lord of the doctrine," Skt. *dharmeçvara*). In lieu of "Pad-ma-ka-ri", which occurs in the same colophon, read "Padmākara" (see *Index Schmidt*, No. 366). Instead of "the Tibetan translator Bande Zla-bai od-zer from Gyï-jo" (p. 73) read "the Tibetan translator Bande Zla-bai od-zer, the lord of Gyi". The phrase *žal sṅa-nas* in the same colophon does not mean "in the presence of", but is an honorary appendix frequently attached to the names of clericals in the Kanjur and Tanjur, as well as in historical records, and may approximately correspond to our Rev. So-and-so. On p. 75 (ii, 1) the same phrase has been rendered "with the assistance of"; for "Dpal-šes", etc., read "dPal Ye-šes", etc. "C'os-kyi blo-gros from Mar-pa-lho-brag" (p. 87), in my opinion, must be altered into "C'os-kyi blo-gros and Mar-pa from Lho-brag", the latter being a province of Southern Tibet bordering on Bhūtan, from which Mar-pa, the teacher of the famous mystic and poet Mi-la ras-pa, hailed. On p. 63 Dr. Beckh correctly annotates that Žaṅ Ye-šes sde (that is, Ye-šes sde from Žaṅ, the

latter being a locality and at the same time his clan name) is identical with the personage, otherwise styled plainly Ye-šes sde; but then how can Dr. Beckh (p. 31) derive the same man from Samarkand by believing that sNa-nam Ye-šes sde means "Ye-šes sde von Samarkand"? How should a Tibetan translator who worked in the first part of the ninth century at the time of King K'ri-lde sroṅ-btsan have originated from Samarkand? His full name is Žaṅ sNa-nam Ye-šes sde; that is, Ye-šes sde from sNa-nam in Žaṅ, Žaṅ being a district in the province of gTsaṅ in Central Tibet. Consequently, sNa-nam in this case is a locality in Tibet.[1] Me-ñag (p. 95) is not the name of a king, but of a country, usually styled Mi-ñag. As regards the Bhikshu Çīladharma from Li (p. 53), Dr. Beckh is inclined to identify the name Li with

[1] Cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1914, p. 106. The same error of taking sNa-nam for Samarkand in connexion with a purely Tibetan name is committed by P. Cordier (*Cat. du fonds tibétain*, ii, p. 84, No. 46). These translations are based on the fact that Jäschke in his Dictionary, with reference to *rGyal rabs*, assigns to sNa-nam the meaning of "Samarkand"; Chandra Das, without adducing any proof, has merely copied Jäschke. The question is whether Jäschke is correct, and on what evidence his opinion is founded. In *rGyal rabs* we find mention of a queen from sNa-nam, married to King Mes 'Ag-ts'om. I. J. Schmidt (*Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 349), translating from the *Bodhi-mōr*, the Kalmuk version of the Tibetan work, styles her the chief consort from a clan of Samarkand, without advancing evidence for this theory. In his *Forschungen* (p. 231, St. Petersburg, 1824), however, the same author states that the Kalmuk original has in this place *Samardshen*. The date of the Kalmuk work is not known; since Kalmuk writing was framed as late as 1648, the Kalmuk translation, as a matter of principle, cannot be earlier than the latter part of the seventeenth century. The case therefore hinges on the point whether the Kalmuk rendering of recent date is correct in its understanding of the Tibetan word. Neither Kovalevski nor Golstunski (in their Mongol Dictionaries) has recorded the word *Samardshen*. Whether sNa-nam ever had such a meaning remains to be proved, if indeed it can be proved. For the time being the matter is open to doubt, and it seems more than doubtful that the Tibetans ever had relations with Samarkand. But the supposition that Tibetan authors living and working on Tibetan soil were born in Samarkand, which would presuppose the existence there of a Tibetan colony in the T'ang period, is somewhat adventurous.

Li-t'ang. This is very improbable, as the monastery of Li-t'ang was founded as late as 1580,[1] and owing to its location in the western part of Sze-ch'uan, is far remote from Central Tibet, where most of the translations took place; no translators from this monastery are otherwise known in the Kanjur, and it is always styled Li-t'ang, and never Li. *Li* is very familiar to us in the Kanjur and Tanjur as a designation of Khotan, as has convincingly been proved by Mr. Rockhill.[2]

The colophon on p. 136 (No. 5) is difficult, but the text is evidently corrupt, and must be collated with another edition. It seems hardly possible that a work could have been translated "auf der Spitze des Turmes des Klosters Byams-sprin in Mañ-yul in der Verborgenheit". The word *dbu-rtse* does not mean "Spitze", but designates the chief temple-building or hall in a lamasery;[3] *ya-t'og* is not a tower, but the upper story of a building. The sense of the passage therefore seems to be that the translators withdrew into and kept themselves in retirement in the main hall on the upper floor in the monastery Byams-sprin (Skt. *Maitrīmegha*).

A very attractive task it is to pursue the gradual growth of the Kanjur and Tanjur through the course of many centuries, and to establish the chronology of the translations. This task is not entirely insuperable now, especially when we avail ourselves of historical literature, like the *dPag bsam ljon bzañ* and other works. Dr. Beckh should not have wholly neglected the historical question of the translations; only through an attempt at

[1] By the third Dalai Lama bSod-nams rgya-mts'o (1543–88); see Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, vol. ii, p. 224. The foundation of the monastery, accordingly, falls within the Wan-li period (1573–1620), during which the Berlin Kanjur was presumably copied. It is therefore impossible to assume that a translator named in this edition could have come from Li-t'ang.

[2] *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 230.

[3] See *T'oung Pao*, 1908, pp. 20, 22.

determining the time of the translators and translations may we hope to correctly understand the colophons and the proper names. Kun-dga rgyal-mts'an, for instance, mentioned as translator on pp. 93–4 and 128, is nobody but the celebrated ạJam-mgon Sa-skya Paṇ-c'en (1182–1251).[1] His collaborator bDe-bar gšegs-pai dpal (Skt. Sugataçrī) is apparently identical with the Paṇḍita Saṁghaçrī, who instructed him in logic, *pāramitā*, grammar, poetry (*kāvya*), metrics, lexicography, and dramatic art.[2] Hence he receives in the Kanjur the title "the great grammarian".[3]

Whatever these matters bearing on details may be, they do not detract from the great value of Dr. Beckh's thorough work, for which we have every reason to be grateful to him. In the most disinterested manner he has presented us with a handbook of practical and

[1] Huth, loc. cit., p. 118. In the index volume of the Kanjur of Derge (fol. 97 *b*), where he has the attribute *sNar-t'aṅ-pa*, "the man from Narthang," he is expressly listed among the collaborators of the Kanjur.

[2] Ibid., p. 122. Tib. *zlos-gar* is not "art of dancing", as translated by Huth, but "dramatic art" (*nāṭaka*).

[3] Tib. *brda sprod-pa c'en-po*, which does not mean "der grosse Erklärer von Symbolen", as Dr. Beckh (p. 128) translates. A title which has greatly embarrassed the author occurs in the same colophon, in the form *sgrai gtsug lag lam rmoṅs-pa*, tentatively translated by him "one who obscures the road of linguistic science", and accompanied by a note to the effect that this might possibly be a proper name, though somewhat strange. It is not, however, a proper name but rather a title. The word *rmoṅs-pa* was indicated as an epithet of Tāranātha by A. Schiefner (*Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, p. vii, n. 2), and *rmoṅs-pai gñen-po*, "the adviser of the ignorant," is a title bestowed on members of the clergy (*Dokumente*, i, p. 61). Thus the above title apparently means "one who is a guide along the dark points in the science of language". For the rest, *rmoṅ-ba*, *rmoṅs-pa* is not a transitive verb, and never means "to obscure" (which is *rmoṅs-par byed-pa*), but "to be obscured, obscurity", etc. The monastery Sar-sgreṅ on p. 9 is to be corrected into Ra (or Rva)-sgreṅ, as shown by a Peking print of the work in question containing the same colophon. This follows also from the historical context of the passage, owing to the mention of ạBrom-ston, who was the founder of the monastery Ra-sgreṅ.

permanent utility which will be warmly appreciated by all present and future students of Tibetan literature. The next volumes which are promised us are eagerly anticipated. The clear printing of this volume in two columns reflects much credit on the printing-house of Unger Bros., as well as on the munificence of the Royal Library, which deserves sincere congratulations on this enrichment of its catalogues.[1]

B. LAUFER.

[1] After the above was written, I had meanwhile an opportunity of exactly collating the Index of the Kanjur of Derge with that of Berlin, and may now positively state that the two editions are independent, and that the Berlin version cannot be traced to that of Derge. There are treatises in the latter wanting in the former and vice versa; above all, the arrangement of the works in the section Tantra is widely different in Derge from the Berlin copy and other editions of the Kanjur. I hope to come back to these questions in detail in a future bibliographical study of the Kanjur. The collation with other editions bears out the fact that many colophons of Berlin are sadly deficient, and especially that numerous proper names are disfigured. A few examples may suffice. On p. 76*a* (below) we read of a monastery Yu-tuṅ-lhan in Nepal; the real name is Yu-ruṅ, while *lhan* is an error for *lhun*, which does not belong to the name, but to the following *-gyis grub-pai gtsug lag k'aṅ* ("miraculous monastery"). On the same page, and again on p. 77, we meet the wrong name of a translator in the form La-bciṅs-yon-tan-ạbar; it should read Yon-tan-ạbar from C'iṅs (written also aC'iṅs). Byai gdod-pa-can (on p. 95*b*) should be *gdoṅ* ("the Bird-faced one"). The name of the translator K'u-ba-lha btsas (p. 126*a*) is correctly K'ug-pa lhas-btsas; instead of Klogs-skya (ibid.) read Glog-skya; instead of Ḍo-ma-bi (p. 87*a*) read Ḍombi. In many cases the Berlin colophons are incomplete, or there are none at all where they can be supplied from other editions. It is therefore unsafe to found a study of the translators on the work of Beckh. The colophon on p. 106 (No. 29) has been entirely misunderstood by the author: he distils from his corrupted text a monastery Dbe-rñid in Kashmir, and makes it the place where the translation took place. Neither, however, is the case; *dbe rñid* is an error for *dpe rñiṅ* ("old book"), and the passage means, "The Paṇḍita Parahitaprabha [thus written in the Index of Derge] and the Locāva gZu-dGa-rdor have translated the work, and edited it on the basis of an ancient book hailing from the monastery Amṛitasambhava (Tib. *bdud-rtsi ạbyuṅ-gnas*) in the country of Kaçmīra." A wrong translation occurs on p. 67 in the colophon of *mDsaṅs blun*, which does not mean "seems to be a translation from Chinese", but "it has been translated from Chinese". The verb *snaṅ-ba* never assumes the significance "to seem".

THE CRADLE OF MANKIND. By Rev. W. A. WIGRAM, D.D., and EDGAR T. A. WIGRAM. Adam & Charles Black, 1914.

Few districts can claim to surpass in interest Eastern Kurdistan, termed *The Cradle of Mankind* by the authors of the work under review and, in spite of its general inaccessibility, there is no lack of ancient history connected with this part of Asia Minor. Van was the capital of the Urartians who fought Assur, and their fort, situated on a great limestone ridge, was impregnable even against the engineers of the Assyrians. Coming down the ages, Xenophon with the immortal "Ten Thousand" marched up the Tigris and across this elevated tract, keeping to the west of Lake Van, and many were the encounters of the Greeks with the warlike Carduchi, as the Kurds were then termed. Later on Rome appears in Asia, and for centuries Armenia, as it was now named, was the bone of contention between the Roman and Persian empires, and became the cockpit of the Near East. Antony made more than one campaign in these mountains, and Diocletian built the splendid fort figured on p. 229. The sieges of Amida (now Diarbekir), of Nisibis, and of Dara, some of which are described by Dr. Wigram, were all celebrated throughout the known world, and the scholars of Europe are gradually beginning to study these still remote provinces with much profit.

Among the pioneers is Dr. Wigram, who is specially well equipped by many years of travel and residence in Kurdistan, and who has had the great advantage of visiting many of the scenes he describes more than once.

Asia Minor has formed a happy hunting-ground for rising Members of Parliament, who have written interesting works in some cases, but none of these can compare in authority, in solid value, or, indeed, in interest with Dr. Wigram's "bedrock" accounts of the Marches of Rome, of the devil-worshippers, and of the Armenian

question, which are all described from the inside. His knowledge, too, of the Christian communities in Kurdistan is profound and yet not prejudiced. He has worked up a big subject with thoroughness, and has written it in the light of his own valuable experience. The sketches and photographs of his brother, Mr. E. T. A. Wigram, who was also able to furnish some apt comparison with Spain, add considerably to the attractiveness and value of one of the best books of travel the reviewer has enjoyed. *The Cradle of Mankind* is likely to remain the standard work on the subject for many years to come, and deserves to be widely read.

P. M. S.

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July–September, 1914.)

## Presentation of the Public Schools' Medal

*June 23, 1914*

At a special meeting, with the President in the chair, the presentation of the Public Schools' Medal to H. W. Beck, of Denstone College, Rocester, was made by the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P.

The President: Another year has gone by, and you are aware that we are here for the purpose of presenting the Public Schools' Medal to the boy who has distinguished himself in the competition. The interesting feature in the competition this year is that it is the first occasion of an award since the competition has been thrown open more widely, and the result has been, as we expected, that new schools have come into the field. But I regret to say that some of the old schools seem now to think that they can rest on their laurels. That is not our idea, and I wish to say how very desirable it is that in following years the competition should be on the widest basis for which our rules provide.

Now the school which obtains the Medal is one of those which are the outcome of a movement started some sixty years ago by such men as Canon Nathaniel Woodard, Lord Salisbury, Lord Richard Grosvenor, Mr. Hubbard (afterwards Lord Addington), Mr. Hucks-Gibbs (afterwards Lord Aldenham), Mr. Beresford Hope, and Mr. Tritton. These schools are secondary schools on a Church of England basis, and amongst them are Lancing and Denstone, and for girls Queen Margaret's at Scarborough and two schools at Abbots Bromley. It is felt desirable

that Churchpeople should have such opportunities of securing for their children good modern secondary education as are offered by these schools. One of the causes of the great industrial and commercial development of Germany is undoubtedly the fact of the general spread of cheap secondary education. That, as you know, is an element in which we have always been wanting in England. In Scotland we have been more mindful of the exigencies of secondary education, and the bursaries enable anyone who has any intellectual attainment to obtain the secondary education that is necessary for his future success. Therefore, I think it is a very pleasant feature of this ceremony that one of these Woodard Schools should be on this occasion the first school of those who have come into our new system to get this prize.

I have read the winning essay, and, as you are aware, it deals with the deeply interesting subject of the East India Company. An extraordinary amount of material is available on this subject, and Mr. Beck seems to me to have made the best use of it. We are told that an omelette cannot be made without eggs; on this occasion it was a question of how many of the numerous eggs could be used so as to make a palatable omelette, and I think the omelette is very palatable. The East India Company had a most interesting history. It is wonderful to reflect that the foundations of our Indian Empire were laid in a small room in London where a few merchants met together to form the Company; and, when we consider all the difficulties with which the Company had to struggle, the story reads more like a romance than like actual history. It is a curious fact that one of the questions which arose in the beginning was whether State assistance should be given indirectly or directly to trade. At the present moment this very important question is among the political problems of our time. There is one school which would concentrate everything in the hands

of the State, and then you have the other extreme view that nothing is to be done for trade and it must look after itself individually. It is interesting also to trace the circumstances under which the East India Company was obliged to become a territorial power, and how step by step the responsibility for the administration was transferred to the Crown, and there was built up a solid structure of government. When we allude to our prestige in the East we ought to remember that it is mainly due to the fact that our administration is impartial and just and fair.

We are to be congratulated on having secured the presence of Lord Ronaldshay to present the Medal. We all know that by a series of well-directed travels Lord Ronaldshay has made himself an authority on our relations with the East. It is of the greatest importance that amongst the younger men in both Houses of Parliament there should be many (and there are now several, most of them, I believe, on the same side of politics as Lord Ronaldshay) who have through personal travel made themselves acquainted with the problems of the East. I think it was Lord Rosebery who said that if there could be a competitive examination before entering the House of Commons travel in our Colonies and India should be an essential preliminary to it. I will now ask Lord Ronaldshay to present the Medal, and I may mention that there are also two winners of book prizes, of whom one is present to-day, Mr. Hall, of Bromsgrove School, Worcestershire. So you will see that the Midlands are on this occasion very much in the ascendant.

THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P., observed that the object for which they were assembled that day was one with which he had the most hearty sympathy. The object of the Royal Asiatic Society in presenting this Medal (he continued) is twofold. In the first place it is designed to dispel ignorance here in regard to our Indian

Empire. That is a very desirable object, seeing how widespread such ignorance is. Perhaps some of you may remember the story of the eminent British statesman of the last century who, when talking about the island of Bombay, described it as being within very little distance of Brazil. I believe that such a statement on the part of a responsible Minister could only have been made in this country, and I am sure that if this competition of the Royal Asiatic Society had been started well down in the last century such an exhibition of ignorance would not have been possible even in this country. The other object is to inspire in the youths of this country a desire to inquire into the past history and ponder on the future destiny of our great Indian Empire. That also is a very commendable object. For, what is it that India is calling for to-day? India is calling for men of character, men with enthusiasm, men with sympathy, men whose imaginations have been fired by the tremendous exploits of their countrymen in the past in moulding the destinies of that vast continent, men finally who have been brought to realize that in following in the footsteps of the great men our country has given to India their own life-mission may be found. India wants of our best, and it will only be by our giving her of our best that we shall successfully carry on the great and noble task to which we have set our hands.

Let us now turn to the essays which have proved successful in the competition of the present year. The subject of the essays, as Lord Reay has told us, was the East India Company from the grant of their first Charter in 1600 to the Government of India Act in 1833. It is as romantic a story as it is possible to find in all the pages of world history. There have been three successful competitors, the winner of the Gold Medal, and the winners of the volumes which are presented to the first, second, and third of the competitors. Let us see what they have

to tell us about this engrossing period of the history of our country. Their narratives have necessarily dealt in the main with the vicissitudes of the East India Company, with its struggles with kings and governments in this country, with the ebb and flow of the Company's fortunes in India itself, and with the general events which compelled them, involuntarily I think, to convert themselves from a mere commercial undertaking into, as it has proved in the event, a vast and mighty empire. It was Edmund Burke who once said that the constitution of the East India Company began in trade and ended in empire. That was only Burke's way of saying what one of the successful competitors, Mr. Wedge, has told us in his essay, that the whole history of the East India Company is a remarkable example of meaning one thing and doing another. I think both Edmund Burke and Mr. Wedge have hit off in a sentence an accurate description of events of the period under review. Both Mr. Wedge and the other two competitors have sketched forth with no little skill, as it seems to me, the very remarkable series of events which compelled the East India Company to shoulder themselves in the long run with all the responsibilities of territorial sovereignty. Let us not forget that they played a vast part in the making of world history. Let us remember that following on the discoveries of the great sailors of Portugal, such as Vasco da Gama, there arose many aspirants for Eastern sovereignty. Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland in turn cast their gaze towards the East, and sought in the Eastern Hemisphere satisfaction of their craving for wealth and gratification of their national ambitions. Mr. Hall, the student who I think has been awarded a second place in this competition, has told us that a Papal Bull had reserved both East and West for Portugal and Spain. In a sentence which combines in a delightful way perspicacity of mind with perspicuity of phrase he adds: "But it is on sea power

and not the Vatican that Imperial rights depend." There we have the first great lesson which this chapter of history has to tell us. It was supremacy at sea which enabled Great Britain to become the possessors of the Indian Empire, and it is this fact which I would like to see burnt into the very soul of every schoolboy who takes any interest in the future of our great country. But while sea power enabled us to harry and eventually to eliminate our foreign competitors, sea power by itself would not have been sufficient to enable us to assume and maintain control and sovereignty over a vast continent like that of India. I am glad to see that Mr. Beck has pointed out in the course of his very admirable essay some of the circumstances which led the Company to embark upon a policy of territorial expansion. He has shown that the Mogul Empire, which had so long blazed in splendour, was losing its power, and new forces were emerging. As he says, if we did not ourselves create the opportunity provided by this transition, we may surely pride ourselves on the fact that the period produced men possessing the happy faculty of rising to the great occasion—men like Clive, Hastings, Wellesley, Dalhousie. These were the men who reared the magnificent fabric of British sovereignty upon the dying embers of the gorgeous empire of the East. Emerson once said that "the British did not calculate the conquest of India, it fell to their character", and in saying this he has, I think, read this chapter of history aright. This brings us to the second great lesson of this period, which is that if we won India by the sword, we have held, and still hold it, far more by force of character than by force of arms.

A few outstanding facts are sufficient to prove that. How do we hold India to-day? We have a comparatively small number of British civilians—members of the Civil Service, engineers, doctors, educationists, and men in other branches of the administration; and apart from that we have

a comparatively small army of some 76,000 British troops. With this small British element we govern either directly or indirectly a vast population of 315 millions scattered over a diversified area which is equal in size to the whole of Europe excluding Russia. That is surely a remarkable achievement. I do not wish to lay myself open to a charge of undue insular arrogance, and I am quite ready to admit that an examination of both the motives and actions of our people during the period under review, from 1600 to 1833, may reveal some covetousness, some pride and vainglory, and some (perhaps a good many) mistakes. But I do say this, that the main underlying motive which has been the driving force behind our undertakings in India has been righteous. We have raised aloft the standard of justice and truth; we have striven for purity of administration; we have set ourselves to mete out honest and fair dealing to the many millions who have been committed by Providence to our charge. We have done much to deliver the masses of the people from the cruel and remorseless grip of the Hindu social system. The abolition of *sati*, once the inevitable fate of the Hindu widow, by Lord W. Bentinck, is an example of that. And, above all, we have burnt our incense at the altar of the goddess of peace. We have waged war, it is true, but we have waged it that we might ensure peace. Every Englishman has good cause to be proud of the fact recorded in a pregnant phrase enshrined in the proclamation of King Edward in 1908 when he said that "For a longer period than was ever known in your land before you have escaped the dire calamities of war within your borders. Internal peace has been unbroken".

There may be some who will say I have painted the picture of our proceedings in India in too bright colours. If that be so it is because I am still a sufficient believer in the qualities of our race to justify my optimism. I cordially detest the croaking of the pessimists, and

I rejoice to find that Mr. Beck's study of the subject has ranged him on my side. There is no question that our possession of India has been for the benefit of its myriad inhabitants, and this fact gives us our greatest confidence as to the permanence of our rule.

Mr. Beck, it is with the greatest pleasure that I hand to you this Gold Medal and your book prize. I don't know whether, in fact I am rather afraid that you are not, contemplating looking to India for your future career. But perhaps I may be permitted to say to you, and to all other public school boys in this country, that any of them who do contemplate looking to India for their career should, in my humble opinion, have no hesitation in coming to a quick decision. I am going to be presumptuous enough to disagree with the opinion which was expressed on this occasion last year by so eminent an authority as Dr. Nairn, when he said no one would wish to prescribe for a boy who was just going up for his University course his future career. India to-day wants men who feel they have a mission for an Indian career. The man who goes up to the University and at the end of his course there decides he will take his chance in the open examination of the Home and Indian Civil Service, and will only go out to India in the event of his not securing a sufficiently high place in the examination to enable him to choose service at home, may be a very good man. I am not going to say one word against him. But for my own part I would say, "Give me the man who feels from the start that it is his mission to help to carry on the work of his country in the East." Clive joined the service of the East India Company at the age of 18, and it was Clive, as Mr. Beck has reminded us in his excellent paper, who laid the territorial foundation of our Empire in India. I would rather see the man who was inspired with the desire to have his career in India and who had made up his mind early. I would not have him go to the

University and turn to an Indian career only if he cannot get anything better.

Lord Ronaldshay then presented the Gold Medal and book prize to Mr. Beck with hearty congratulations, and the hope that he would find that success would attend, as it inevitably did attend, those who were industrious and zealous, as he had proved himself to be. He also presented the book prize to R. O. Hall, of Bromsgrove School, Worcestershire, and congratulated him on the excellence of his paper.

The Rev. F. A. HIBBERT, Head Master of Denstone College, said that he was glad to think that the public schools of the country retained some privileges still, including ten days' military training in camp and the right of inflicting corporal punishment. In these days of increasing softness and dislike of discipline those were two very good things, and he hoped the public schools would retain them. The Royal Asiatic Society had given them, by means of this competition, another privilege, and one which they valued highly. They valued it not chiefly because it helped to bring out the best intellectual talents and abilities, but still more because it helped to encourage the habit in schoolboys of taking wide views and looking at things from many standpoints. After describing the public schools as delightful little republics, where each boy stood on his own merit and there was no privilege for wealth or influence, he remarked that there were some people who told us that the British Empire would be very much better managed not by statesmen but by commercial experts. Here came in the importance of taking a wide view: the matter was a much larger affair than a question of mere £ *s. d.* History told us that the experiment was tried in the case of the East India Company; in all but name India was run as a commercial company and the experiment failed. It failed because from the nature of the case public duty was not the first essential. The men

who mould the affairs of the Empire must be men who place public duty absolutely first, and not in any sense of the word fortune-hunters. As Lord Ronaldshay had said, the prime essential was force of character exercising itself in public duty. If the Gold Medal offered by the Society year by year led fresh generations of schoolboys to realize the paramount claim of public duty everywhere, not only in England, but even more in our great Eastern possession, then it would be doing a service to the Empire which it would be very difficult indeed to exaggerate.

THE PRESIDENT, in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Ronaldshay, said: I have heard with great pleasure Lord Ronaldshay's words about the mission we have to fulfil in India. It is undoubtedly the case that in discharging the duty we owe to India we should send her our best men, men who realize something of the enormous responsibilities they incur in being the delegates of England to that vast country. We are there not to destroy anything in the fabric of native institutions which is worth maintaining; but our task in the first place is constructive. We have to improve in every way we can the intellectual and moral fibre of the Indian peoples. That is a task which requires the highest talent and the greatest tact, and above all a feeling of sympathy for the millions amongst whom our lot there is cast. The winner of the Medal is not going to India. There are very natural reasons for this, because he is going to follow in the footsteps of his father and is going to be an architect. No doubt we have need in England of good architects, and in India just now they are wanted for Delhi. Had the winner of the Medal been a few years older he might have gone as an architect to Delhi and have shared there in the honour of building the new capital. I ask you now to pass a vote of thanks to Lord Ronaldshay for sparing time to come here and give us such an excellent address.

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*For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with the April and October Numbers of the Journal.*

# TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

# SANSKRIT, ARABIC,

## AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

# SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| अ . . . . *a* | ओ . . . . *o* | ट . . . . *ṭ* | ब . . . . *b* |
| आ . . . . *ā* | औ . . . . *au* | ठ . . . . *ṭh* | भ . . . . *bh* |
| इ . . . . *i* | क . . . . *k* | ड . . . . *ḍ* | म . . . . *m* |
| ई . . . . *ī* | ख . . . . *kh* | ढ . . . . *ḍh* | य . . . . *y* |
| उ . . . . *u* | ग . . . . *g* | ण . . . . *ṇ* | र . . . . *r* |
| ऊ . . . . *ū* | घ . . . . *gh* | त . . . . *t* | ल . . . . *l* |
| ऋ . . . . *ṛ* | ङ . . . . *ṅ* | थ . . . . *th* | व . . . . *v* |
| ॠ . . . . *ṝ* | च . . . . *c* | द . . . . *d* | श . . . . *ś* |
| ऌ . . . . *ḷ* | छ . . . . *ch* | ध . . . . *dh* | ष . . . . *ṣ* |
| ॡ . . . . *ḹ* | ज . . . . *j* | न . . . . *n* | स . . . . *s* |
| ए . . . . *e* | झ . . . . *jh* | प . . . . *p* | ह . . . . *h* |
| ऐ . . . . *ai* | ञ . . . . *ñ* | फ . . . . *ph* | ळ . . . . *ḷ* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ◌ं (*Anusvāra*) . . . | *ṁ* | ऽ (*Avagraha*) . . . . | ’ |
| ◌ँ (*Anunāsika*) . . | *m̐* | *Udātta* . . . . . | ◌॑ |
| : (*Visārga*) . . . . | *ḥ* | *Svarita* . . . . . | ◌॒ |
| × (*Jihvāmūlīya*) . | *ḫ* | *Anudātta* . . . . . | ◌॓ |
| ᗒ (*Upadhmānīya*) . | *ḭ* | | |

# ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ا at beginning of word omit; | ک . . . . *k* | ـَا . . . . *ā* |
| elsewhere . . . ء or ٔ | ل . . . . *l* | ـِی . . . . *ī* |
| ب . . . . *b* | س . . . . *s* | م . . . . *m* | ـُو . . . . *ū* |
| ت . . . . *t* | ش . *ṣ* or *sh* | ن . . . . *n* | |
| ث . *t* or *th* | ص . . *ṣ* or *z* | و . . *w* or *v* | DIPHTHONGS. |
| ج . *j* or *dj* | ض *ḍ*, *dz*, or *z* | ه . . . . *h* | ـَیْ . . . . *ai* |
| ح . . . . *ḥ* | ط . . . . *ṭ* | ي . . . . *y* | ـَوْ . . . . *au* |
| خ . *ḥ* or *kh* | ظ . . . . *ẓ* | | *wasla* . . . ـّ |
| د . . . . *d* | ع . . . . ʿ | VOWELS. | *hamza* ـء or ـٔ |
| ذ . *ḍ* or *dh* | غ . *ġ* or *gh* | ـَ . . . . *a* | *silent t* . . ـۃ |
| ر . . . . *r* | ف . . . . *f* | ـِ . . . . *i* | *letter not pro-* |
| ز . . . . *z* | ق . . . . *q* | ـُ . . . . *u* | *nounced* . . ـّ |

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|---|---|---|---|
| پ . . . . *p* | ک when pro- | ټ or ت . *ṭ* | څ . . . *ts* |
| چ . *c* or *ch* | nounced as | ډ or د . . *ḍ* | ږ . . . *ġ* |
| ژ . *ẓ* or *zh* | *g* . . . . *k* | ړ or ر . . . *ṛ* | ڼ . . . *ṇ* |
| گ . . . . *g* | ڭ . . . . *ñ* | | ښ . . . *ksh* |

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*For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with the April and October Numbers of the Journal.*

# TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

# SANSKRIT, ARABIC,

## AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

# I.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| अ . . . . *a* | ओ . . . . *o* | ट . . . . *ṭ* | ब . . . . *b* |
| आ . . . . *ā* | औ . . . . *au* | ठ . . . . *ṭh* | भ . . . . *bh* |
| इ . . . . *i* | क . . . . *k* | ड . . . . *ḍ* | म . . . . *m* |
| ई . . . . *ī* | ख . . . . *kh* | ढ . . . . *ḍh* | य . . . . *y* |
| उ . . . . *u* | ग . . . . *g* | ण . . . . *ṇ* | र . . . . *r* |
| ऊ . . . . *ū* | घ . . . . *gh* | त . . . . *t* | ल . . . . *l* |
| ऋ . . . . *ṛ* | ङ . . . . *ṅ* | थ . . . . *th* | व . . . . *v* |
| ॠ . . . . *ṝ* | च . . . . *c* | द . . . . *d* | श . . . . *ś* |
| ऌ . . . . *ḷ* | छ . . . . *ch* | ध . . . . *dh* | ष . . . . *ṣ* |
| ॡ . . . . *ḹ* | ज . . . . *j* | न . . . . *n* | स . . . . *s* |
| ए . . . . *e* | झ . . . . *jh* | प . . . . *p* | ह . . . . *h* |
| ऐ . . . . *ai* | ञ . . . . *ñ* | फ . . . . *ph* | ळ . . . . *ḻ* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ं (*Anusvāra*) . . . | *ṁ* | ऽ (*Avagraha*) . . . . | ’ |
| ँ (*Anunāsika*) . . | *m̐* | *Udātta* . . . . . | ◌॑ |
| : (*Visārga*) . . . . | *ḥ* | *Svarita* . . . . . | ◌॒ |
| ×  (*Jihvāmūlīya*) . | *ẖ* | *Anudātta* . . . . . | ◌॓ |
| ≍ (*Upadhmānīya*) . | *ḫ* | | |

## II.

# ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

---

ا at beginning of word omit;
elsewhere . . . ـٔ or ء

ب . . . . *b*
ت . . . . *t*
ث . *t* or *th*
ج . *j* or *dj*
ح . . . . *ḥ*
خ . *ḥ* or *kh*
د . . . . *d*
ذ . *ḍ* or *dh*
ر . . . . *r*
ز . . . . *z*

س . . . . *s*
ش . *ṣ* or *sh*
ص . . *ṣ* or *z*
ض *ḍ*, *dz*, or *z*
ط . . . . *ṭ*
ظ . . . . *ẓ*
ع . . . . ʿ
غ . *ġ* or *gh*
ف . . . . *f*
ق . . . . *q*

ک . . . . *k*
ل . . . . *l*
م . . . . *m*
ن . . . . *n*
و . . *w* or *v*
ه . . . . *h*
ي . . . . *y*

VOWELS.

ـَ . . . . *a*
ـِ . . . . *i*
ـُ . . . . *u*

ا . . . . *ā*
ـِي . . . . *ī*
ـُو . . . . *ū*

DIPHTHONGS.

ـَيْ . . . . *ai*
ـَوْ . . . . *au*

*wasla* . . . ’
*hamza* ـٔ or ء
*silent t* . . *h*
*letter not pronounced* . . ـّ

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.

پ . . . . *p*
چ . *c* or *ch*
ژ . *ẓ* or *zh*
گ . . . . *g*

TURKISH ONLY.

ک when pronounced as *g* . . . . *k*
ڭ . . . . *ñ*

HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.

ټ or ټ . *ṭ*
ډ or ډ . . *ḍ*
ړ or ړ . . . *ṛ*

PAKSHTŪ ONLY.

څ . . . *ts*
ږ . . . *ġ*
ڼ . . . *ṇ*
ښ . . . *ksh*

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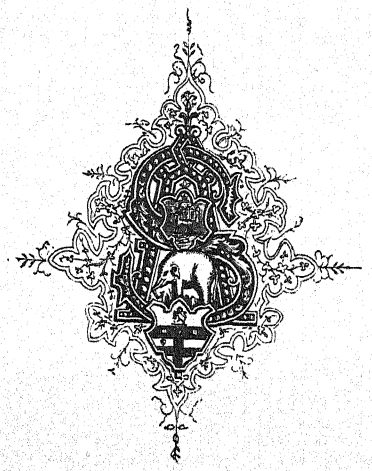

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